The Ladies’ Garment Worker, Volume 9, Issue 6

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Contents


The Thirty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor—A. Rosebury

American Labor Movement in Present Crisis—A. R.

Impressions of Our Glorious Convention—Pamela M. Cohn

Convention Decides Upon a Weekly Official Organ.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
31 Union Square, New York

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### Directory of Local Unions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL UNION</th>
<th>OFFICE ADDRESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. New York Cloak Operators</td>
<td>238 Fourth Ave, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Philadelphia Cloakmakers</td>
<td>244 S 8th St, Philadelphia, Pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. New York Piece Tailors</td>
<td>9 W 21st St, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Baltimore Cloakmakers</td>
<td>1023 E Baltimore St, Baltimore, Md</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. New Jersey Embroiders</td>
<td>144 Bergenline Ave, Union Hill, N J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. New York Embroiders</td>
<td>133 2nd Ave, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Boston Raincoat Makers</td>
<td>38 Causeway St, Boston, Mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. San Francisco Ladies' Garment Workers</td>
<td>362-10th Ave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. New York Coat and Suit Tailors</td>
<td>228 Second Ave, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. New York Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters</td>
<td>7 W 21st St, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Brownsville, N. Y.</td>
<td>219 Sackman St, Brooklyn, N Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Boston Cloak and Suit Tailors</td>
<td>751 Washington St, Boston, Mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Montreal, Canada</td>
<td>194 Spadina Ave, Toronto, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Philadelphia Washers</td>
<td>40 N 9th St, Philadelphia, Pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. St. Louis Cloak Cutters</td>
<td>Fraternal Building, St Louis, Mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. New York Reed Cutters</td>
<td>117 Second Ave, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Chicago Cloak and Suit Dressers</td>
<td>1815 W Division St, Chicago, Ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Montreal, Canada</td>
<td>1178 Cadieux, Montreal, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. New York Woolen Garment Workers</td>
<td>20 E 13th St, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. New York, N. J.</td>
<td>103 Montgomery St, Newark, N J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. New Haven, Conn</td>
<td>Ladies' Garment Workers, 83 Hollock St, New Haven, Conn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. New Haven, Conn</td>
<td>231 E 14th St, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. New York Skirt and Dressmakers' Union</td>
<td>751 Washington St, Boston, Mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Boston Skirt and Dressmakers' Union</td>
<td>15 W 21st St, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. New York Waid and Dressmakers</td>
<td>15 W 21st St, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Cleveland Ladies Garment Workers</td>
<td>314 Superior Ave, Cleveland, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Cleveland Skirt Cutters</td>
<td>314 Superior Ave, Cleveland, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Cleveland Cloak Finishers' Union</td>
<td>314 Superior Ave, Cleveland, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Cincinnati Ladies Garment Cutters</td>
<td>411 Elm St, Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Ladies' Garment Workers</td>
<td>721 N Market St, Louisville, Ky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Winnipeg Ladies' Garment Workers</td>
<td>Labor Temple, Winnipeg, Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Bridgeport Corset Workers</td>
<td>414 Warner Building, Bridgeport, Conn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Bridgeport Corset Cutters</td>
<td>414 Warner Building, Bridgeport, Conn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. New York Pressers</td>
<td>228 Second Ave, New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Boston Ladies' Tailors</td>
<td>751 Washington St, Boston, Mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Cleveland Cloak Finishers' Union</td>
<td>314 Superior Ave, Cleveland, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Cincinnati Ladies Garment Cutters</td>
<td>393 Columbus Ave, New Haven, Conn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued on inside back cover)

**Named shoes are frequently made in Non-Union factories**

**Do Not Buy Any Shoe**

no matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this UNION STAMP

All shoes without the UNION STAMP are always Non-Union

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the UNION STAMP

**BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION**

TWO-FORTY-SD SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN F. TOBIN, President CHAS. L. BAINE, Sec'y Treasurer
Our fourteenth convention, held in Boston at the end of last month, was, in many respects more remarkable than any previous convention. Leaders, as well as the rank and file, will remember this convention for its serenity, moderation and business-like methods. A spirit of fraternity and good humor was throughout reflected in its deliberations. Even in controvertial questions the debates were conducted in the fairest imaginable manner. The convention clearly proved that the years of agitation and education have borne fruit.

An unmistakable sign of stability and firm foundation in our movement is the fact that while there is a natural influx of young blood and fresh energy, there are not lacking among the leading spirits the veterans, the old leaders, who stood at the cradle of the organization, sowing the seed with tears. A number of pioneers have left us for one reason or another. But upon comparing the roll of the names of delegates at the Boston convention of 1910 with the roll of names at the Boston convention of 1918 we immediately recognize many of the old fighters. They are still with their locals or with the International. They have rooted themselves so much in the affections of the rank and file; they have become so ripe in experience that the masses can not and will not part from them. At the fourteenth convention these pioneers realized the pleasure of reaping with song what they have for years sown with tears. They have realized their dream of a great, strong, permanent organization. For although our International Union has not yet completely attained its aim, and there still remains much virgin soil to till and cultivate, it has so fortified its positions and has been so grounded in the proper application of means and methods that its continued task of planting the union seed in new fields need no longer be quite so laborious or attended by such bitter struggles as its efforts of the last eight years.

The fourteenth convention in Boston recognized the fact that much spade work remains to be done. According to the resolutions adopted or referred to the General Executive Board for action, calling for immediate and future organizing campaigns, there remains the completion of the organizing campaign in Baltimore among the waist and whitegoods workers, ladies' tailors and cutters. One resolution calls for the organization of the skirtmakers throughout the country. A resolution calls for bringing into line the unorganized Syrian workers in the kimono and housedress trade of New York who hinder the
progress and well-being of Local No. 41. Another resolution calls for tackling a new branch of trade—the handkerchief workers, a line of trade ranging as whitegoods—if it can be shown that this branch of trade is part of our industry. Our International Union feels its duty to the workers of waists, dresses and whitegoods in Newark, N. J., and to the embroidery workers in that State and will take the most practical steps as far as possible. The convention endorsed a general strike in the custom dress industry of New York controlled by Local No. 90. The situation in Harlem, where anti-union contractors have built a nest of dangerous competition with the organized workers of Locals 23, 25 and 50 has to be grappled with. In Chicago organizing work will be continued among the waist and whitegoods workers and ladies' tailors, and if the local employers are still hardened against the union they may have to face another general strike in the waist and whitegoods trades. The convention sanctioned a general strike in Cleveland to be called at the psychological moment, and it was decided to include the waistmakers of that city in the campaign along with the cloakmakers.

In various other trades and cities the new General Executive Board will continue the good work begun in the last term. For there is not a center of trade in need of organizing work, where the previous G. E. B. neglected to do all in its power. Even though all the resolutions had been embodied in one solitary mandate, directing the G. E. B. to carry on a campaign wherever possible and practicable, without specifying cities and trades, the International would all the same leave no stone unturned to bring the unorganized in line and strengthen the union. The present time is somewhat more favorable than previous years. If only the unorganized workers, in those places cherish the least desire to join, the organized ranks and will lend a willing ear to the rousing call of our organizers their redemption will be brought about.

Apt recognition was extended to the energetic activity of the General Executive Board in the last term by the Committee on Officers' Report. The committee was loud in its praises. But in order to get a proper conception of the spirit prevailing at the convention, and the rare relationship between the leaders and the immediate representatives of the masses it is necessary to convey an idea of the tone in which the report of the Committee on Officers' Report was couched.

This report begins with the remark that the committee have carefully gone over the report of the General Executive Board and made a thorough examination of the abundant material contained therein, and have come to the realization of the tremendous task which the General Executive Board had on their hands during the term beginning immediately after the Philadelphia Convention, when considered that all this work had to be done in the face of the difficulties brought about by the present abnormal conditions in which our country is involved. We can not, therefore, refrain from praising the splendid achievements attained by our International Union, under the able leadership of our President and General Secretary and of the entire General Executive Board.

The committee comments briefly on the work accomplished in the following telling words:

We shall first in order mention the remarkable achievement of President Schlesinger during last February in having Dr. Harry A. Garfield, the United States Fuel Administrator, rescind the operation of the heatless Monday order for the ladies'
Juirc, 1918

garment shops through the entire East—an exemption which enabled the members of our organizations to work full weeks, in preference to all other industries, during the height of our season. This exemption demonstrated to us and to the rest of the world the power of our organization and the ability of its leadership.

Another fact which deserves mention is the successful effort of our International to induce the War Department to award contracts on military garments among the ladies' garment shops of New York City and elsewhere, particularly during the slack period of the year, when thousands of our members are undergoing privation on account of unemployment.

In line with these achievements, we also wish to praise the commendable efforts of our president in having enlisted the able and brilliant services of that distinguished jurist, Judge Julian W. Mack of Chicago, and other well known public men, such as Prof. W. Z. Ripley of Harvard, Mr. Stanley King, etc., who acted as arbitrators in a number of disputes with our employers in the cities of Chicago, Boston and New York, and whose decisions were most fair and just to the interests of our members.

We must also mention the splendid results our International has accomplished in its appeal for relief for the European sufferers. The $150,000.00 which was raised for that purpose is an additional illustration of the remarkable state of loyalty and responsiveness on the part of our members, despite the fact that every cent counts big with our workers under the present abnormal high cost of living. W also want to comment favorably on the fact that our International Union purchased $100,000.00 worth of bonds of the Third Liberty Loan.

The increases obtained in the New York cloak, suit, waist and dress, and other industries of our International Union, in response to the demand on the part of the week workers as well as the piece workers engaged in these industries, was a commendable achievement, particularly when taken into consideration that this victory was achieved without any sacrifice on the part of our members, who were peacefully working in the shops during our conferences with the employers. These gains must frankly be attributed to the able leadership of our president and the brilliant counsel of our friend and comrade, Morris Hillquit.

On whichever part of the industry the Committee on Officers' Report directed the searchlight of criticism they found traces of competent and successful effort, whether in the relations of the union with the employers or in internal affairs. Excluding one or two local troubles of slight significance the skies overspreading our International Union at this moment are so bright that the convention was simply delighted at the excellent state of affairs and expressed its high appreciation.

No wonder that the general officers and eleven out of the thirteen vice-presidents were re-elected. No wonder that the convention positively refused even to think of allowing a change in the administration. Such a turn of affairs would mar the concord of the convention and the harmony within the organization.

* * * *

It is to be observed that while a large part of the delegation consisted of old timers and pioneers the convention abounded with young, enthusiastic union men and women who had not been seen at previous conventions. The number of women delegates sent by organizations of women workers is steadily growing. At this convention there were thirty women delegates.

Our union is still too young to have brought out great national leaders; but the fourteenth convention indicated that the younger generation will produce such leaders when time and circumstances will call them forth.
We have only recently begun our educational work. We are still in its experimental stages. In the last term we were groping in the dark in the matter of training union men and union leaders. The convention recognized that as a beginning the educational work under last winter’s conditions could not be improved upon, and with that beginning a foundation had been laid for more systematic and practical work in the future. A resolution was carried to levy an assessment of 10 cents on the entire membership for educational purposes. This will yield a large sum of money for this work, and the General Executive Board will take proper measures that such work shall have the best results.

