1914

ILGWU Convention Reports and Proceedings, 1914

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ILGWU Convention Reports and Proceedings, 1914

Keywords
International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union, ILGWU, labor unions, clothing workers, textile workers, garment workers, garment industry, industrial relations, conventions

Comments
The International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union founding convention in 1900 included 11 local delegates representing roughly 2000 members. Reports and Proceedings of the Conventions of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union was published annually from 1900-1908, biennially from 1908-1924, then sporadically until 1937 from which time the convention was held every three years until the union's merger with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in 1995 to form UNITE, the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. In addition to election of officers and committee reports, topics discussed include the working conditions, sweatshops, labor unity, organizing, wages and hours, union labels, boycotts, strikes, women's garment industry, labor relations, internationalism, labor legislation, labor education, women's rights, member benefits, and union health centers. The best available original was selected for digitization. Occasionally the original is difficult to read, missing pages, or partially cut off.

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12TH CONV.
JUNE 1-13, 1914
OFFICERS' REPORTS
TO THE
Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.
To the Officers and Delegates of the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. C. W. U., Greeting.

Sisters and Brothers:

As President of our International Union, I herewith submit my report of our activities for the past two years. I hope you will give it earnest consideration.

At the last convention I reported to you that our International Union had ranked as the fifth foremost International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I have the honor to inform you that during the last two years we have grown considerably in membership, and now rank as the third largest International Union in the American Federation of Labor.

Had our active members devoted as much time and energy in 1913-1914 as in 1911-1912, we should have been much farther ahead. There is, however, ground for optimism and hope for better times. We may, indeed, congratulate ourselves on our achievement, little though it is.

Our International Union has a wide field for its labors. Were we only to work harmoniously, following a well-matured plan, our membership could reach a quarter of a million.

PROGRESS MADE THROUGH HARD UNENDING EFFORTS

The little progress we have made has not been attained without difficulties. In course of the last two years we have waged the hardest strikes in the annals of the labor movement. Almost everywhere the ground was contested by well-organized manufacturers' associations. This factor in the situation gave our struggles an arduous and desperate character. Some of those strikes lasted only several days; most of them, however, were protracted from six to twenty-five weeks. True, we have lost several strikes, but we made the manufacturers feel that our Organization is a power to be reckoned with. In a number of trades, where the manufacturers had experienced strikes, and knew their effects, they realized that it paid them better to make peace with the Union and concede its demands. Thus we succeeded in concluding an agreement with the waist and dress manufacturers, practically without a strike, or a strike lasting only a few days.

In other cases where the manufacturers had never suffered from strikes it was extremely hard to come to an agreement. In others, again, the manufacturers were so desperately stubborn as to risk all their capital rather than settle with the Union.

STRIKES WON AND LOST.

At our last Toronto convention resolutions calling for sanction of general strikes came from various trades of various cities. Among the locals submitting such resolutions were the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 25; Wrapper and Kimono Makers, Local No. 41; Whitegoods Workers, Local No. 62; Raincoat Makers, Local No. 20; the local unions of Philadelphia and the locals of Boston and St. Louis.

In view of the fact that the convention was not familiar with the circumstances obtaining in every city locally, the delegates could not see their way clear to approve the said resolutions. Recommendations were therefore adopted instructing the incoming General Executive Board to investigate the conditions in every city separately and, on a favorable opportunity presenting itself, to launch a movement among the workers, and formulate demands for shorter hours, higher wages and other necessary improvements. And the General Executive Board lost no time in carrying out the recommendations soon after the convention.

THE STRIKE IN THE WAIST AND DRESS TRADE.

Upon returning from the convention, and on considering the condition of the locals, we came to the conclusion that the Waist and Dressmakers, Local No. 25, had been better prepared to undertake a struggle for improved conditions. We instructed the local to get in touch with the Cutters' Union, Local No. 10, and, together, draw up demands on the manufacturers. Organization meetings were held, at which the demands were discussed and adopted. Efforts were made to increase the membership of the local. In this, however, the Union was only partially successful.

The bulk of the employees postponed joining the organized ranks until the Union would show them that it meant business. On the strikes being called, they said, they would join en masse. Having been disappointed with the re-
Fusal of the General Executive Board to sanction a general strike in the Waist Trade toward the end of 1911, they wanted the Union to "deliver the goods" first—to call the strike—and then they would join and pay one or two dollars on account of initiation fee.

We saw no other way but to proceed with our organizing work. It struck us that, since the Waist and Dress, Wrapper and Kimono, and Whitegoods and Underwear Trades were all closely connected, it was therefore advisable to include all those branches of the Ladies' Garment Industry, with the exception of the Cloakmakers, in one general movement for making demands on the manufacturers. Accordingly our organizers were instructed to prepare Locals No. 41 and 62 for a general strike.

When the waist manufacturers, about sixty in number, who were organized in an association, and employed some 10,000 workers, heard of the strong movement in progress for a general strike, they thought it advisable to enter into an agreement and thus avoid a conflict. A preliminary conference was held in November, 1912, at Rochester, at the time of the A. F. of L. convention. The Union was represented by myself and the General Secretary-Treasurer; the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association by Walter H. Bartholomew, its manager, and there were also present Samuel Gompers, President, and Hugh Frayne, the New York Organizer of the American Federation of Labor. The parties then merely agreed to meet again in New York. At the regular conferences held subsequently, Local No. 25 was represented by Brothers Baroff, Malax, Schidman and others; Local No. 10 by a committee, while the International was represented by myself and Secretary Dyche. Occasionally Brothers Samuel Gompers and Hugh Frayne participated in the conferences. These conferences lasted for some seven weeks, and eventually both parties reached a settlement.

The manufacturers, however, contended that since the members of their Association were employing only one-third of all the workers in the Waist and Dress Trade, they were not in a position to concede the demands for improved conditions unless the Union will have organized eighty per cent. of the workers in the trade. In view of that contention we were bound to make preparations for a general strike, as otherwise we could not hope to organize the workers. At the same time we had to make this concession to the Association manufacturers: namely, as soon as they felt ready to sign the collective agreement, after the strike had been called, their employees should be called back to work, and they, on their part, promised to gradually influence them to join the Union. The Association likewise undertook to place no obstacles in the way of the Union calling out such shops as employed no union workers—a task which is usually fraught with difficulties.

January 15, 1913, was the day fixed for calling the strike. On the first day about 20,000 employees, ninety per cent. of whom were women workers, left the shops. These included some of the biggest shops in New York—shops which the Union had never expected to join a strike.