It is a healthy sign of our organization that the younger generation is closely aligned with the old timers and there is no division or cleavage between the young and old. Our old-timers often display youthful energy that must be astonishing to the younger spirits. Our International Union is led in the youngest and most modern spirit of the labor movement. Our leaders follow every practical progressive thought and are ever ready not only to join the most progressive ranks but to march in the very front of the organized proletarian army. The fourteenth convention brought out the fact that our International Union feels young and vigorous in aspirations, aims and methods, as to which all parts and sections of the union are united and in harmonious accord.

* * *

The work of the convention was in large part a work of consolidating the ranks. True, our local unions are firmly established. But in the restless and uncertain times of today continuous vigilance is a necessity. All wise and thoughtful people are anxious about the issue of the war and about the uncertain, unknown period immediately ensuing. The future is hidden from us. We do not know precisely what may happen.

Common sense leads us to infer that prosperity will follow the war. For decades the world at large will require all sorts of products for re-building the devastated cities and building new cities and even new countries, and there will be a large demand for productive forces. Yet that organization will be in the best position which will take stock of all possibilities, good as well as bad, and provide for untoward events, being ever ready to deal with whatever the future has in store. Much of the labors of our fourteenth convention was of this kind—providing for the future, preparing for any event that might occur.

The decision as to week work was of the nature of thought for the future. Some piece workers are still deceived in their opinion as to their higher earnings under the piece work system. They forget the expenditure of time that price settlement entails, and the extravagant loss of energy and strength that undue hurry causes the piece worker. Some of our people as yet do not perceive the great truth of the saying “It is better to prevent than to cure.” Much of the work of our Joint Board and officers consists in curing the ills caused entirely by the piece work system. These not only include shop troubles, acute differences with employers, leading to discrimination and discharge; differences between the workers themselves in reaching out for larger and more bundles of work, but also physical and mental ills that are perhaps not felt at the machine, but which make them-
selves felt gradually, after several years, in the limbs, internal organs and very bones. When week work will take the place of piece work all these ills will be eliminated or mitigated. It is not credible that the average earnings under week work will be smaller, because if that were the case week workers in other industries would return to the piece work system. One thing, however, is certain—the calmer and more assured situation under piece work will make for a more intense desire for education and entertainment, enriching and rounding out the energy and thinking power of the workers. After years of work they will not feel so enervated, will not suffer such a break-down physically and mentally as some of them do at present; for under week work they will not have the desire to work above their strength in order to earn a few cents more.

Under week work the union will be freed from certain difficult problems and will be able to apply its energy and resources to more comprehensive plans of organization, to a further consolidation of forces, to improvement of conditions and to an increase of the workers' comforts and joy of life in every respect. Let us hope that the war will be over in course of this or next year; and if, owing to unforeseen causes, economic dislocation and hard times should supervene, our active spirits will be free from the difficulties and anxieties incident to piece work and price settlement and will be in trim to devote themselves to such constructive work as will then appear necessary. Thus the decision for week work is a measure of preparation for the future.

The decision as to the sanitarium, extending its benefits to all members of the International Union in good standing, is in the same category. This and similar decisions that our union shall enter into a closer relationship with the members in times of sickness and distress will strengthen the bond between them and the organization. The union will thus become stronger and will be all the more able to overcome difficulties arising from possibly uncertain times.

Quite a series of resolutions adopted by the convention for the good and welfare of the union have as their object the solidifying of the organization. But we cannot refer to them in this issue and hope to analyze their significance on a future occasion. But there is one important decision which is of great significance. As soon as carried out it will unite our large organization and all its locals in a manner accomplished heretofore only in times of great crisis. We mean the decision to amalgamate all our local organs and the starting of a weekly publication for the entire organization.

The convention decided to raise the per capita tax to the International Union one cent a week—from 4 cents to 5 cents—for the purpose of publishing a weekly organ and mailing a copy thereof to every member. A full report of the debate on this question, which appears on another page of this issue, shows how far the sentiment for a united press has increased since the Cleveland convention of 1914, even in the locals of the New York Joint Board. The excellent harmony existing in all parts of our International Union has shattered some of the contentions of the opponents of a united press published by the International
Union. There are now only petty arguments which serious and logical members should be ashamed to bring up. It is repeated privately that the organ to be published by the International will check freedom of expression and accept no correspondence from readers. This is a slanderous statement whatever its source or origin, because even the Ladies' Garment Worker has never suppressed any free opinion, even though it was in criticism of the administration. A rumor is also current that the big locals of the New York Joint Board will not get sufficient space in the International organ for their local and office reports. President Schlesinger refuted this argument at the convention. The rumor is unfounded.

Then there is the contention that no united press is necessary because the Yiddish "New Yost," published by the cloakmakers of New York, is an institution. So is piece work. A minority of the cloakmakers still cling to this un-union system. They refuse to part from it because they evidently love it. Yet all progressive workers realize that week work is more beneficial, and all progressive workers know that unity is more beneficial than separation. A united press, established on true principles of union education and enlightenment will soon become a more useful and cherished institution than any existing local organ.

There is much to be said on this subject, but we shall stop here and congratulate Brother L. Langer, Secretary of the New York Joint Board, upon his remark at the convention that the Joint Board would stand by the International in this as in all questions. That is the real union spirit. That is the way all union men and women must approach all union questions, for that precisely is what "union" means. Separate action is a false interpretation of the word "union," a self-contradiction.

The remark of Brother Langer conveys the promise that the present question will speedily be solved to the satisfaction of all locals now publishing separate organs.

The solidarity and harmony that throughout prevailed at the convention was particularly marked in the last two days when the main jurisdiction question was before the house. It was the question as between Locals 1 and 9 on the one hand and Local No. 17 on the other. The convention decided that Local No. 17 shall transfer its finishers to the Cloak Finishers' Union Local No. 9. The dispute has been pending for several years; and despite the printed figures and arguments with which the delegation of Local No. 17 tried to convince the convention that the step was unnecessary and unjust, the convention recognized the validity of the demand by Local No. 9. It is to be hoped that both locals will co-operate in the shops in a brotherly spirit and bury the "skeleton in the closet."

But both sides debated the question in a genuinely parliamentary manner, fairly, tactfully and without bitterness. It just proves the spiritual richness of this convention.

The fact that the long-standing dispute between Local No. 1 and Local No. 17 was settled in conference almost on the same basis as had been systematically arranged by the General Executive Board some months ago, is
additional proof that neither side wished to mar the harmonious accord of the convention. To such a degree of unity has the present administration of the International brought the union in the last four years.

All this inevitably led to the climax of the last day. When President Schlesinger announced that he could not remain in office owing to a word of promise he had made previously, the convention was unpleasantly surprised. How could the delegation permit him to leave the organization in view of such a splendid record of victories and achievements? It was frankly expressed on the floor of the convention that President Schlesinger had brought the union to such a pinnacle of greatness; that its star of prestige and high standing was shining with such brilliancy that even the most prominent among the delegates did not feel sufficiently self-confident to step into his place in these times of turmoil and crisis. President Schlesinger seemed very determined, but the convention was even more determined, and a group of delegates finally convinced him that it would be sheer injustice on his part to leave the organization at this moment.

Thus President Schlesinger and Secretary Baroff were reelected unanimously and by acclamation amid much enthusiasm. An election took place for members of the General Executive Board. But all, except Sol. Metz and John F. Pierce were reelected. In the place of these two brothers, M. Sigman, manager of the New York Joint Board and formerly secretary of the International, was elected for New York and A. Silver, manager of the Philadelphia Waistmakers' Union, Local No. 15, was chosen as one of the vice-presidents for the district out of New York.

We congratulate the new, yet old General Executive Board and the membership of the International upon this happy result of the convention. Thanks to the wise leadership of the last four years there were no serious issues before this convention. The administration signalized its term of service by fortifying the organization and preparing the way for fresh efforts and new conquests.

And now, sisters and brothers, ladies' garment workers, let us march onward, our banner flying high and upon it the old, yet new, slogan: "Agitate, educate and organize!"

INDUSTRIAL LIBERTY!

"O, give us Liberty or give us Death!"
So, say we now, as statesman spoke of old;
As freemen born, it is our very breath,—
Without it, worthless all Earth's gems and gold.
The liberty to live, to work, to play,
To exercise the right to read, to rest,
To think, progress; look up to God and pray,—
This we call Liberty—life at its best.
Complaining not of life's unequal race,
We toiled to make this world a better place;
But now war's shadow sweeps across our land.
And tyranny usurps world-wide command,
There's but one answer—Give us Liberty,—
A world made safe for true democracy.

—Margaret Scott Hall.
A Historical Review

President Schlesinger's Response to the Address of Welcome to our Delegates by Andrew J. Peters, Mayor of Boston

I thank you heartily in the name of the delegates, and in the name of the tens of thousands of our members they represent, for your kind meetings. We shall most certainly take advantage of your hospitality, and visit all the famous places and spots which you have recommended to us, in order to get a personal touch of the great events, which have, deservedly, crowned Boston forever in the history of our country as the "cradle of liberty."

This is the third time that our organization meets in convention in the city of Boston. Each of these Boston meetings represents a distinct period in the life of our organization. We met here in 1904, when our government, although four years old, only had the strength of a newly-born infant. Our membership at that time amounted to about one thousand, and the prospects for our growth were very slim, indeed.

I recall that the main discussion at that Convention centered on a resolution to disband the international. I really do not know whether the International has to thank the common sense of the thirty-one delegates who constituted that convention for the fact that it had remained alive, or that its thanks are due to the guiding spirit of the good old City of Boston. At any rate, it was that Boston convention in 1904, which gave our International a "lease on life."

Six years passed from that convention, and our International came again to meet in Boston. That was in 1910. Our membership at that time already totaled fifteen thousand, but our influence upon the industry was of no more consequence than in the years that preceded it, and the working conditions in our large and rich trades were just as bad, if not worse. Starvation wages, intolerably long hours, unsanitary shops, and a horrible system of blacklist against union men, were in full swing everywhere.

The employers were the absolute rulers in the shops, not merely in theory, but in actual practice, and they certainly lorded it over their workers in the true style of petty tyrants. From time to time, the more intelligent workmen in the trade would rebel against this slavery, and shop strikes would occur. These strikes, however, as a rule would result in defeats, as poverty and oppression on one hand, and injunctions, the police, and the gangsters which the firms employed against them, on the other hand, would drive the workers back to the shops, under even worse conditions than before.

When we assembled at Boston in the year of 1910 at our tenth convention, we were all deeply stirred with the sentiment and conviction that we must make an end to the conditions which kept in abject slavery the one-quarter of a million of men and women in our industry.

The past had convinced us that those conditions would not be abolished unless the International succeeded in kindling the flames of rebellion in the hearts of the exploited workers; unless the International would call a general strike in the cloak and suit industry of New York, because the conditions of the sixty thousand workers in that industry in particular, were worse than the conditions of any other of our trades, and in New York more so than in any other city.

That convention did decide to call out the sixty thousand cloak, suit and skirt-makers of New York on a general strike, and have them stay out, no matter what suffering and starvation was in store for us, until the manufacturers felt compelled to recognize our human and civil rights. The result of that strike, I doubt not, is pretty well known to you,—first, because that strike and its settlement were fully described and printed in the publications of the United States Department of Labor and secondly, because the settlement of that strike was brought about through the kind efforts of your distinguished citizen, now Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis. That strike lasted ten weeks and it ended with
the full recognition of the union in the entire cloak industry of New York and with the granting of the most important items of our just "bill of grievances" by the employers.

So you see, Boston has played quite a role in the life and development of our International. In 1904 Boston wouldn't let us die; and in 1910 Boston inspired us on to the big wide path of life; and because Boston was so good to us during the most critical hours of our existence, we couldn't think of another place where to celebrate the progress of our organization this year than in the city of Boston.

Yes, our organization has every reason to be proud of its progress. Instead of fifteen thousand members in 1910, we have at present a membership of over one hundred and twenty-five thousand. We are today the fourth biggest International Union in the American Federation of Labor. Our International is one of the biggest labor unions the world over, and we do not let any opportunity pass to use its power for the interests of our country. Every one of us considers himself a part of the big labor movement and a part of the great republic—the United States.

In the great struggle pending now against Junkerdom, our International has given, not only thousands of men for the Army, but has full-heartedly responded to all the appeals President Wilson has addressed to the American people in connection with this war. True, our conceptions regarding the rights of the workers are quite different from the conceptions which prevail among many of our co-citizens. We are decidedly opposed to the interpretation and application of a number of existing laws regarding working men and women. We emphatically oppose the idea that in a free country like ours injunctions prohibiting workers to strike and peacefully picket should be allowed to have sway, as the case was only a year and a half ago right here in Massachusetts, in the city of Springfield, where three hundred poor and underpaid girls were on strike against the Bay State Corset Company for a slight increase in wages and shorter working hours, and had their aspirations crushed by an injunction; or as the case was in Chicago a year ago, where two thousand girls in the waist and white goods industry were on strike against intolerable working conditions, and the striking girls were treated by the judges and the courts as if the latter were agencies of the manufacturers.

But, even though we strongly resent actions such as these, which are enough to undermine anyone's confidence in democracy and justice, we are nevertheless faithful and loyal citizens of this republic, and as I have said already, we have done and will do as individuals and as an organization, everything to help our government in its mighty struggle against despotism and militarism.

Yes, Boston is a city full of interesting and inspiring memories to our International Union, and in having kindly accepted our invitation to appear and address our delegates, you, Mr. Mayor, have but once more confirmed our opinion of Boston's big-heartedness and hospitality, and laid the foundation for an ever-recurring desire on the part of our membership to come back to Boston again and again. Accept our cordial and sincere thanks. (Tremendous applause).

NEW RELATIONS PREDICTED

Atlantic City, N. J.—The relations between capital and labor will undergo rapid and radical changes during the period of the war, according to Governor Harrington of Maryland, who, in an address to 300 Maryland bankers, declared amid cheers that America needed the war to free it from the shackles of classism. Out of the chaos of war will come almost a new world, he predicted.

"The nobility of labor will be the new creed," said Governor Harrington. "Labor and capital will be partners in a new business and government will exist for the equal enjoyment and protection of us all.

"Our country needed this war to awaken the latent spirit of good-will and brotherhood underlying the surface. There is not a banker in the country who has not felt the deeper thrill of happiness or joy of living during the last year of service than he has felt during his whole life before."
Labor's Progress in Spite of the War
Remarkable Address of Morris Hillquit at our
International Convention in Boston

Brother Schlesinger, Brother Baroff, delegates to the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union:

When I look at you assembled here, listening to speech after speech, I am somehow inclined to doubt my friend Yano of Yano's statement that this is a holiday for you—that you have been working hard the year long, or two years long and then you have been given two weeks of amusement, recreation. It seems to me, on the contrary, that this convention is a sort of punishment to you. For two years you have had your fun with your bosses, and now your officers and your organization, in substance say to you, "We'll get you together behind closed doors, and then will inflict speech after speech upon you and punish you for all the good times you have had in the past." (Laughter)

When I had the pleasure of speaking to you at the last convention, the country was at peace. But we had a record of fight and struggle. We had just gone through one of the greatest legal battles in the annals of the American labor movement fought out in a criminal court of New York. We had just gone through a series of strikes in various industries which probably were among the most severe in the history of your union.

Now, when we assemble again and our country and the world are at war, we have practically a record of peace, at least comparative industrial peace, a record of growth, and a record of achievement.

Within the last two years, the principal work of the International has been the work of organization, of internal reconstruction, with the result that the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union today stand on a more solid basis, on a more firm foundation than ever before. And you are assembled here for the purpose of solidifying your gains, of planning future campaigns for the improvement of the lot of the one hundred thousand workers, men and women whom you represent, and to whom you are responsible.

Beware of a False Sense of Security
And one of the thoughts that occurred to me, first of all, and probably occurs to all of you, is that it would be a great mistake to lull ourselves in a false sense of security, to say that we have accomplished all we could have been expected to accomplish, that the future is bright and serene, that we have finished our struggles or the greater part of our struggles; that we can settle down to a period of comparative quietness.

Any labor union, and particularly one of the type of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, can only grow, can only survive if it remains a fighting organization, mindful at every hour of the day and every day of the year of the great task, of the great problems of that organization. The fact that we have had perhaps a good season here or there, or in most of our industries—the fact that we have succeeded in raising the wages of the majority of the men and women engaged in our industry—is in itself by no means a sufficient accomplishment. We must bear in mind that we have yet very much more to accomplish than what we have accomplished. In the first place, these are exceedingly troublous times for the whole world, but for the workers especially and particularly. We must not forget that the first duty to ourselves, to the labor population of the country, to the generations of workers to come, is to maintain and to improve the living standards of the workers in times of war, as well as in times of peace. And in times of war it becomes a particularly live, important problem, for this reason: that there is not one among our employers, as among the employing class generally, who is not ready to take advantage of the world-calamity to coin the misery of the war, the misery of his
fellowmen, into dollars and fortunes for himself, to accumulate vast wealth in times of war and on account of war, and at the same time try to hold down the workers to the lowest possible level, on the plea of patriotic duty; to discourage and decry any effort on the part of the workers to barely maintain the pre-war standards, on the assumed ground that such an action would introduce disturbance in the industry during the war, while they themselves never hesitate to introduce any disturbance, any upheaval for the sake of their sacred profits.

We Must Have Living Conditions

And this applies particularly to our own industries, as we have had every reason to learn.

Now, I want you to bear in mind that while it is true that we have accomplished something, and something more or less substantial in the matter of increasing our wages, that the cost of necessaries has practically doubled since the beginning of the European war, that it has increased about 25 per cent with the last year alone, and that unless the wages of the workers keep pace with this growing cost of necessaries of life, your wages, actually, will have decreased, and not increased. So we have before us quite a serious struggle to bring up the standard of life of our workers, to bring up their wages to a point where they will yield them the same living conditions as they enjoyed before the war.

And this will by no means be the end, for we must not forget that the object of the labor movement is not merely to maintain the standards of the workers, which, as a rule, are altogether too low; but to increase them, to increase them constantly, to increase them steadily, to increase them until such time as the workers will be enabled to actually and fully enjoy their rightful share of the good things of the world, until such time as they will take their legitimate place in life. So long as there remains any exploitation of the workers, so long as a particle of your work is taken by others, taken by a class of parasites who thrive upon your labor, so long does your struggle remain before you, so long must you continue striving steadfastly, tirelessly, day after day, until you have come into your own, into your full inheritance in life, until such time as the working class is fully emancipated from all economic exploitation.

Not Purely a Bread and Butter Movement

And this is only one great object that you must have before you. There are other things. In these conventions of ours we don't transact just pure, dry, routine business, and it is well that we should not. It is just as useful, it is probably more useful, more important, to pass a few days in general deliberation of subjects of greater, larger vision than your immediate shop tasks. For after all, we do not live by bread alone. And after all, the labor movement is not purely, exclusively, a bread and butter movement. It is a spiritual movement as well. The labor movement is and ought to be a live, moving force, making for a better life. For after all, this is the great importance, the great significance of the labor movement. For each and every individual of you, of course, his immediate conditions, his immediate improvements, his immediate raise of wages is a matter of tremendous importance. For your fellowmen at large, for the world at large, the greater importance of the labor movement lies in this, that it is the greatest factor in the world today moving towards social progress and holding out a promise of world redemption. And this feature of the labor movement, the spiritual side of it, is particularly important at this time in the world's history, when every other factor making for progress and every other institution is breaking down, or has broken down, and when the labor movement of the world has remained the one great force towards which all men and women of idealism can turn their eyes with expectation, with hope, with promise of a better future.

Peculiar Paradoxes of the War

One of the peculiar paradoxes of the war has been just this, that it has advanced the labor movement, all over the world. Today, the organized labor movement of the working class all over
the world stands out as the power, as the only power in the world. There have been a great many factors which have contributed to it. They are important—all of them.

In the first place, whatever we may think about the immediate causes of the war, wherever we may place the responsibility for its immediate outbreak, one thing is absolutely clear, and it becomes clearer from day to day, and that is that this war, the greatest calamity that has ever befallen mankind since the early days, the earliest days of its history; this war which has turned the entire civilized world into a house of savages and barbarians, this war has brought about and is being continued through the governments of the ruling classes of the world. If, five years ago, we did not have an autocratic, militaristic, capitalist regime in Germany and Austria, if five years ago there had been no dynasty of Hohenzollerns or Hapsburgs, if five years ago England and France and Belgium and all other countries were not under the rule of the governing classes, the classes who were rivaling with each other for international markets all the time; if five years ago Europe were under the domination, under the actual government of the workers, the people of the various countries, just as Russia is today, we may be sure this tremendous calamity which has befallen mankind would have been averted.

All the millions and millions of human lives that have been destroyed, all the tears of the millions of workers, all the misery of the nations of the world would have been spared if the people, the working class, had ruled the world, instead of their employers, instead of the governing classes, as was actually the case.

And this fact, incredible as it is, makes an ever stronger appeal to mankind at large, to the working class in particular. Hence, although we find that even while the workers—just as well as any other class of the population, and perhaps more so, probably more so—are today busily engaged in the unremitting task of murdering and killing each other, nevertheless the workers themselves feel that in them—in their unity, in their control, lies the hope and the salvation of the world.

Rise of Natural, Instinctive Democracy

And then also there has been another great feature in this war, which has advanced the labor movement and the Socialist movement to the first place, and that is the natural, the instinctive democracy which the war has brought about. I don't mean that democracy which we find in the treaties or in programs; I don't even mean that democracy which is granted by laws. I mean the impulsive human democracy, which in the face of a great crisis sees the man and the woman behind the person, behind the person of every class, behind the person of every rank, behind the person of every condition. I mean the kind of democracy which comes from a community of struggle, from a community of suffering and aye, from the suffering of that great leveler of all unequal conditions, the inexorable, cold death, which is no respector of persons, which mows down the rich and the poor, the distinguished and the obscure, with the same impartial, cruel sweep of its bony hand. I mean the democracy which in the face of a world struggle and world crisis instinctively discards the artificial distinctions which have been erected in the course of centuries between men and men, and men and women.