On the second day an additional 10,000 workers swelled the ranks of the strikers. The fact that the employees of the most important shops had responded to the strike call produced tremendous enthusiasm among the workers, and the entire trade was tied up. When the Association manufacturers saw that the strike had become general throughout the trade, they signed the collective agreement. This, in principle, was similar to the Protocol adopted in the Cloak Trade in 1910. There was an additional feature in the provision to establish a wage scale board, with the object of investigating the earnings of the employees, standardize the prices for piece and week workers and establish a scientific basis for insuring a minimum wage.

Another new feature was the proposition to introduce a label for certifying garments to be controlled jointly by the Union and the Association through the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

The manufacturers pledged themselves to grant an additional increase of ten per cent. after the label shall have been one year in operation. It should be noted that although the agreement is not altogether strictly observed, yet the collective understanding has helped to establish on a firm footing a Union in the Waist and Dress Trade of nearly 20,000 members in good standing.

As already indicated, we had, at the same time, made arrangements for securing improved conditions of labor in the Wrapper and Kimono, Whitegoods and Children's Dress Trades, but only in the first two named have we succeeded in organizing a considerable number of workers. In the Children's Dress Trade our organizing work progressed rather slowly, and for that
reason we decided to postpone calling a strike in that trade for a more opportune time.

In January 9 and 10, 1913, we called out the Wrapper and Kimono Makers and the Whitegoods workers. These two strikes presented greater difficulties. The manufacturers in these trades only started organizing themselves during the strikes, and it was not until five or six weeks after the strikes had been in progress that we succeeded in convincing the manufacturers that they must settle with us. The settlements effected were somewhat in the manner of the settlement in the Waist and Dress Industry. Seeing that these strikes terminated in victory, the Children's Dressmakers were prompted to follow suit, and joined the union in large numbers. Demands were quickly drawn up and sent to the employers. After conferring with them for two weeks, we finally, in the middle of March, concluded an agreement after a strike of a few days' duration.

Owing to the fact that the understanding had not been reached until the greater part of the busy season was over, and that the entire arrangement was carried out in a hurry, the settlement was not as good and as profitable to the workers as that in the other trades. What we did gain was a fifty-hour week.

All these strikes were conducted by our Vice-Presidents Polakoff, Sigman, Kleinman, Mitchell, Dubinsky, Laskovits and Witaschkin, assisted by a staff of special organizers, under the supervision of myself and Secretary Dyche.

Meanwhile we have not neglected our locals in Boston, which stood in need of better labor conditions. Shortly after the convention we directed Vice-President Sigman to proceed to Boston and strengthen the locals there. According to his report, he found the Boston locals in utter chaos. Their existence was merely nominal. A few devoted members would meet from time to time, but they were powerless to accomplish anything. After several months' hard work Vice-President Sigman finally succeeded in bringing order out of the prevailing chaos. The membership grew, and with it grew the demand for an amelioration in the labor conditions.

Owing to various causes, Vice-President Sigman was unable to stay in Boston, and we commissioned Brother Sam Martin of Local No. 10 as special organizer to follow him. Subsequently Vice-President Mitchell was assigned to continue the work.

When we felt that the field was well prepared, we enlisted the good offices of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis and Mr. Lincoln Fileno, and with their assistance called a large number of manufacturers to a conference, inviting them to discuss with us certain demands in a tentative way. At first they manifested reluctance, fearing that we had been planning a ruse, but when they saw our preparations for a general strike, they changed their attitude and met us in conference.

The cloak manufacturers of Boston were the first to consent to a conference with a view to a collective agreement. The waist and dress manufacturers ignored our move, thinking it had not been intended to apply to them, and our negotiation with the cloak manufacturers was an extremely slow and hard proposition. When we realized the slow progress made, we decided, with the consent of the Joint Board of Boston, to call out on strike the employees of the waist and dress shops. We intended to kill two birds with one stone. In the first place we wanted the cloak manufacturers to see our earnestness and determination; in the second place we thought of enlisting the unemployed cloakmakers, who went about idle owing to the unrest in the trade, in the service of the waist makers' strike. These tactics proved effective. The cloakmakers threw themselves into the struggle with life and soul, and thus helped to accelerate our negotiations with the cloak manufacturers. When we completed our negotiations the Joint Board had likewise completed passing upon the various points agreed upon, and on March 6, 1913, we called out all the workers in the cloak shops on strike.

Two days later, March 8, the Cloak Manufacturers' Association of Boston signed the following agreement:

Protocol entered into this 8th day of March, 1913, between the Boston Ladies' Garment Manufacturers' Association (hereinafter called the "Manufacturers"), and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (representing the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, Local No. 54; Pressers' Union, Local No. 12, and Cutters' Union, Local No. 73, hereinafter called the "Unions");

WHEREAS, Differences have arisen between the manufacturers and their employees who are members of the Unions, with regard to various matters, and it is now desired by the parties hereto to arrive at an understanding with regard to the future relations between the manufacturers and their employees, it is therefore
stipulated as follows:

1. There shall be no time contracts with individual shop employees, except foreman, designers and pattern graders. No deposit shall be exacted from any employee, and any deposit now held shall be returned.

2. No employee shall be discharged for his or her activity in the Union. A member of the Union illegally discharged shall be refunded for loss of time. The manufacturers will discipline any member thereof proven guilty of unfair discrimination among his employees. Both the manufacturers and the Union agree that they will discipline any of their members who are guilty of a violation of this agreement.

3. The manufacturers will establish a regular weekly pay day, and they will pay for labor in cash, and each piece worker will be paid on the regular pay day for all work delivered as soon as his work is inspected and approved, which shall be within a reasonable time.

4. All sub-contracting within shops shall be abolished. No team work or so-called 'corporation system' shall be allowed. Each member must work directly for and be paid by the employer.

5. The following schedule of the standard minimum weekly scale of wages shall be observed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Weekly Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cutters</td>
<td>24 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimmers</td>
<td>18 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coat Pressers</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coat Under-Pressers</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skirt Pressers</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skirt Under-Pressers</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Coat-Makers</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Skirt-Makers</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cutters and pressers shall work on time basis only. No week worker shall be discharged before the end of the week during which he is employed, excepting only during the first six working days of his employment.

All operators and finishers of cloaks and skirts shall be paid at the piece rate only.

During the dull season, when there is not sufficient work to employ all workers full time, all work in the factory shall be equally distributed among all hands in the various branches of the above locals, respectively, as far as practical.

6. As to piece work, the price to be paid shall be as agreed upon by the committee of the employees in each shop and their employers. The chairman of said Price Committee shall act as representative of the employees in their dealings with the employer. No employer working by the piece shall be expected to work on any garment until the price for such work shall have been agreed upon.

7. The weekly hours of labor shall consist of fifty (50) in six (6) working days during the nine (9) months commencing September 1st in each year. Nine (9) hours on all days except Saturday, which shall consist of five (5) hours only. During the remaining three (3) months: namely, June, July, and August, weekly hours shall consist of forty-nine (49) in six (6) working days; to-wit: nine (9) hours on all days except Saturday, and four on that day.

8. No overtime work shall be permitted on Saturday.

9. For overtime work all week workers shall receive one and one-half (1½) the usual pay during the present season, and be paid on not less than that basis thereafter.

10. The Union representative of a duly elected committee, accompanied by a representative appointed by the Manufacturers' Association, shall be allowed to visit shops at all reasonable times to ascertain whether Union conditions are observed.

11. Each member of the manufacturers is to maintain a Union shop; a 'Union shop' being understood to refer to a shop where Union standards as to working conditions, hours of labor and rates of wages as herein stipulated prevail, and where, when hiring help, Union men are preferred, it being recognized that since there are differences in degrees of skill among those employed in the trade, employers shall have freedom of selection as between one Union man and another, and shall not be confined to any list nor bound to follow any prescribed order whatever.

12. The manufacturers declare their belief in the Union, and that all who desire its benefits should share in its burdens.

13. The parties hereto establish a Joint Board of Sanitary Control, to consist of three members composed of one nominee of the manufacturers, one nominee of the Unions and one nominee who will represent the public. Said board is empowered to establish standards of sanitary conditions to which the manufacturers and Unions shall be committed, and the manufacturers and Unions obligate themselves to maintain such standards to the best of their ability and to the full extent of their power.

14. The parties hereto establish a Board
of Arbitration, to consist of three members, composed of one nominee of the manufacturers, one nominee of the Unions and one representative of the public, this last representative to be selected by the manufacturers and the Unions jointly.

15. To such board shall be submitted any differences hereafter arising between the parties hereto or between any of the members of the manufacturers and any of the members of the Unions, and a decision of such Board of Arbitration shall be accepted as final and conclusive between the parties of such controversy.

16. In the event of any dispute arising between the manufacturers and the Unions, or between any members of the manufacturers and any members of the Unions, the parties to this Protocol agree that there shall be no strike or lockout concerning such matters in controversy until full opportunity shall have been given for the submission of such matters to said Board of Arbitration, and in the event of a determination of said controversy by said Board of Arbitration, only in the event of a failure to accede to the determination of said Board.

17. The parties hereby establish a Committee on Grievances, consisting of six members, composed as follows: Three (3) to be named by the manufacturers and three (3) by the Unions. To said committee shall be submitted all grievances arising in connection with the relations between the manufacturers and their employees. The decisions of such committee or majority thereof shall be final. If there is a tie vote in said committee, the question at issue may be appealed to the Board of Arbitration.

18. In the event of any vacancy in the aforesaid boards or in the aforesaid committees by reason of death, resignation or disability of any of the members thereof, such vacancy in respect to any appointee by the manufacturers and Unions, respectively, shall be filled by the body originally designating the person with respect to whom such vacancy shall occur. In the event that such vacancy shall occur among the representatives of the public on such boards, such vacancy shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment.

19. Upon application in writing by either the manufacturers or the Unions, future conferences may be called to discuss any matters which may be declared necessary for the benefit of the parties hereto.

BOSTON LADIES' GARMENT MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION,

By JULIUS PRICE,
President.

L. A. ABRAMSON,
Vice-President.

Countersigned by Executive Committee:
Maxwell B. Copelof, Chairman,
Joseph Rudy,
David H. Glickman,
George Mosesowitz.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION,

By ABRAHAM ROSENBERG,
President,

ABRAHAM MITCHELL,
Vice President.

Those manufacturers who did not belong to the Association signed individual agreements, providing for an eight hour day (this having been originally the demand of the locals in Boston) and double pay for overtime. It, however, soon became evident that these conditions were burdensome to the independent manufacturers who conducted business on a small scale. It did not take long before they broke the agreements and locked out the employees. The Boston locals, though well organized, could not prevail against them.

While the movement among the cloakmakers and waistmakers was in progress the dormant and inactive Ladies' Tailors, Local No. 36, awoke from their stuper. Several mass-meetings were held and nearly 500 ladies' tailors, embracing the entire trade in Boston, joined the Union. After a strike lasting ten days the employers signed a collective agreement providing for an eight hour day, recognition of the Union and other improved conditions.

The strike of the Boston waistmakers was by no means an easy task. This proved a stubborn and serious struggle. The police displayed their usual merciless activity and made arrests right and left. We succeeded in arranging a conference with the manufacturers, but it took us ten days to confer with them before we finally reached an understanding. In some of the waist shops there were a number of scalps; this made it difficult to arrive at a settlement. However, after striking for four weeks the manufacturers signed an agreement.

Although this agreement is essentially the same as the agreement in the Cloak Trade, yet it has brought no satisfaction to the workers. The employees of this trade are girls who had no experience in strikes. They imagined that when a strike is settled the factories are turned
into a paradise over night and that all the scenes will then be burned at the stake. When they saw that these dreams had not been realized, they raised a hue and cry that they had been betrayed and sold. Their clamors had a demoralizing effect on the strikers of the independent shops, a good many of whom returned to work before a settlement had been effected. The result of their lack of experience and practical common sense was that, of late, the Waistmakers' Union of Boston hardly has been in existence.

The Strike at Philadelphia.

Acting on the mandate of the Toronto convention to deal with the trade situation in Philadelphia, the General Executive Board held its quarterly meeting ending March, 1913, in the city of Philadelphia with a view to studying the conditions right on the spot. At that meeting committees representing the locals of Philadelphia appeared and placed indisputable evidence before us that cloaks and suits were made in Philadelphia at lower rates than in any other city in America. They complained that the work hours were the longest, the shops generally far from sanitary, and that they were suffering from the evils of inside and outside contracting. The General Executive Board was convinced that the demands of the workers were absolutely just, and felt in duty bound to help them attain better conditions.

We informed the committees that we were prepared to render them all possible assistance, but could not engage in the organization work, or in the preparations for the strike, in order not to afford the manufacturers an opportunity of pretending that the cloakmakers of Philadelphia did not want a strike, but that the cloakmakers of New York had conspired with their manufacturers to drive the cloak trade out of Philadelphia. Since our people are very often inclined to believe the stories that their employers circulate against the Union, a story of this kind might jeopardize the interests of the workers. We therefore considered it advisable to let the Philadelphia locals manage their own affairs.

Early in July, 1913, Vice-President Amdur informed us that all preparations for submitting a list of demands to the manufacturers had been completed, and that a group of manufacturers were desirous of conferring with representatives of the Union, with a view to avoiding a conflict.