Definite Tendency Towards Collectivism

And then there is also another great tendency in modern times, brought about by war, which furthers and strengthens the progressive labor movement all over the world. I refer to the institutions of collective ownership, management and control of industries, which have been brought into all civilized countries as a war measure or war necessity. We all know our so-called war-Socialism is not the Socialism we are striving after, or the labor movement is striving after, consciously or unconsciously. It is not a democratic collectivism. It is not a working class collectivism. It is a collectivism imposed from above. It is a collectivism meant not primarily for the benefit of the working class, but meant primarily as a war measure.
Morris Hillquit Addressing the Convention. President Schlesinger, Secretary Baroff and Members of the General Executive Board on the Platform. The flag of Our International Union Visible Near Hillquit's standing figure is the Beautiful and Artistic work of Our Bonnaz Embroidery Worker's Union Local No. 66, Presented by the Local to the Convention.
But with all that, the world cannot remain blind to this sublime fact; that in the face of national and international danger, all slogans about the sanctity of private property, about the rights of the owning classes, all disappear as if they had never existed. The collectivity of the people—the nation, as such proclaims, if not by word then by deed; that all that we have and own, all that we are, we own and save and are in trust for the community and not by virtue of any alleged sealed right of the private individual; that it is the collectivity of men and women, who in the last analysis are entitled to the world and the fullness thereof; that it is the living men and living women, who constitute the human race for whose benefit the world was created, for whose benefit the whole wealth of the world is there; that it is the aim the object and the purpose of the world—of all governments of the world—to sustain the life of every Nation, and to sustain the life of the whole world and to sustain the life of every man and woman, and that the humblest born worker comes into the world with the same claim to existence, with the same right to live, as the most exalted in birth or station.

It is this tendency towards collectivism, this great recognition of the rights of the human race as such over individual rights, which has revolutionized and is revolutionizing public attitude, and is advancing more and more the cause of the radical labor movement and of Socialism.

Growing Appreciation of Spirit of Internationalism

And there is another nature, and that is that for the first time, probably in the history of the United States have the people, the large masses of the American people begun to be trained into the appreciation of the spirit of internationalism. Up to the war anyone who called himself an internationalist was considered a sort of outcast. Why, it was not even quite safe to call your union or similar union international unions. An internationalist, in the eyes of the average, unthinking American, was a man without a country. An internationalist meant a man who had no patriotism. Patriotism stood for the narrow love of one's own country, coupled with an implied opposition to all other countries. Today, we are fighting—so it is said—to make the world safe for democracy; not the United States alone; not our own country; no! the world! Today we are enunciating—announcing rather, peace programs, programs of reconstruction, which embrace the entire world. The authorized spokesman of the United States, the President, says—and you must assume he speaks for the people—that this war has for its aim a state of affairs in which every nation, large or small, will be equally free, equally safe; that no peace will be made which will benefit only one country at the expense of the other.

The sense of international adherence, whether the various protestations are sincere or not sincere, does not matter, but the principle of international adherence, the recognition that the world does not end with the United States, the realization that the nations of the world are as closely linked together within our own country, the recognition that no single nation, no single section of the human race can work out its own salvation, that no nation can be free so long as one single nation anywhere in the world is enslaved, this recognition has grown immensely. (Great applause).

And I don't know to what extent you appreciate the symbolic value of even such simple, prosaic things as our war bread for instance. When you get up in the morning and when you get a roll for your breakfast that you cannot determine the composition of, and you don't know whether it is made of rye, corn, barley, salt, pepper, or whatever it may be, and when you know that all over the United States similar bread is eaten—well, it may not be very tasty, not as tasty as pure wheat, but when you think that that means that each and everyone of us and every man, woman and child in the United States is giving away part of his food, of his wheat to people, men and women, in different European countries, who have no bread at all; that they are giving it away voluntarily, because they recognize that the
people of other countries are human beings as well as we are, and are entitled to live as well as we—when we have come to the point of sacrificing our personal efforts for the benefit of foreign races whom we don't know personally, then I say to you the practical application of the principle of international solidarity has made more progress in this country within the last year than it had made in a century before.

All these are not things desired or designed by anybody. I don't want to say that the war in having produced these indirect effects, has justified itself. I don't want to say that war thereby has become an instrument of social progress. War remains a barbarous, inhuman, uncivilized institution with all that. But nevertheless, the indirect results of that war have been and are growing steadily in the direction of strengthening all the principles of the progressive and radical labor movement and Socialistic movement all over the world, with the result that everywhere we find the labor movement growing spiritually as never before.

Russia in the Vanguard of Social Progress

With all the cry of our bought press, of our narrow-minded statesmen against the present regime in Russia, we know nevertheless, that there is a great, tremendous country, with a large population, a country that has heretofore been the darkest resort of the darkest reaction, standing today in the vanguard of democracy, in the vanguard of social progress, in the hands, all through from top to bottom, of the people themselves, of the working class, the peasants, (great applause).

And I believe I am safe in saying, that for the historian of the future, the revolution in Russia will be of greater importance than the entire war. The war will pass some day; it cannot last forever. Conditions in the world will be readjusted. But the fact that one of the greatest countries in the world has broken away from the old capitalistic moorings, has once and for all turned a new page in history, a page of the domination, of the control, of the rule of the people, instead of rulers, the fact that this country has broken all past traditions, all past prejudices, the fact that it has created a living idea for the workers of all countries to follow—that cannot pass without the most vital effect upon the whole world.

The present regime in Russia may change. It need not necessarily be Lenin and Trotsky forever. They are undoubtedly great leaders. But if Lenin had remained in Switzerland and Trotsky in the Bronx in New York, the Russian revolution would have gone on just as well, and if there should be any change in the administration, one thing is absolutely certain—autocracy, capitalism, oppression are dead in Russia. (Cheers and tremendous applause).

Russia is bound to recover. A great country like Russia cannot be dismembered forever. The people of Russia who have known how to overthrow their Czar after a subjugation of hundreds of years, will know how to get rid of their Teutonic despots, or any other kind of attempted despotism. (Applause). Russia will remain the land of liberty, shedding its inspiration to all other countries of the world.

Marvelous Transformation of British Labor

And then, Russia was not the only country that had such a marvelous transformation. There was another revolution, less spectacular, less picturesque, less appreciated generally, but probably almost as significant, and that is the revolution, the spiritual, moral revolution and the political revolution which has taken place in England, particularly among the working classes of England. There we had a large body of men, numerically stronger than any other class in the country, for years and generations leading an existence and carrying on a struggle for mediocre liberalism, if you want. We have had a working class in England, an organized working class movement, very much similar in type and spirit to that of the average organized union in the United States. It was not a very high nor very inspiring type.

And within the last three years, particularly within the last year or less than that, the British Labor movement, under the lessons of the great war and the world catastrophe, has been regenerated, has changed, has grown to gigantic
The Ladies' Garment Worker

stature, has become a power in the land, a power in the world. It was the British Labor movement which has given the world the first definite charter. It has turned to a bewildered mankind, in this general chaos wrought by the havoc of war, and has said: Fellowmen and women all over the world, look what you have got yourselves into by this inhuman organization of society today. Civilization will never survive if this form of world organization continues. We must begin remodelling the world. We must begin rebuilding it anew. We propose to build it on the foundation of true democracy, true liberty, true brotherhood, equality among nations, full rights, full independence for every nation; equality within each nation, equality not merely in name, not merely as a political right, but equality in life, equality of opportunity. We must have a series of commonwealths based on social justice, and a free federation of all such commonwealths encircling the globe. We must build a new world which will put an end to all strife, to all struggles within each nation, to all wars among nations. We must rebuild it radically from the foundation up—a world of co-operation, a world of labor, a world of freedom and a world of enjoyment!" (Great applause).

And this new charter, given to us by our fellow-workers in England, is a charter given to the working class of the whole world. It is not a general program for the diplomats in the various countries. It is not even a request upon the governments of the ruling classes of the different countries. It is a resolve, a determination that the working class of the world will make over the world as a working class world! (Tremendous applause).

And that is why the most progressive workers of all countries, of France and of Italy and of most of the neutral countries, have rallied to that great, redeeming program. And that is why it becomes our duty in this country to make that program a living reality here!

Backwardness of American Labor Movement

Friends, there is a serious word I want to say to you in conclusion. And that is, while we are celebrating our own success, and while we are extolling our own victories, our own progress, let us not overlook the fact that the working class movement in the United States on the whole, has remained at this time the most backward in the world. Let us not forget the fact that of all the great labor bodies in the world, the great organized labor body of the United States is the only one that has practically forgotten nothing and learned nothing from this great world catastrophe. (Applause).

The great new vision which the workers all over the world have exhibited has so far had little appeal in this country. The average organized worker is repeating the old slogans in the old way, as if nothing at all had happened in the last three years, and particularly in the last year.

And I say, if we are to retain our place in the great fraternity of International Labor, if we are to do our share in the world reconstruction that is to fall to the task of organized labor, some detachment of American labor must take up this task. And there is no more glorious task before you. There is no greater, no better task before you, than to place yourselves, your International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, one of the most progressive organizations in this country, at the vanguard of the American Labor movement. Give it new growth, new inspiration, new ideals! Call it to fight for the cause of Internationalism! (Loud and prolonged applause).

Comrades, let us not rest on the laurels of our achievements. We have been victorious, but don't forget we have only made the first step along the long, long distance of our struggles. Let us leave this convention with an organization and with a spirit behind us, which will mean determination to fight this great fight until the end, to continue our struggles in every way for the achievement of the ideal of the labor movement. For the great social ideal that animates us all! Carry on your struggles with increased vigor, materially and morally, economically and politically, nationally and internationally! (Prolonged and ringing applause.)
Workers Should Prepare for the Coming Change
Address of Abraham Cahan, Editor of the Jewish Daily Forward at our Fourteenth Convention in Boston

Comrades, Mr. Chairman, President of your glorious institution and organization: It really is a source of gratification and satisfaction to see your remarkable organization in its present shape. I have come from New York this morning to be with you and to convey my greetings in behalf of the Jewish Daily Forward and everybody connected with the Forward Association, and I think I may add, of every trade union man in the ranks of the Socialist movement in the city of New York and elsewhere.

If you will permit me to spend a minute and a half, I shall explain why I have failed to turn up sooner. I actually was sick when the convention of the Amalgamated took place in Baltimore. I had been looking forward with pleasure to attending the two conventions, greeting the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Baltimore, and then proceeding to this city to greet you, but I was taken ill and I was encumbered by a tremendous mass of work which made it absolutely impossible for me to get away from New York. That is why I was deterred from going to Baltimore and I had not expected it would be possible for me to be with you here.

But I began to receive all sorts of telephone calls in New York, from our own people and from this city and from other cities, that the Forward must be represented here in flesh through its editor to tell you how dear you are to our hearts and how we cherish an affection for you and more particularly how we cherish the wonderful growth that you represent here at this gathering.

I intended to be present at the opening of the convention in Baltimore, because the Amalgamated is another great organization that we are very proud of. (Applause). And let me tell you that it was a profound source of satisfaction to us when we heard that you sent greetings to that organization, officially, in the name of your body. Let me also add the hope that in the very near future your influence will be exercised in such a way—it has been exercised already—to pave the way for the reception of the Amalgamated, as a member, into the great body of trade unions in this country, the American Federation of Labor. (Great applause).

Really, comrades, it is heartbreaking to think—the very thought of it is a source of grief to every progressive mind—that such a great industry as the men's clothing workers, is entirely left unorganized so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, all on account of some antiquated policies or politics. Now your International stands for everything that is progressive in the American Federation of Labor. You are all exercising your influence in the right direction. You have been doing that excellent work all along. Let us hope that your will will prevail and that at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, directly through your efforts and participation, the Amalgamated will be received with open arms by the other unions in this country. (Great applause).

There are so many things to congratulate you upon. One of the things that I have vividly before my mind just now is the way you are conducting your meetings in English, and Comrades Ervin of the Call bent over me—he happens to be a Yankee—never learned to speak Yiddish or Italian—and he said, "Is it not beautiful to see these people speak English so well?" And I told him that most of you learned English in this country. Now let me be very frank with you. Of course very few of you delegates have gone to college, or perhaps some of you never saw the inside of a school. At home, in the old country, you used to think that a tailor or anybody who does any work on clothing, is what we call in Yiddish an "am horotz," or a boob. Now the Jewish organization of the Bund has reorganized the mental status of the tailor. Some of the best brains of the labor movement in Russia have sprung from those tailors. You have illustrated this today by the way you have conducted your debate on a subject which is rather dear to my
heart—it happens to be along the line of my trade—and you all, with the exception of two or three, spoke in excellent English, which is another tribute to your brain-work and your ability and capacity. Is not this something for every man that is interested in the labor movement to glory in a sane exhibition of your intellectuality? And is it not this a good excuse for me to congratulate you again upon your wonderful work that you are doing and the wonderful lot of boys you are—and girls too? (Laughter and applause).

I sat there thinking of the way you are considering your affairs and an old philosophical phrase drifted into my brain. There was an old Latin phrase, the meaning of which is, "I think, therefore, I live." The philosopher came to the conclusion that he could think, he lived, because dead men didn’t think. And I said to myself, "While these deliberations are going on, the International Union, the International organization—that great union of needle workers in the ladies’ line is alive."

This was the great inspiration with us years ago. In those days when our movement gave birth to a child, somehow or other, the child did not live. No sooner was it born than it died and then a new child would have to be born and the same thing would occur. But now the situation has entirely changed. The children are beginning to thrive. You don’t have to go to work and organize a new cloakmakers union every year. The same organization is growing and thriving and developing in the right direction. And the proof is in the fact that they are deliberating—they are thinking. Therefore they live. You are happy and I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart upon it.

As I sat here, I went through your report of yesterday and became particularly interested in Mr. Duncan’s address. I want to say a word or two especially about the war and what is going to happen after the war and the part your organization is going to play. First of all, it would be utterly unsuitable for any man tackling the question of war not to say that there are no two opinions about it. There can be no two opinions about it. About four years ago when the war broke out, many of us were intensely interested in seeing the Russian despotic régime smashed. But the Czar has been eliminated. There is no such thing now as the throne in Moscow. That is a thing of the past, thanks to the great, glorious revolution that took place in Russia. (Great applause). And, friends, now we have a régime in Russia that is a Socialist régime from top to bottom. (Great applause). The next thing to go are the Kaisers! Is there an honest man on the face of the globe who can think and at the same time would not desire the downfall of that infamous bunch? (Tremendous applause). That bunch of highway robbers that are trying to wreck the Russian revolution for their own use, to their gain? Now that the majority party in the Reichstag, including the Social Democrats and even the Catholic Party, have been obliterated and robbed of every influence entirely, there is nothing left but the military chieftains—the Hindenburgs and the Ludendorffs—that rule Germany, and there seems to be no hope for free speech, democracy or suffrage in Germany. In the face of all that, can there be any two opinions as to who should win now?

After the war is over, there will be a new era in the life of labor in this country as well as in Europe. This war has taught us a great deal. England today is the great country of organized labor, so powerful, so strong, that the powers that be in Britain have to reckon with it; today the English labor movement is about 75 per cent. clear-cut Socialists; (applause), and in Russia the red flag is waving as the flag of the nation. They celebrated the first of May in Moscow—they combined that holiday with another great festival, the birth of Karl Marx, and this holiday was celebrated not only by trade unions, not by organizations in their private capacity, but as a national holiday. Lenin and Trotsky, every member of the organization of the government, marched alongside of the trade unions with the great flag of Socialism as their banner. (Tremendous applause).

We can trust both the Bolsheviks and the English comrades and the American comrades to defeat the designs of the
General Officers, Members of G. E. B. and Friends of our Union

Left to Right; Middle Row: Ab. Baroff, Gen. Secy; Ben; Schlesinger, Gen. Pres.; Ab. Cahan, Editor of the Daily
Forward: Levinson; M. Dashi; S. Kohn; Ry; S. Metz; Chas. Ervin, Editor of the N. Y. Call.
Top Row: S. Nino; Fanny M. Co; S. Liskowitz; G. Roewer; Burnet; L. Langer; M. Weinstein; Will Baxt.
Bottom Row: T. Halperin; S. Seidman; H. Lane; A. Silver; H. Schoolman; Elmar Rosenberg; John P. Pierce.
capitalist class. And let me tell you frankly, with perfect sincerity, from the bottom of my heart, what so far President Wilson has taken the right attitude toward the Bolsheviks (Tremendous applause). He is standing by them, nobly and valiantly, because I know he has many odds to contend with.

Comrades, a new world is coming. We are on the eve of a great new historical epoch. This country will be different from what it is now and what is has been so far. Everything will be absolutely different. We are now going through the most remarkable change in the history of humanity,—not only in the political history of humanity, but in its history from every aspect and view. Nothing like it has ever happened before. Get yourselves ready. Prepare yourselves for the great change that is coming after the war. This war is teaching a remarkable lesson to the workers the world over. The membership of the Socialist Party will be probably ten times as large as it is today about a year after the war is over.

And this is the final word. You are one of the progressive organizations of the American Federation of Labor. You are one of the few that amount to something. Everybody is proud of you. And without fear or favor, you must do your duty. Get ready to do your share to keep alive in the American Federation of Labor that progressive spirit—that spirit of Socialism. The American Federation of Labor will amount to a great deal, but only because it is getting to be a progressive body, and you who are already progressive are to be congratulated as being one of the great factors in bringing about a glorious change in the American Federation of Labor.

The Thirty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor

By A. Rosebury.

With the beginning of this month, the interest and attention of the entire labor movement of the country, and, no doubt, also of other countries, will be concentrated upon the thirty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which opens on Monday, June 10, in St. Paul, Minn.

The issue which dominated the last convention in November, 1917, was the issue of the war. A small number of delegates were not in accord with the policy of President Gompers and the Executive council of the Federation. That gave President Gompers an opportunity to bring President Wilson to the convention, defeat his opponents and leave the battlefield of the convention triumphant.

But that issue has been obliterated, and at the convention in St. Paul there will not be a single delegate entertaining pacifist views. The entire labor world in America, even the radicals of the radicals, supports our government in the view that the war must be energetically carried on to save the world from a militarist jurkern domination. All thoughtful people now see that Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria are backward nations whose governments have never believed in popular freedom and rights of peoples. The action of Germany in Russia shows clearly that Germany would introduce the same “order” in England and France and even in America if these countries were compelled to make peace on her terms. This conviction is uppermost in the minds of the entire labor world in America as in England and France.

The tremendous sale of Liberty Bonds in the unions, and among the working men and women who, seven months ago, were indifferent to the war, has taken the wind out of the sails of the Alliance for Labor and Democracy—the organization that President Gompers had especially organized—and which had occupied so much time at the Buffalo convention. President Gompers can no longer make patriotism an issue, because all labor is now truly patriotic. All stand for America and against its enemies. All perceive that America
JUNE, 1918

has, through its President Wilson, shown itself to be the most freedom-loving and progressing country.

Thus there remain only the usual questions before the convention in St. Paul. According to the convention call issued to the affiliated unions they are not new questions. "To broaden the field and means for the organization of the yet unorganized workers; to strive to bring about more effectually than ever a better day in the lives and homes of the toiler—to aid our fellow workers against the effort to entangle the workers in the meshes of litigation before the courts in the several States"—that is, to protect them against injunctions and contempt proceedings—these we read in the convention call every year.

The convention call also contains the following reference to the war:

To meet the new problems arising out of the war, and, while serving, struggling and sacrificing for justice and freedom abroad, to safeguard these priceless heritages in our own beloved land; the maintenance of decent standards of life, work and home in war or in peace times; to help bring about an early yet desirable and permanent peace; how that peace can be secured with the establishment and maintenance of justice, freedom and brotherhood the world over. These and other great questions of equal importance will, of necessity, occupy the attention of the St. Paul convention.

If we had not known President Gompers and his beautiful phrases we might have thought that lofty ideals are concealed in these words. But as President Gompers stands in the same position, while the whole world is in motion, we may be sure that the Executive Council will propose nothing new. It can not be expected that its members should have changed their point of view in the last seven months.

Events of a startling and important nature have, however, since transpired. The program of the British Labor party, in itself, represents considerable progress, not only for England but also for our country. The program was reprinted in a number of American trade organs, and the aspirations which the organized British workers express therein have inspired all thoughtful people in the labor movement of this country, and even outside men and women who heretofore had not sympathized with the trade unions. But the official leaders of the American labor movement do not evince enthusiasm for these aspirations. President Gompers has several times tried, quite diplomatically, to belittle the British Labor program, which proves that he will not depart by a hair's breadth from his old standpoint of many years ago.

It is interesting to consider the ground for his attitude. After praising the program as a "comprehensive document, fine in spirit, tremendously hopeful in outlook"... and having "much that meets with the endorsement of the American labor movement", President Gompers says in an editorial in the American Federationist:

But the first striking contrast of fundamental importance is that the British proposal deals with Labor's achievements in the future wholly in political terms. The problems are formulated as political issues and the agency designated is the political party. In England the Labor party seeks a wider field of activity, even domination of the labor movement. In the United States conditions are different. The heart of the American labor movement is economic. Labor's welfare and protection is regarded as fundamentally an economic problem to be dealt with by economic agencies. In the future, as in the past, we must trust in the economic organization of the workers.

What President Gompers here means by the word "economic" is the application of the old, pure and simple trade union method of strikes, boycotts, etc., ignoring political action.

Thus President Gompers personally stands in the same position as he stood twenty years ago. It was just then that the British trade unions had abandoned that position, and have thereby gained immensely. The British trade unionist today has a wider outlook. He seems to be educated, informed and conscious of his aims. He is advanced and expresses his aims in the spirit of the times, and for his more comprehensive program he has to thank the fact that he combines his economic with his political struggles.
If the American Federation of Labor had applied no political methods at all; if it had not sought the enactment of new labor laws and the amending or appealing of laws injurious to labor; if it had nothing at all to do with politics and had not supported political campaigns, opposing political methods in every shape or form and decreeing at its conventions that its affiliated unions shall take no part in political action—then the opinion of President Gompers would be, at least, consistent, although not in harmony with the spirit of the times. But the American Federation of Labor is a political organization. All its affiliated unions, internationals or local unions, are tremendously interested and active in politics. But they are divided and disunited. Some are in favor of the Republicans, others are enthusiastic for the Democrats, while others again are devoted to the Socialist party. The same state of things has prevailed in Great Britain before the Labor party was formed.