I immediately proceeded to Philadelphia and, together with Vice-President Amdur, we conferred with six manufacturers for two days. They told us they had no association, and that the negotiations had interested only the participants in that conference. They, however, believed that if they should agree to grant any concessions to the workers, some ten or twelve other manufacturers would follow their example.

The conferences revealed that they were not inclined to make any concessions. Their real object was to cause delay, until a large number of employees, who were rendered workless because the cutters had been laid off, would become demoralized, and on the strike being called later than arranged, the shops would be empty and the entire movement would be a fiasco.

The manufacturers offered us a fifty-two hour week, but they conditioned that we should permit work to be taken home. They would not hear of the establishment of a minimum scale of wages, but promised a general raise according to merit. They refused to have any dealings with the Union. All they were willing to concede was sanitary shops and other trifles of no importance.

At the final conference, held on a Thursday afternoon, I asked them to arrange for another meeting on the off-chance of being able to avoid a strike, but each one of them gave another excuse that they could not attend until the following Tuesday, having arranged to go to Atlantic City for a few days. We told them that our people were restless, and that undue delay would cause them to walk out of the shops without waiting for an order from the Union. The manufacturers, however, refused to recede from their attitude, maintaining that Atlantic City was more important to them than the Union and its conferences. This convinced us that their sole object had been to gain time.

On Monday, July 6, 1914, the Philadelphia locals called the strike. About 6,000 people responded to the call, tying up the whole ladies' garment trade of the city. We immediately directed thither Vice-Presidents Mitchell and Lapidus, who, with Vice-President Amdur, Brother J. Pierce, Miss Gertrude Barnum and the Joint Board of Philadelphia, conducted the strike. At a very early stage it appeared as if the strike would be short and decisive. Quite
a number of prominent manufacturers signed agreements with our Unions. Then our old and well known enemies, Morris Black of Cleveland and Philip Frankel, his scab agent, swooped down on Philadelphia, bought up all the cloth in the possession of the manufacturers, paying them dollar for dollar, and also promised them moral and financial assistance. This gave the strike a serious character. Many of the employers who had signed with the Union retreated and sent down all the Union people. The manufacturers resorted to their customary methods of violence—police brutality, hired guards and sluggers. One of our strikers, A. Kaplan, lost his young life at the hands of a scab; many were thrown into the jails and hundreds of the strikers are still under bail. After fighting heroically for twenty-six weeks, and paying away more than a quarter of a million dollars in strike relief and other expenses, we were compelled to call off the strike, because our financial resources came near being exhausted and we saw no possibility of being able to replenish them.

THE STRIKE AT BALTIMORE.

We had been informed on reliable authority, even before we called the strike at Philadelphia, that the Baltimore cloak manufacturers were preparing to make strike work for the Philadelphia employers. We therefore came to the conclusion to call a strike in Baltimore, unionize the shops and thus frustrate the devices of the manufacturers. This was done, with the result that at the end of a two week's strike all the manufacturers signed agreements with the Union, and the Union is now virtually in control of the entire trade in Baltimore.

THE STRIKE IN ST. LOUIS.

The cloak and skirt makers of St. Louis had likewise stood in need of a betterment in their labor conditions. They had several times appealed for aid to the General Executive Board. Finally our office instructed one of our organizers to proceed thither and help them realize their aims.

Then we sent Vice-President Feit and General Organizer Josephine Casey to that city. Vice-President Feit did all in his power to obviate a strike, but just then a tragic incident occurred—innocent blood was shed—and this made it impossible to restrain the workers from vacating the shops in protest. A committee had been sent by the Union to invite the employees to a shop meeting as they were filing out of a certain factory at 6 o'clock in the evening. While they were distributing the circular a number of scabs pounced upon them with knives and blackjacks, inflicting mortal wounds on them. For a number of weeks the injured members were hovering between life and death in the hospitals. This murderous act caused so much resentment among the employees of the shop in question that they decided to demand of the employer to discharge the scabs who perpetrated the bloody atrocity. On the firm refusing to send them away, all the employees walked out and were followed two days later by 800 workers from more than twenty shops.

In this strike, too, a settlement was within reach, but here also our arch-enemies, Morris Black of Cleveland and Scab Agent Frankel, his assistant, maliciously interfered, furnishing the employers with scabs from Cleveland, Chicago and other places. Despite all their machinations, the chances of victory were favorable until the end; but when, owing to trouble makers, a state of uncertainty and danger developed in New York, the General Office saw no prospect of being able to finance the strike. We held out bravely for twenty-five weeks and disbursed a sum of $33,000, but finally had to give up the struggle.

THE STRIKE AT SAN FRANCISCO.

I should mention here the general strike at San Francisco, although it involved only 300 cloakmakers. Unfortunately this strike likewise ended in failure.

On my visit to San Francisco in June, 1913, I called on a number of manufacturers whom I had known personally at New York and elsewhere. I told them that we intended to submit demands for better conditions of labor, and they replied that should the demands be moderate they would be willing to come to an agreement with the Union. In July, 1913, I received a telegram from the Trades and Labor Council of San Francisco that the cloakmakers were preparing to go out on strike and were anxious to have our advice in the matter. In view of my arrangement with the manufacturers, I feared no danger, and advised the Trades and Le' or Council to aid our people in getting together with the manufacturers with the object of drawing up an agreement. This would have been easy to accomplish if it had not been for the meddlesome interference of an element that had no connection with the trade, whose object is not to settle disputes be


between employer and employee, but to practice the class struggle. The failure of that strike may be directly traced to those meddlers.

While the manufacturers were conferring with the Trades and Labor Council, and were ready to draw up an agreement, the class struggle propagandists called the strike without the knowledge of the Council. Even while the strike was proceeding it was possible for the parties to get together and effect a settlement, but our "militant" meddlers refused to confer with the exploiters and "blood suckers." The result of those unreasonable tactics was that half the number of employers were driven out of business, and the militant noise-makers left San Francisco, while the Union had to be dissolved after standing in the field for fourteen years.

VICTORIES OF LOCALS NO. 28 AND NO. 49.

I should not omit to mention two important strikes in New York which gained substantial victories; one was in the Ladies Tailoring Trade and the other in the Raincoat Industry. The Ladies' Tailors' strike, involving 8,000 people, was short and decisive. You will recollect their troublesome experience with the Protocol of 1911, which soon came to grief because neither party to the agreement had acted in good faith and confidence to each other in the matter of adjusting disputes. They were therefore loath to enter on a similar experience in 1913. Neither were the employers in a sufficiently organized state to fall in with the idea and try to profit by the failure of the past. The Ladies' Tailors' Union, Local No. 38, therefore settled with the employers individually; and since the strike had been called in the height of the season, they succeeded in getting a substantial raise of wages and other favorable conditions, thanks to long preparation and well organized ranks.