The result of this policy is that what the American workers gain on the economic field, through strikes and trade union agitation, they run the risk of losing through legislative bodies and court injunctions because the elected representatives of the old parties do not desire to see the labor movement grow and become the dominant power in society.

Will the spirit of the British labor movement be felt at the St. Paul convention? The Buffalo convention, specially changed the date of the convention from November to June to be afforded a better opportunity to arrange for the annual political campaigns. Does this mean that the affiliated unions will, at least realize that the old tactics are dead and the present condition necessitate the adoption of new tactics and perhaps, in a certain sense, following the example of the British workers?

In the British Labor party all progressive organizations, from the trade unions to the most revolutionary Socialists, are joined together. This unity has been realized gradually, in the last twenty years.

The British Railway Workers’ Union had been involved in a court process, which on appeal had reached the highest court in the land—the House of Lords. This august body sustained a decision of a lower court awarding the railway company $100,000 damages from the union funds. That award revolutionized the minds of the British trade unions, and since then their conviction has been growing that in order to strengthen their economic position they must become a political power in the land, and their wish has been largely realized.

What prevents similar progress in America? Why can not similar unity be realized here, too? Are the two national movements really at variance in aims and principles or is it merely a question of persons?

Not long ago an article which appeared in the New Republic, a radical weekly published in New York, was reprinted in some labor papers. This shows that opinion in favor of a labor party, formed on the model of the British Labor party, is growing in the American trade unions. The article alluded to, says as follows:

The American labor movement has reached a stage where its interests require active participation in politics through a separate organization devoted singly to the welfare of the wage earner. Thus far, the old parties have been able to prevent the formation of a labor party by now and then throwing labor a bone.

A strong labor party is the need of the hour in this country. With Woodrow Wilson in the White House, it would act as the left wing of his support.

The New Republic often expresses the mind of President Wilson, and for that reason its opinion is of much significance. The fact that President Wilson has so heartily espoused the cause of Russia and the government of the Soviets; the fact that the British Labor party supports President Wilson’s war aims, and that these war aims express the will and wish of the conscious workers all over the world—all this is an event of far-reaching consequence that should open the eyes of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor.
A GAIN OF 400,000 MEMBERS IN SIX MONTHS
Within the last six months, from October, 1917, to the end of March, 1918, the American Federation of Labor has increased the number of its members by 378,298 and now numbers 2,691,000 members.

This increase is due mostly to the fact that in the chief industries which manufacture war materials there is a pressing demand for labor. The United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists, the organizations in the ship-building industry and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters are among the unions which have increased their membership.

The Federation comes to the convention in St. Paul even stronger. First because in the two months since March there must have been a further increase of members; secondly because the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has decided to become affiliated with the Federation.

As we all know, the four Brotherhoods of railroad workers have always been independent of the Federation. But during the agitation for the eight-hour day and an increase of wages for railroad workers when a strike was seriously threatened, the American Federation of Labor rendered the Brotherhoods considerable assistance, although they were not affiliated with it, and ever since then a favorable sentiment for the Federation has been created in the ranks of the railroad workers.

Only last month the president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen in an address to railroad workers praised the organization methods of the Federation as against other methods, and declared that now was the time to help the American Federation of Labor in its organizing work among the hundreds of thousands of unskilled railroad workers. This would seem to indicate that sooner or later this and the other two Brotherhoods may join the Federation. In the past the railroad Brotherhoods considered themselves as a sort of aristocrats of labor. But since the government assumed control over the rail-

and all the affiliated unions to the obsolete tactics of the American labor movement. Will the convention turn over a new leaf in the history of the labor movement in America?

A few words in conclusion regarding the disputes affecting the organized Jewish workers. The questions relating to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Capmakers’ Union will call for earnest discussion. The pressure brought to bear upon the Capmakers’ Union to hand over the Millinery Workers to the United Hatters of North America, and the latter being forced to transfer their allegiance to a new organization against their will, is by no means in accord with the principles of the labor movement. The attempt to disrupt the United Hebrew Trades is a move on the part of certain persons to promote personal interests other than those of the labor movement. The pacifist argument against the U. H. T. has vanished and the other contentions are rather flimsy. If the delegates will permit themselves to be carried away by so-called contentions and decide against the U. H. T. they will prove that they do not know and understand the value of this organization and its great work for the immigrant workers of New York.

The question of the Amalgamated is more complicated. But the delegates will do well to recognize that by hitting the United Hebrew Trades they will not reach the Amalgamated Union. The Amalgamated has become too strong, and the indirect blow will do the United Garment Workers no good. The only way is—bringing the parties together and effecting a junction of forces.
The legal tangle in the State of California arises from the fact that there is no law that such a verdict can be set aside. Mooney's defenders argued that the court may right an error and give relief where the liberty and life of a man is at stake through fraud and falsehood.

The San Francisco "Daily News" stated on good authority that the bomb outrage in the preparedness parade had been perpetrated by German agents and that the actual bomb-thrower now in South America had confessed his crime. The government was investigating the report.

An appeal for a new trial of Thomas Mooney has recently been voiced by the Trades Council of London. The communication sent by that body was to the effect that the London Trades Council had examined the evidence in the case and joins with the American Federation of Labor in the protest against the unjust sentence, appealing for a new trial.

Subsequently Judge Griffin declined to admit the arguments of Mooney's lawyers on the ground that the law does not permit him to help the accused, although he had been convicted upon false evidence, and resentenced him to be hanged in not less than sixty days and not more than ninety days from June 1.

Mooney's fate now rests with Governor Stephens, and President Wilson has again nobly intervened in urging the Governor to grant Mooney a pardon.

A strange report from San Francisco circulated last month to the effect that District Attorney Fickert, the prosecutor and deadly enemy of Thomas J. Mooney and his colleagues, intends to run as candidate for governor of California. Some time ago when the question of his recall was submitted to a referendum vote the recall proposition was defeated, and, as subsequently stated, by the working class vote. This seems to assure him that should he run for governor he might be elected. Such a thing may be believed of California which swiftly veers from radicalism to reaction.

**COAL COMPANY WITHDRAWS CONTEND PROCEEDINGS**

As reported in previous issues of this journal a court in West Virginia had issued an injunction against the United Mine Workers of America at the request of the
Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. Following this, contempt proceedings were instituted against nine officers and members of the union, including Frank J. Hayes, the president. During last month the company withdrew the contempt charge, but the injunction is still in force.

Our readers will recollect that the injunction enjoined the union from organizing the workers if they were under contract with the company. In this case there seems no doubt that contracts were forced upon the workers and the court can set aside such forced contracts. But Judge Dayton, who issued the injunction, refuses to take the forced contracts into consideration.

HOW AMERICAN GOVERNMENT REGARDS LABOR

Assistant Secretary of Labor, Louis F. Post, in a recent address at California, said:

"Labor is more important than the figures of labor cost in a business-men's ledger. Labor means that humanity is at work, earning a livelihood for humanity.

"This is the lesson of the war. The war teaches us that Lincoln was right when he said in effect that labor is prior to capital, that capital could not exist if labor had not produced capital, and capital will continue to exist only so long as labor will go on. We are dependent on labor and we all know it now.

"When Lincoln gave priority to labor he thereby enjoined the working people to beware of yielding their power. What the workers demand and have a right to demand is that when the country is in danger they should not be forced in the name of patriotism to lower their standards in order to enrich the profiteers."

The Labor Department now occupies a prominent position in the government of the country, and if Mr. Post expresses the mind of the government, the workers of America have, indeed, made considerable progress.

In connection with the above utterance of Louis F. Post it is interesting to note that the lumber workers of the forests of Oregon and the North-West, which supply the lumber for the government aeroplanes, have won the eight-hour day. Last summer the locality was seething with strikes, for which the I. W. W. was held responsible. The commission sent out by President Wilson to investigate the local trouble reported that all the unrest expressed itself in one demand of human dignity—the demand for an eight-hour day.

The workers of the district are 62,000 in number, and not long ago 200 operators of Oregon and Washington States declared in conference that they would rely on Colonel Disque, who supervises the production of lumber for the government, and they would accept his decision. Colonel Disque decided for the eight-hour day and time and a half for overtime.

Both the workers and the government are much satisfied with that decision. President Wilson, in a telegram to Colonel Disque, expressed his pleasure that the lumbermen had introduced the eight-hour day. The President felt sure that they would find their action a wise policy in every respect.

WOMEN WORKERS IN BRITAIN

Latest statistics as to the increased employment of women in England since the war are given in the British Board of Trade Labor Gazette, a government publication. The chief increases of new women workers are:

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<th>Industry</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>Industries</td>
<td>518,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government establishments</td>
<td>202,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transport and trains</td>
<td>88,000</td>
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<td>Finance and banking</td>
<td>54,000</td>
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<td>Commerce</td>
<td>324,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professions</td>
<td>20,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotels, cinemas, theatres</td>
<td>22,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postoffice</td>
<td>53,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil service</td>
<td>53,000</td>
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<td>Agricultural</td>
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The total number of women who have been employed since the war is given as 1,421,000. There are now some 4,766,000 women employed in the country and it is estimated that about 670,000 are employed now on munitions and 632,000 engaged on other government work, such as the manufacture of clothing and food for the troops.
Impressions of Our Glorious Convention

By FANNIA M. COHN

I am still under the pleasant impression of the Fourteenth Convention of our International.

I still see before me a stream of men and women leaving the boat on which they arrived at Boston and moving on under the direction of a company guard, strangers not knowing where to go, but after a while pleasantly surprised by the approach of the members of the arrangements committee wearing big badges on their breasts with the inscription "welcome delegates" and pinning on a small badge on the breast of every delegate.

The delegates coming from different parts of the United States and Canada, seem confined every one of them, to the affairs of his or her local union, and many look on the labor movement from the "Local" standpoint and seem apt to minimize the importance of their big International Union. But all the active members—the leadership of our big International—here face each other. The hundreds of delegates shake hands and unite their intelligence and experience and knowledge for one purpose—for the good of our 125,000 members.

And in the convention hall, the numerous delegates who came from the East, West, North and South cease to be mere local leaders, concerned with the welfare of their small organizations only. They cease to be local executive members legislating for the few members of their local union only. Here in the convention hall they become National Leaders, sitting in the parliament of our International Union that holds its sessions once in two years. Here, in the parliament of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the representatives of the 125,000 men and women, assemble not only to legislate and plan for the welfare of their fellow workers employed in their own branch of trade, but also for the welfare of the workers employed in other trades, because our International Union is composed of cloakmakers, waistmakers, wrappermakers, children's dressmakers, white goods workers, ladies' tailors, embroidery workers, raincoat makers, and corset workers. It is a great satisfaction indeed to watch how interested the delegates are in the well-being of the workers of all these trades as well as their own.