Not so easy was the strike of the Raincoat Makers, Local No. 20. Although it had been hopeful from the start, yet it lasted five weeks. For five weeks the employers offered strenuous resistance, but about 4,000 strikers stood their ground heroically and succeeded in wresting good concessions. The collective agreement signed with the Association that had come into existence during the strike contained the following concessions: The establishment of a minimum wage, a forty-eight hour week, and other advantages of collective bargaining, such as the adjustment of disputes through a mediation committee. Together with Meyer London, our legal adviser, Vice-President Dubinsky and other active members, I participated in the conference and helped in coming to a settlement.

Many strikes on a smaller scale also occurred in various cities throughout the country, whether our International Office had sent organizers to assist in the work, and we also supported the locals concerned with sums of money as necessity demanded.

So you see how busy we have been in these two years; and although we lost in Philadelphia, St. Louis and San Francisco, where 6,000 of our members are suffering, we won in New York, Boston and Baltimore and considerably improved the conditions of about 40,000 workers who were added to our organized ranks.

THE CONDITION OF OUR LOCALS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

At the quarterly meeting of our General Executive Board, held at the end of March, 1913, at Philadelphia, it had been decided that I should undertake an extensive tour throughout the country, visit the locals and assist in their organizing work in every possible way.

I started on my journey May 14, 1913, and returned June 25th, having visited the locals in Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Cleveland, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Cincinnati. In November, 1913, while attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor I had the opportunity of visiting Local No. 28 of Seattle and of revisiting San Francisco, Los Angeles and Denver.

On returning home I wrote a series of articles for the Yiddish pages of the "Ladies' Garment Worker," giving details of the conditions of the locals; still it will not be amiss to go over the ground and emphasize clearly facts and details regarding the state of affairs in every city, separately. These will give us an idea as to how to direct our future activities.

OUR LOCALS IN BOSTON.

We have in Boston the following locals: Cloak and Skirt Pressers, Local No. 12; Cloak and Skirt Makers, Local No. 56; Cutters, Local No. 73; Waist and Dressmakers, Local No. 49, and Ladies' Tailors, Local No. 36. Were these locals thoroughly organized, we should have in Boston a membership of 5,000 to 6,000. To any regret the membership is only a half or even less than half that number. Only the Locals No. 56, 12 and 73 may be described as "unions." Locals No. 36 and 49 are merely the...
out a poor existence, and it is hard to say whether they are ever destined to get a firm and solid standing.

In the last two years we have spent in Boston a good deal of energy and money in efforts to organize the workers. Vice-President Sigman had been there three months, Vice-President Mitchell two months and Brother Sam Martin several weeks. After the strike Brother I. Epstein had been there for three months; Vice-President Lapidus assisted them for a number of weeks, and at intervals they were visited by Vice-Presidents Polakoff and Dubinsky, Secretary Dyche, Organizers Miss Casey, Mrs. Scully, Miss Baroum and myself. Yet with all these efforts we accomplished little. Of course, there are many reasons to account for this. The main trouble, in our opinion, is that there is not to be found in any of the locals in Boston one member capable of gaining the requisite respect and confidence to gather around him the unanimous faith of the rank and file and become their natural leader. The work of internal organization and administration is carried on in an ultra-democratic manner. "Democracy" is rampant; everyone rules and gives orders, but very little is accomplished. The General Office has approached several capable people, asking them to undertake the responsibility of leadership in our Boston locals, but so far without success. Our locals there are therefore not in a flourishing condition.

OUR LOCALS IN MONTREAL AND TORONTO.

Our locals in Montreal consist of Cloakmakers, Local No. 13; Pressers, Local No. 61; Cutters, Local No. 19; Raincoat Makers, Local No. 1 2/3 and recently there has been organized a Union of Waist and Dressmakers, No. 112. All these locals are united by a Joint Board, keep up an office and employ a business agent. When I arrived there in May, 1913, I found them just barely existing; members paying no dues, yet they retain their membership in the unions. No order or discipline is enforced. Every shop calls strikes at will, without applying for sanction to any authority. Then the employees come to the organized remnant still in existence for moral and other support, and this remnant throws itself into struggles from which it has not the slightest hope to emerge victorious. This condition of affairs made on me a sad impression.

I ordered a meeting of this remnant of devoted members, and about thirty people attended. We spent a few hours going over the situation, and came to the conclusion that the Union was suffering from the disorder, lack of discipline and inordinate love of militarism prevailing in the ranks.

I appointed Brother Groban of Cincin as special organizer. He spent there nine months and succeeded in infusing new life and establishing order, more or less. When I visited Montreal a second time, toward the end of August, I found that the situation had greatly improved. The financial conditions had changed for the better and the locals were in a tolerably good shape. If not for the French workers, whom they are powerless to organize, the locals would be in excellent condition.

We had made many efforts to reach the French workers and even had a French organizer in the field, but after a few weeks he sent in his resignation, urging that he had been unable to move these people, so that we were compelled to abandon this work for the present.

From Montreal I proceeded to Toronto. I found the locals there in a much better condition. The failure in the strike at Eton was still felt, yet they pursued their work systematically and are full of hope for better times.

Some of their active members left Toronto and others went into business for themselves, still even this loss is not felt.

They requested us to send them an organizer for the English-speaking women workers in the trade. I promised to grant their request, but unfortunately I was unable to carry out the promise, for the reason that we had numerous strikes which required the attention of every organizer we had in the field.

In the end of August, 1913, our seven locals of Montreal and Toronto held a conference and organized the Canadian Council of the I. L. G. W. U. They decided to obtain for this Council the official recognition of the General Executive Board and the appointment by the G. E. B. of two organizers for Canada. The Council's avowed purpose is to conduct a systematic agitation for a general strike, with the object of equalizing rates of wages and improving other labor conditions in both cities. It has also been decided to establish a statistical bureau for the purpose of ascertaining labor conditions in our trade in the Dominion of Canada.

When the General Executive Board received...
the program adopted at that conference it occurred to us that our constitution does not give us the right to recognize organizations of this kind. Our constitution provides for joint

strikes and district councils within the confines of one city; but these cannot cover a whole province or more than one province. The fact that we were not in a position to send organized strike parties to Canada, because this is bound up with heavy expenses. Nor do we consider that we have a right to sanction a general strike throughout Canada.

At the last meeting of the General Executive Board, held in Montreal, committees came from Toronto and Montreal, requesting our sanction of a general strike. While there we visited a number of manufacturers, calling the grievances of our members to their attention and warning them of the contingency of a strike in the event of their failing to redress the grievances complained of. The convention will have to take this matter under advisement and pass upon these requests.

THE SITUATION IN CLEVELAND.

On my way from Toronto I intended to call on the officers of Local No. 90 of Buffalo. Evidently there had been a change of secretaries, for I could not locate any of our union people, and so I made Cleveland my next stop.

I found our people in Cleveland in the same demoralized condition as two years ago, after their strike had been lost. The few score remaining members are afraid of their own shadow. The two enemies of unionism, Morris Black and Frankel, have their paid spies in the Union; consequently suspicion is rife in the ranks, and nothing is done to reorganize the forces. Having visited a meeting of members and having talked the matter over with some of the most loyal members, I arranged for the issuance of a weekly propaganda bulletin for distribution among the cloakmakers. The bulletin was a great help, instilling courage and confidence into the minds of the better element and acting as a decided check both to the open and masked scabs and traitors. We should have continued to issue that bulletin, but, to our regret, those who had charge of it left the cloak trade, and we have as yet found no one for this work.

I believe that so long as Morris Black will not be made to feel that the Union is in a position to cause him trouble, so long we shall have no strong unions in Cleveland. The convention should go into this question thoroughly and devise ways and means of coping with these obstacles in that Middle-Western center.

OUR LOCALS IN CHICAGO.

I left Cleveland in depressed mood and proceeded to Chicago. There I found more life and activity. The Cloakmakers, Local No. 44, and the Cutters, Local No. 81, who had been practically moribund at the time of the last convention, have revived under the leadership of ordinary working men who have no pretensions to learning or education. Soon after the convention we sent thither Vice-President Polakoff, and in a few months they succeeded in building up Local No. 44 with about 1,000 members and establishing a sick fund with a couple of thousand dollars in the treasury. Local No. 81 is likewise in a flourishing condition.

In that time there had also been organized in Chicago a union of raincoat makers and a union of waist and dressmakers; the latter has gone out of existence owing to the absence of competent persons to keep the ranks together.

As if to make up for this failure, the Raincoat Makers, Local No. 54, is a live, aggressive organization in spite of difficulties. The only poor and weak local in Chicago is Local No. 71, Ladies' Tailors. Extreme slackness has been prevailing in the Ladies' Tailoring Trade for more than a year. Many ladies' tailors have left the trade together, while those who remained are powerless to accomplish any results. There is, however, not the least doubt that as soon as trade conditions will improve our people will be on the spot to improve the situation. The Independent Union of Ladies' Tailors is still in existence in Chicago. Its members are too proud to amalgamate with tailors employed by smaller employers. In the main, however, the situation is in fairly good shape, except that the Hourwich turmoil in New York has weakened the discipline even in Chicago, and a certain element is clamoring for rampant democracy.

THE LOCALS FARTHER WEST.

In Denver, Colorado, I found that the entire trade is carried on by a couple of dozen ladies' tailors, nearly all of them ex-members of the Union in the East, who had gone to Denver to improve their health. It was not long after our people there had lost a general strike. Only about fifteen members came to the meeting, but the officers were brimming over with energy and hopefulness, which augurs well for
the future. I gave them all possible encouragement and they solemnly pledged to do all in their power to keep up their Union.

When Secretary Dyche and myself revisited them in November we found a Union of fifty members; that is, nearly 100 per cent. of the ladies' tailors in Denver, full of hope and promise and determined to establish the eight-hour day.

From Denver I went to San Francisco. I visited a meeting of the Cloak Makers, Local No. 8, and was informed that all of the workers in the trade, with exception of two of the biggest shops, belonged to the Union. Although the employers had signed no agreements with the Union, yet they had direct dealings with union committees. They had the eight-hour day and other favorable conditions. The women workers were not so favorably situated; they did not receive sufficient pay in proportion to the high cost of living prevailing in California.

All the employees work by the week, but they are subject to the competition of the wanderers from the East, who come there in search of fortune, and, not finding any, they offer to do "task work"; i.e., so many garments a day, which is detrimental to the interests of the localized workers. The Union had intended, before the strike, to demand the abolishment of the "task work" system and a minimum scale of $10.00 a week for women workers.

When we arrived in San Francisco after the strike we found that most of the employees had left the city, and the Union was in the hands of a few followers of William Haywood. One of these was a certain "Monkey" of Chicago, who is known to many of our old-timers, and he was associated with several anarchists who do not work in the trade. Subsequently, Local No. 8 dissolved, as already reported.

There are in San Francisco also a couple of hundred ladies' tailors, but they are of a too radical turn of mind to make common cause with a pure and simple Union like our International. Yet there are hopes that they may come to their senses and join us after all.

Local No. 28 of Seattle, Wash., has approximately 150 members. The local had been formerly affiliated with the Industrial Workers, but as the latter were composed of both the Chicago and Detroit factions, they waged internal faction fights and the local could not exist. Then the Trades and Labor Council of Seattle intervened and about a year ago brought them under the aegis of our International Union. Recently the local engaged an organizer, with the financial support of the International. I gather from their correspondence that the newly-appointed organizer is doing good work along the lines of organizing the entire trade.

Local No. 52 of Los Angeles has been in existence since several years. The local is composed of cloakmakers and ladies' tailors hailing mostly from New York and Chicago for the sake of health. Some two years ago they conducted a general strike, but failed in their purpose. The Union, however, survived. When I arrived there in June, 1913, I found most of the ladies' tailors being members of the Union. On the other hand, the cloak and skirt makers were not organized. On revisiting the city last December we found that the cloakmakers were well organized, while of the ladies' tailors only a few were left in the Union. Upon inquiring the reason, we were told that for a considerable time extreme dulness had been prevailing in the ladies' tailoring trade, and that many of the members either had gone out of the trade altogether or had left Los Angeles. Generally the labor conditions in Los Angeles are not bad. Had not the disturbing element of wanderers going there in search of better health entered into the situation the manufacturers would be compelled to reckon with the organized workers.

Our trade on the Pacific Coast is in course of development, and with the opening of the Panama Canal it is expected to develop very fast. It is therefore advisable that the Convention should take stock of this probability and have a permanent organizer on the Pacific Coast.

From Los Angeles I proceeded to St. Louis and found the Cloakmakers there preparing for a general strike. I immediately directed Vice-President Felt to go to St. Louis and help them in their work. I have already referred in detail to the results of this strike. I should, however, like to add that despite the failure of the strike, the Union is now numerically stronger than before the strike—a phenomenon which is altogether novel in our unions. Formerly when a strike had been lost it resulted in the collapse of the Union, and it required a number of years to restore it to its former standing. Of course, it is yet too early to forecast the future, but it is no doubt indicative of considerable progress.
On my arrival in Cincinnati I found our four locals in an excellent condition. The trade was completely organized and not a shadow of a strike cloud was to be seen on the horizon. The Cutters’ Union had signed agreements with all their employers providing for a raise of $3.00 a week in wages.