Furthermore, in the convention hall the delegates realize that they are members of the working class in reality instead of in theory. Not only do they plan and legislate for the big membership who live in different parts of the country, but they also discuss every question that concerns the working class as a whole.

Especially magnificent was this convention with its numerous resolutions. These resolutions will enable the future historian to study the mind of the convention and its views on different questions and the idealism that prevailed among the delegates.

From the character of the different resolutions one may learn that every question, every happening of interest to our members as workers, as men and women, and as well as progressive and radical citizens of a democracy, were touched on and intelligently discussed.

It is interesting to note that almost every resolution is of a progressive, radical and constructive character.

The discussions on such important questions as the amalgamation of the various local organs, the change of the piece work system to the week work system, and the establishment of a sanitarium were intensely followed by economists of high standing. The galleries were always crowded with important visitors.

Everyone present at this convention took pride in our International, and if one of the objects of a convention is, as many think, a demonstration of strength, a declaration of principles and an exchange of opinion, then our convention was more than a success.
Conventional Decides Upon A Weekly Official Organ

We present here the verbatim debate at the Boston Convention upon this question and a very brief history of this movement by way of preface.—Editor.

The Ladies' Garment Worker, the present monthly official organ of the International Union was begun in the month of April, 1910, at a time when the International Union had a membership of some 15,000 all told. In the first year it was in large size and was published in English, Yiddish and Italian.

Early in 1911 the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York started its Yiddish weekly, The New Post, and then also its weekly paper, Lotti de Classe, in Italian. As a result of the strike in 1910 the Cloakmakers' Union of New York had grown so strong numerically and financially that a separate publication in the interest of its large membership seemed a necessity to the leaders.

In June, 1911, the International discontinued its Italian pages and the Ladies' Garment Worker continued to appear monthly in English and Yiddish.

Towards the end of 1913, after the Waist and Dressmakers' Union had grown strong and powerful and, feeling the need of publicity to keep its large membership informed of the activity of its various departments and large staff of officers, started three local publications, in English, Yiddish and Italian respectively.

About the same time the Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters, Local No. 10, which had equally grown in numbers, started its own separate weekly Bulletin in the English language. Since then several local publications have been started here and there. Some of them had no foundation and no prospects and went out of existence. Those, however, still surviving are the "New Post" and "Lotti de Classe" published by the joint Board of New York; the "Gleichheit"; the "Message" and "L'Oparia," published by Local No. 25; the "Ladies' Garment Cutter," published by Local No. 10, and "Our Aim," published by Local No. 50—all in New York.

At the Cleveland Convention in 1914 a resolution was adopted to merge all the publications and constitute the International Union the sole publisher of the official organ of the union. But as the matter was referred to a conference of the locals publishing such organs, nothing came of the resolution. At the Philadelphia convention in 1916, the principle of merging all the publications was reaffirmed, but the resolution was not definite enough and the Joint Board of New York continued its opposition and refused to discontinue its local organs.

Now, however, when unity and consolidation has been brought about to a very large extent in all matters relating to inner organization, separate publications seem very much out of place. This the delegates to the fourteenth convention assembled in Boston seemed to have thoroughly realized.

Following was the report of the General Executive Board to the convention on this subject:

ONE INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY ORGAN

We believe that the time is ripe to carry out a fundamental reform in regard to our press, and to put it on a sound and useful basis.

There is not a single international union in the country whose locals waste so much treasure on publishing papers and journals as the locals of our International Union. The object of trade union publications is to broaden their members' views and to teach and educate them, but under the present system the separate local publication confines itself to narrow local craft interests and the reader fails to learn about the wider interests and more general labor questions affecting the members of the International as a whole.

This convention must change this system in a decisive and radical manner. All the present publications must be merged into one general International weekly organ with various departments for the various trades and a general department for general trade union and International questions. A publication of this kind would be a true educational medium for our members. By means of such an organ they would be-
come conversant with the whole organization, its various trades and the activities in all the centres of our industry.

We must have one general, great union organ, edited by capable journalists and writers; an organ which will reach all our members and inform them of all that is happening in our extensive organization. It should also be the medium of educating our members in all general questions which have a close and vital bearing upon the worker's life and labor.

So long as there were inner disputes within the union it was hard to carry out this reform. Previous conventions have discussed this important proposition, and partial solutions and half measures were decided upon. The effect to effect a thorough reform always has been under a shadow of misrepresentation. The International officers might have been charged with making an attempt to "suppress" the opinions of a section of the members, to deny them the right to free speech, etc. Consequently, this matter was postponed and kept in abeyance.

Peace and harmony now prevail in all the local organizations, and it cannot be insinuated that there is politics behind the plan. The delegates to this convention will consider this question in a logical and unbiased manner, and we are confident that they will come to the conclusion that we are right in recommending this reform. Should the convention decide to adopt this recommendation it would also have to decide that the International per capita be raised to 5c weekly,—the additional cent for the weekly publication which the locals are charging to their membership.

The debate on this question marked the first real division of opinion among the delegates at the convention, but it was conducted in good spirit. We quote it here in full:

Vice-President Perlstein, Chairman of the Committee on Press and Publications, made the following report:

Mr. President and Delegates, The Press and Publication Committee has to consider, first, the resolution adopted at the last convention and also the recommendation of the G. E. B., in reference to the publications issued by the International Union. At the last Convention a resolution was adopted whereby the Convention expressed its opinion that all the publications be combined into one, which shall be issued by the International Union. The G. E. B. was instructed to carry out this resolution, but it seemed to us that the G. E. B. was not able to do so because some of the locals—or rather one local of the Joint Board of New York—was very much opposed to this plan. To find the reason for this the Committee on Press and Publication arranged for a hearing of all the delegates of the locals which have publications of their own.

After the hearing the Committee came to the conclusion that it is absolutely advisable for this Convention to carry out the resolution and to have but one publication issued by the International. The delegates of the Joint Board, are absolutely against this. So, after a thorough discussion, the Committee decided that the question of uniting the publications should be dropped, and the question of a publication for the International should be taken up.

The International has at present a publication known as the "Ladies' Garment Workers," and the majority of the Committee are of the opinion that this publication is not sufficient; that instead of publishing a monthly magazine, the International should publish a weekly paper, which shall be sent to the home of the members of our International. A minority of the Committee are of the opinion that the publication of the International should remain in its present form. So, you see, the opinion of the Committee is divided on the proposition. The majority are for a weekly publication and the minority are for a monthly publication. The Committee is however, unanimously in favor of raising the per capita tax from four cents to five cents, to cover the publication expenses and also the expense of mailing the paper to the homes of the members.

We therefore have two reports.

My motion is to adopt the report of the majority of the Committee.

(Motion seconded).

President Schlesinger: In order that this matter may be clear, let me explain it to you as I understand it. The majority of the Committee believe that the International ought to have one publication for all its locals; that there should be no separate publications by individual locals; that that publication should be issued weekly,
in all languages, of course; and that to cover the expense of that publication the per capita be raised to five cents per week. The minority, on the other hand, believe that we ought to continue the publication as heretofore. That means that each and every local should have its own publication; that the "Ladies' Garment Worker" be published monthly, but in order to cover the expense of the "Ladies' Garment Worker," the per capita shall be raised. In other words, as far as raising the per capita to five cents is concerned, the majority as well as the minority are in agreement. The only question is whether we should have one publication for all our locals, or whether we should let things go on as they have up till now.

The motion is to adopt the report of the majority of the Committee.

Delegate Babitz spoke in favor of the minority report, in which he strongly appealed to the convention to uphold the right of any local to publish its own magazine. He approved of increasing the per capita from four cents to five cents.

Vice-President Lefkovits spoke in favor of the majority report, urging the delegates to vote for one big central organ for the International Union.

Vice-President Seidman spoke against the majority report, on the ground that it was not advisable for the International to compel any local union to give up its publication. However, he bitterly attacked the action of the New York Joint Board in opposing the amalgamation of the various publications. He stated that until the locals were ready unanimously to decide upon the amalgamation, we could not force any local to abandon its publication.

Delegate Langer spoke against the majority report and recommended that action be deferred until the matter had been thoroughly discussed by the members, as he claimed that they were not prepared for any drastic action the Convention might take. He claimed further that the "New Post" was an institution of the Joint Board and that the members would not read any other organs which might be forced upon them. He also stated that the cloakmakers had no interest in the problems of the ladies' waistmakers and that the ladies' waistmakers had no interest in the problems of the cloakmakers, and that this was a situation which could not be helped. Each industry, therefore, needs its own organ.

Delegate Berlin of Local No. 10, spoke in favor of the majority report stating that the general membership is entitled to an organ which would report conditions not only of their own trade, but of labor conditions generally throughout the country and throughout the world. He also claimed that the introduction of one large organ would do away with local "patriotism," which, in his opinion, is a bar to the solidarity of the International.

Delegate Solomon of Local No. 26, spoke in favor of the majority report.

Delegate Greenberg of Local No. 50, spoke in favor of the majority report.

Delegate La Porta stated that although his Local No. 48, was part of the Joint Board of New York, they are in favor of having one big International organ.

Delegate Weinstein spoke in favor of the amalgamation of the press.

Delegate Menke of Local No. 81, stated that although he favored a centralized organ, at the same time he did not believe that we ought to take away the various organs from the locals. He believed that if a local had the ambition to publish an organ of its own, it should be encouraged rather than discouraged.

Vice-President Metz spoke in favor of the resolution. He stated that we are big enough now to realize that the interests of all the members are one, and therefore we ought to have one organ to represent them.

Delegate Miller also spoke in favor of the resolution, stating that the membership of the International is entitled to know what was happening in the labor movement all over the country.

Delegate Kaplowitz stated that while he was in favor of having one, big central organ, at the same time he did not believe it would be just to force the locals which have organs of their own, to abandon them. He stated further that the "New Post" was an institution which had grown up with the membership and that it was dearly loved by them.

Delegate Stein stated that this resolution was by no means a new one, as it had been introduced at former conventions. He argued against the majority report on the ground that it was impractical to pass resolutions which could not be carried out.

Delegate Ellner spoke in favor of the majority report.

Chairman: Let me say just a word or
two to you on this entire proposition. Perhaps it will help to bring an end to this debate. You know that the President of the International and the General Executive Board are responsible for this debate. If we did not have the proposition about the press and publications of the International in our report, you would have never been discussing this matter at all. I admit it was our fault. I want to say to you, however, that it was not the intention of the General Executive Board to raise a new issue. For myself, I can say that if there would have been the least doubt or question in my mind about the necessity or importance of amalgamating the press, I would never have presented it to the convention. I felt—I see now that I was mistaken—I felt that there would not be a dissenting vote against that proposition.

We have today ten publications, and everybody who understands something about efficiency and economy must admit that tens of thousands of dollars are wasted, where this money could be saved; that the purpose could be covered by one publication. If, for instance, we had a weekly organ of 24 pages, you would have everything that the "New Post" contains printed in six pages, as that is about all that the "New Post" takes up, being, of course, short stories and the like, which are not of vital interest to the workers, and which they can find in the daily press. The organ of the Waist Makers' Union, the "Gleichheit," takes up four pages and they could very conveniently be placed in that weekly; we will take up six more pages with reports from locals outside of the waist makers and the New York cloakmakers and we will give up some more pages for editorials and general matters, or short stories or anything else which may be of interest to the members. By doing this the cloakmakers would not only save a great deal of money, but they would have a chance of getting acquainted with the rest of the trade. Every time that any man stands up and addresses this convention as an organization of cloakmakers, I feel hurt by it.