Then it happened that their business agent had left Cincinnati and another officer was appointed. The new business agent was not in the habit of using reason and common sense, nor did he reckon with the opinion of the cool and reflective members who had tried to run the Union within bounds of reason. He rather listened to the noisy element of the gallery, whose pet theory is that labor must engage in unceasing conflict with capital. The result was that while in the five years of their existence the locals of Cincinnati had only two strikes, they had in the four months of the new administration four strikes, and lost a number of members and several thousand dollars. Just now the Union is in great straits; injunctions and contempt of court cases weighing heavily upon it; the new business agent and half a dozen members are facing a jail term and imposition of a couple of thousand dollars in court fines.

The cloak and skirtmakers of Baltimore are now in a fairly satisfactory condition; they have all the shops under control and their work hours are no more than fifty a week. Not so, however, the Ladies’ Tailors, Local No. 34, of Baltimore. Owing to scarcity of work in the past year they are in a bad state. A proposition to amalgamate Local No. 34 with Local No. 4 is now being discussed.

OUR LOCALS IN PHILADELPHIA.

I have already referred at some length to the struggle of our locals in Philadelphia with their employers, and its outcome, but it is important for you to know that despite the unfavorable termination of the strike the locals in Philadelphia are numerically twice as strong now as they had been before the strike. This may possibly be accounted for by the fact that the locals pay to their members sick and mortality benefits. The members having a vested interest in the Union, they do not care to leave the ranks and lose their insurance. The convention should take this successful experiment in Philadelphia into consideration and endeavor to introduce a system of sick and mortality benefits in all the locals of the International.

We have also made a strong attempt to strengthen the Ladies’ Waist Makers, Local No. 15, of Philadelphia, by assigning a special organizer to this field for a number of weeks, but with little or no success. Had the cloak strike been won, it would possibly have brought new life into the ranks of the waist makers. As it is, we must wait for a more favorable opportunity.

I should not omit to mention Local No. 67 of Toledo. Nothing of any great importance has developed in that city, yet the local maintains its position notwithstanding the hard times.

A novel organization has been formed there—a Women’s Auxiliary Society, consisting of the wives and sisters of the cloakmakers. The object of the society—a very laudable one—is to stimulate their husbands and brothers to be good union men, to attend the meetings regularly, to patronize union labeled goods and to collect money for unions conducting strikes. This auxiliary society applied to us for a charter, but as our constitution does not provide for chartering auxiliary bodies, we did not act in the matter. It is advisable that the convention should recommend to our locals throughout the country to encourage the formation of similar auxiliary bodies and also decide whether or not they should be duly chartered.

All our smaller locals in Buffalo, Syracuse, New Haven, Bridgeport, Fall River, Worcester, Providence, Peekskill, Detroit and elsewhere have been visited from time to time by me personally or by our organizers. Occasionally we sent Yiddish, English and Italian speakers to address their mass-meetings. Many of our smaller locals complain that our office does not give them sufficient attention. That is because we feel that their calls on our resources involve ten times the amount in expenditure that we receive from them in per capita.

THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK.

We have the pleasure to inform you that after our last convention had reinstated Local No. 38, our committee, consisting of Vice-Presidents Lefkovitz, Kleinman and Mitchell, went to work to reorganize the local on strict trade union lines and restore order and harmony. After a period of six months we were in a position to withdraw the committee and leave the management of local affairs in the hands of the local officers. All the unruly and disturbing elements in that local have finally realized that the affairs of a union must be conducted with tact and cool judgment; that
noisy strike agitations and threats against the
employers at any and every opportunity do not
bring the desired results. Some of the erst-
while militants are now good, practical business
agents and try to avoid useless strikes. The
local is now in fairly good condition, notwithstanding the unusual dullness that has been
prevailing in the trade for more than a year.

In September, 1913, as already reported, the
Union conducted a successful general strike.
There is no doubt that as soon as trade con-
ditions will improve Local No. 38 will be one
of the model unions in our International.

A ladies' tailors' union has also been organ-
ized in Brooklyn. In the Fall of 1913 this
Local Union No. 65 conducted a general strike,
and although it was not a complete success,
yet the ladies' tailors of Brooklyn have a fairly
strong organization.

As to the Locals No. 25, No. 41, No. 62 and
No. 50, I have already referred in detail to their
strikes and to the fact that from small, insignif-
ificant unions they have been transformed into
tiny, powerful organizations of thousands and
tens of thousands of members, with fairly good
.treasuries—a condition that had been rare in
our unions, particularly in unions of women
workers.

We should also mention that after the settle-
ment with the Dress and Waist Manufacturers'
Association we could not find any one in Local
No. 25 with sufficient experience to deal with
the Association. The General Office appointed
Vice-President Polakov to serve as Chief Clerk
for the Union side of the Grievance Board,
and until July, 1913, a period of six months,
our office paid Vice-President Polakov's salary.
The Raincoat Makers' Union, Local No. 20,
would have been in better shape after its last
strike. Unfortunately there has been a ten-
dency for raincoats to go out of style, throw-
ing many of its members out of work, and this
renders the Union weak and powerless.

THE CLOAK AND SKIRT MAKERS LOCALS
OF NEW YORK.

In his report to the last convention, Secretary
Dyehe had the following paragraph:

Our employers are organized. They have
learned our strength, but they are commencing
to find out our weakness. We have now a
tage army of enemies both inside and outside
of our Organization. The large mass of sub-
contracting pressers, who were making from
$50 to $100 per week or more; the head fin-
ishers, who employed women and girls for
ridiculously small wages; the contractors of
the cellar and the garret employer, who were
doing a thriving business before the strike,
are gradually being pushed out of the trade.

Even their last resort—the "co-operative
hoise"—are going out of existence by the
force of the Union. The minimum wage
which they must pay their week hands and
the price committees of their piece workers
are constant checks on their good. The
operator to whom partiality was shown, who
received 10 and 15 cents extra per garment,
$"fat agreement or a bonus, in order to help
his employer to keep the others down, has
naturally turned against us. The old con-
servative employee who was glad in the busy
time to enjoy the 'freedom' to work from
70 to 80 and 90 hours per week is also look-
ning askance upon the new element which in-
sists upon working 50 hours per week only.
In time of peace they lie low and keep quiet,
but are ready at any time to take a hand and
help our enemies in time of war, as the
Cleveland strike has demonstrated.

Even our position in New York City in the
Cloak Trade is not as strong as some of our
members imagine.

It is now evident that Secretary Dyehe was
right when he said: 'Too great an optimism
is just as bad and dangerous as too much pes-
inism.'