I assure you that if I knew that there would be any discussion on this resolution I would never have presented this matter, because I am not interested in raising new issues. I certainly expected that this would be accepted unanimously, but I see that there is dissension and a division of opinion and I am very much afraid that if there is a division of opinion on this question that we cannot force this issue. As long as there are sitting here in this hall leaders of our organization, men upon whom we rely, men whose co-operation we must have in order to make a success of anything at all, if they are opposed to it, even wrongly, we cannot expect to make a success of it. So why spend the time of this convention on this question? As long as there are others who see things in a different light, we cannot very well expect their membership of New York to stand by the decision of this convention on this particular question. We cannot help ourselves. We must admit that no matter how powerful we are, no matter how strong our organization is, it is after all a voluntary organization. There is nothing that compels our members to belong to the union. It only exists on the so-called good faith or the spirit of the membership. And because we are a voluntary organization, we must not make a decision at this convention to compel some locals to do things we would like to see them do.

My opinion is that instead of voting upon the majority or the minority report, some amendment be submitted to this convention, doing away with the minority and majority report and have the Committee submit a new report in favor of one press and one weekly organ, and a recommendation to submit to the General Executive Board not only the working out of that proposition, but also the establishing of it, when the opportune moment has arrived.

Delegate Gorenstein supported the majority report, stating that he believed if the question were now put to a vote, even those who had spoken in favor of the minority report would vote for the resolution. Delegate Feinberg made an amendment, that the entire matter of amalgamation be referred to the incoming G.E.B. for action whenever it feels that the opportune moment has arrived.

Delegate Mollie Friedman delivered a strong appeal in behalf of the majority report. She stated that her Local No. 25, although it had a publication of its own, was in favor of withdrawing it so as to establish a central organ.

Delegate Silberman spoke in opposition to the amendment, and urged that the delegates adopt the majority report.
Chairman: The Chair wants to take advantage of his right to say a few words, notwithstanding that the previous question has been called for. I want to say that I am absolutely and heartily in favor of the amendment as has been presented here.

There are many things in your local unions which ought not to be there, still you know that you cannot eradicate them. You cannot get them out if you suddenly attempt to eradicate them.

We are divided into different trades, into different organizations. In order to be able to do away with all these wrong institutions, I say it would be a very poor policy for our organization to try to force it over their heads. I believe that this amendment has laid the foundation for establishing an International press. (Applause). I admit that I am of a compromising mood about this proposition, and let me just tell you that if we would not have been in a compromising mood whenever serious questions came up, we would not have the organization that it is today. (Applause). I am perfectly satisfied with having 50 per cent if I cannot get 100 per cent. Those that insist on 100 per cent as a rule don't get anything at all, but break up their organization. I am heartily in favor of and endorse this amendment.

Delegate Margulies upon the President's suggestion summed up for the minority, stating that he thought the various locals should be allowed to publish their own organs, in which they could discuss local affairs, and that the International should have one organ for everybody, in which only matters of a general nature or interest to the workers should be published.

Chairman Perlstein summed up for the majority. He stated that every delegate should unite in adopting the report of the majority. He claimed that the delegates who favor the minority report have only constant fear in their minds that their membership would object to their supporting the majority report and that is the reason which kept them from upholding the majority report. He asked them, therefore, to act as leaders and to try to educate their members to the necessity of this action.

Delegate Langer secured permission from the chair to make a statement. He said that he wanted the delegates to be clear on one point—that the delegates of the New York Joint Board would be guided by any action of the convention and they would always stand by the International. (Great Applause).

Chairman: Delegates, I believe that the entire proposition ought to be so clear to you as though you were really publishers and editors. Nevertheless, in order to get an intelligent vote upon the proposition, I want to place the motion before you. There is a motion to adopt the majority report, which reads that the press be amalgamated into one weekly organ, published by the International, and that the per capita tax be raised to one cent a week, so as to cover the expenses of that publication.

There is another motion. I want to put it in this form, so that we all understand the proposition, and that is that the press be not amalgamated and the locals go on with their publications as heretofore, that the International continue its publication the “Ladies’ Garment Worker,” but inasmuch as the “Ladies’ Garment Worker” has been a financial burden, that the per capita tax be raised so as to enable the International to publish its organ without financial loss.

The amendment offered by Delegate Feinberg is to the effect that we adopt in principle the idea of having an Amalgamated press, but that the entire subject matter of carrying out the principle of putting it into operation be referred to the incoming General Executive Board for action, and with power to act on this matter.

Now we will take a vote upon the amendment. If the amendment is carried, then all other propositions fall away.

Upon the amendment being put to the vote, it was lost—64 for and 114 against. (Applause).

Chairman: We will now take a vote upon the recommendations of the Committee, both the majority and the minority report. The majority report was carried by a vote of 113 for and 30 against. (Applause).

Further Convention Reports in Next Issue

Owing to pressure of time and space it was impossible to report in this issue many convention matters of vital interest. We hope to publish further convention addresses, resolutions and amendments to the constitution in the July issue.—Editor.
A UNION MAN'S BUSINESS

Of all the different classes of business, the one that is neglected more than any other by its owners, is the union business. If the average businessman would neglect his business as the average union man neglects to attend his union meetings and its business transactions—which is every wage worker's business—he would go into bankruptcy in a very short time.

The only reason that a great number of unions do not go out of existence is because there are a few men in the union who realize that the true union movement is the only way to a better world—that the trade union movement can and does get them improved conditions now, and he doesn't have to wait until after death to live in a better economic life—to get a little bit of heaven on earth, nor does he have to wait until he elects some petty politician who is a member of a party that claims to be the “Savior” of the working class, and trust to luck that he may prove true to his promises.

How different conditions would be if every union man and woman would realize that the union hall is the place where their business place is located. How different things would be if every union man and woman would talk about their business (the union) as much as their employer talks about his business. I am sure if the union man and woman would be as half as much interested in their business as the employer is in his, it would not be long before this world would see the end of his miseries—the end of struggling and slaving with might and main to make a bare existence—the end of a system that works the life out of young children before they mature into manhood and womanhood—the end of a system that allows the few to have everything in life while people are living in endless misery.

SEDITIOE BILL SIGNED BY
PRESIDENT WILSON

A most drastic measure ever enacted to catch and punish the enemy propagandist was signed by President Wilson last month. The act imposes a prison sentence of 20 years, a fine of $10,000, or both on any person who—

WRITES, PRINTS OR UTTERS ANYTHING TENDING TO OBSTRUCT A LIBERTY LOAN CAMPAIGN, RECRUITING FOR THE ARMY OR NAVY, OR ANYTHING VILIIFYING THE GOVERNMENT OR OFFICIALS, OR TENDING TO INCITE RESISTANCE TO THEM, OR WHO BY WORD OR DEED FAVORS THE CAUSE OF GERMANY OR HER ALLIES.

It takes away mail privileges from persons convicted of violating it. If a man violates the act, no mail addressed to him, and none sent out by him, will be delivered.

It is one of a trio of laws President Wilson asked Congress to enact to strengthen the government in dealing with internal enemies. The others are bills penalizing sabotage and destruction of war materials, and that including women under the terms of the enemy alien law. All are now in effect.

MINERS MAKE FINE MOVE

Indianapolis,—Officers of the United Mine Workers announce that they will change the United Mine Workers' Journal from a weekly to a semi-weekly publication and will mail copies, without charge, to each of their 400,000 members. The officers say that “there are few periodicals in the world with a circulation in excess of 400,000 and no labor paper has ever been published on so large a scale.” Locals are called upon to immediately forward the name and address of each member.

This move is possible because the last convention provided for a special fund for the education of miners.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL UNION</th>
<th>OFFICE ADDRESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40. New Haven Corset Workers</td>
<td>303 Columbus Ave., New Haven, Conn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. New York Wrapper and Kimono Makers</td>
<td>22 W. 17th St., New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Cleveland Cloak and Suit Cutters' Union</td>
<td>314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Chicago, Ill., Cloakmakers</td>
<td>1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Petticoat Workers' Union</td>
<td>22 W. 17th St., New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Denver, Colo., Ladies' Tailors</td>
<td>244 Champa St., Denver, Colo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Union</td>
<td>231 E. 14th St., New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. New York Children's Dressmakers</td>
<td>22 W. 17th St., New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Montreal, Canada, Custom Ladies' Tailors</td>
<td>387 City Hall Ave., Montreal, Can.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Los Angeles Ladies' Garment Workers</td>
<td>218 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Chicago Raincoat Makers</td>
<td>409 S. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. New York Waist Buttonhole Makers</td>
<td>80 E. 10th St., New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. New Rochelle Ladies' Tailors</td>
<td>136 Union Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Montreal, Canada, Cloak and Skirt Pressers</td>
<td>57 Prince Arthur E., Montreal, Can.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. New York White Goods Workers</td>
<td>38 Second St., New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Cincinnati Cloakmakers</td>
<td>411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. New York Buttonhole Makers</td>
<td>412 W. 1st St., New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. St. Louis Skirt, Waist &amp; Dressmakers' Union</td>
<td>Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. New York Bonnaz Embroiderers</td>
<td>103 E. 11th St., New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Toledo Cloakmakers</td>
<td>813 George St., Toledo, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Hartford Ladies' Garment Workers' Union</td>
<td>60 Loomis St., Hartford, Conn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Toronto Skirt and Dressmakers</td>
<td>104 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. Chicago Ladies' Tailors</td>
<td>951 N. Hoyne Ave., Chicago, Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. Baltimore Dress and White Goods Workers</td>
<td>1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. Vineyard 'Cloakmakers' Union</td>
<td>H. Miller, 601 Landis Avenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75. Waterbury Ladies' Garment Workers</td>
<td>54 Burton St., Waterbury, Conn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76. St. Louis Cloak Operators</td>
<td>Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. Ladies' Tailors, Alteration and Special Order Workers</td>
<td>725 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. Chicago Cloak and Suit Cutters</td>
<td>400 N. Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. N. Y. Cloak Examiners, Squares &amp; Bushelers' Union</td>
<td>228 Second Ave., N. Y. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. Toronto, Canada, Cutters</td>
<td>110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. Toledo Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union</td>
<td>425 Parker Ave., Toledo, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. Cincinnati Skirtmakers</td>
<td>411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. Custom Dressmakers' Union</td>
<td>175 E. 5th Ave., N. Y. City</td>
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<tr>
<td>85. Toronto, Canada, Cloak Pressers</td>
<td>110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. Cincinnati Skirt Pressers' Union</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1815 W. Division St., Chi., Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88. Baltimore Ladies' Tailors</td>
<td>1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89. Montreal, Canada, Raincoat Makers</td>
<td>1138 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. St. Louis Ladies' Tailors</td>
<td>110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91. Baltimore Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union</td>
<td>314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92. Montreal, Canada, Ladies' Waist Makers</td>
<td>1271 Clarke St., Montreal Canada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Ladies' Garment Worker

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LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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