The condition of the Joint Board locals is
practically this: In membership they are still
as strong as they had been two years ago, but
their prestige has fallen considerably. The
management of the Union has gradually slipped
out of the hands of those who for decades had
been engaged in building it up under the stress
and strain of those years, undergoing suffering
and privation for the union principle at a time
when the membership had consisted of a few
score employees. At that time union people
were not only discriminated against and fired,
but also regarded as knaves in the eyes of
those who are now at the helm. In the so-
called 'radical and progressive' circles every
union man had been scorned and derided. The
management of the Union has gradually slipped
into the hands of blatant demagogues who man-
age to rise only by denouncing the old leaders
as 'fakers, traitors, partners with the bosses,
reactionaries,' and so forth. Having come
into responsible offices and being incapable of
acquiring themselves with credit, these people
have introduced the practice of importing out-


siders with handles to their names and exaggerated pretensions. Their plan evidently had been to saddle some one else with the responsibility which they were too weak to carry on their own shoulders.

The dilettante outsiders into whose hands had been delivered the destinies of a huge organization, for which they neither labored nor suffered the pangs of travail, immediately started an agitation and proceeded to draw a line of demarcation between the "old" and the "new" leaders. The secretary of one of our biggest locals rushed into print with three-column articles on the "old and new currents in the Union.

A crusade was started against the Protocol signed with the Association and against those who ventured to hold that the Protocol had brought to the cloakmakers improvements and advantages. All sorts of grievances against the Association were uncurbed. Every petty case that a business agent with common sense could easily settle was made into a general issue. A hue and cry was raised that all active union men were being discharged, notwithstanding the evidence afforded by the records that in three years less than 500 employees had been discharged, and of those a large number were reinstated. Such exaggerated reports were persistently spread until belief in their veracity became almost general.

Aside from this agitation the official organ of the Joint Board, on the one hand, attacked the manufacturers, and, on the other, published Industrialist and Syndicist articles, emphasizing the workers' abstract rights and declaring them to be justified, even when they are glaringly unjustified. This agitation carried on verbally and in the press inflamed the minds of the cloakmakers, who for the last two years have had bad seasons and very little work. We several times called it to the attention of the Joint Board that it was not a question of justice and rights in the abstract, but rather one of possibility of achievement; but, being irritable and disappointed by reason of troubles and difficulties for which the Union was not responsible, the workers' minds were not open to logic and reason, especially when the logic and reason came from the International officers, who are widely known for their conservatism and moderation.

While the critics were engaged in looking for flaws in the Protocol with the Protective Association, they never discussed the condition of our members in the shops of the United Association and the independent employers, with whom we have strict closed-shop agreements, and where it is possible to go on strike every day of the week without being "slaves of the Protocol." In these non-association shops, where our people were free to resort to the "class struggle" at any time without the machinery of "conciliation, mediation and arbitration" and other high-sounding phrases—there, in those shops, obtain the lowest prices, the longest hours and hardly any of the provisions of the agreement are observed. The fact is that as soon as an independent manufacturer joined the Association we found that in his erstwhile closed shop more non-union people had been employed than in the biggest Association shop, and it was through the Protocol Division that his employees were unionized.

In the last two years there has been little work in the Cloak Trade. A similar situation has been in existence throughout the country, even in such cities where there are no unions. It was necessary to come to our people and tell them the truth—to tell them of the prevalence of a crisis; to tell them that we must have patience and wait for better times or enter on an agitation for a shorter working day. Our leaders, however, big or little, either had not the courage to tell the people the truth, or they deliberately concealed it. Instead of this they spread reports that the cause of slackness was owing to the work being sent out to the sub-manufacturers, where it was made at lower prices than in the inside shops.

But, it might be asked, since the sub-manufacturers were employing our own union people under the closed shop agreement, what is to prevent the Union from calling a strike to enforce the union scale? But there was no use asking such questions. Since the "great ones" themselves had spread the reports, they were presumed to be right. When one is in a quandary, or any unpleasant situation, it is so good to be able to throw the blame on other people.

The idea that sub-manufacturers were to blame for all the troubles found an echo among the workers in the inside shops, and on all sides a demand arose for a general strike in all the shops of the sub-manufacturers. In vain did the General Officers try to convince the leaders of this movement that a strike would only reveal the weakness of the Union in allowing the employees in those shops to work at lower
prices, and that even if the strike is won, the gain would amount to nothing. "If," the General Officers argued, "the object of the strike is to increase the quantity of work in the inside shops, then what is to prevent the sub-manufacturers, after signing the union agreement, from going back on their promises, as they have done three years ago, and lower the labor conditions? They would still be making the work. The only remedy is to make heavy demands upon them, so as to drive them out of business, but how is it possible to call on the workers to carry on a strike in order to drive their employers out of business and themselves out of a job?" Yet all these contentions of the General Officers fell upon deaf ears.

Before this strike was called I invited the officers of the Joint Board and the intended leaders of the strike and asked them point blank what they thought they stood to gain by this strike, but none of them could find an answer to the query. A few days later several thousand people employed by the sub-manufacturers were called out, and after a couple of weeks the strike was settled.

A great warrior once said: "Another victory like this and we are lost!" A similar thing happened here. All the sub-manufacturers signed pieces of paper of no more value than the paper. The employees returned to work on the old conditions, and the "bundles" which before the strike had been "rolling" to the sub-manufacturers were now being "rolled" in the same direction. The strike cost the locals $75,000. The locals, naturally, are not satisfied having had to spend so much money on a practically useless operation. The inside employees are dissatisfied, because their work is still being made in the outside shops, and the employees of the outside shops are dissatisfied because they were called on strike right in the season and lost a couple of weeks' wages, while scores of them altogether lost their jobs inasmuch as their employers moved their plants to out-of-town places.

So you see, a strike had been conducted that only benefitted nobody, but, on the contrary, harmed many workers, who had even suffered losses—because a few people wanted to be strike leaders, that the discontented workers should stop bothering them with their troubles.

The advice and warnings of the general officers were ignored. "We have local autonomy," these leaders said.

We have also warned our locals that by imposing unbearable fines on members for violation of union rules many innocent workers are made to suffer and are deprived of their employment. Owing to personal grudges unscrupulous people attempt, by denunciation, to drive innocent members from the shops. By countenancing such denunciations the Union is creating many enemies, who, by growing numerous, will end by breaking up the Organization.

Our warnings, however, were not heeded. Again the reply was: "We have local autonomy." Yet will anyone deny that when discontent among the members spreads and increases, a union cannot go forward? To allay this discontent someone must be made a scapegoat, and those at the helm resort to the same expedient as the Russian government when anxious to allay popular unrest: it spreads reports that everything in the country would go on splendidly if not for the "curse of the Jews." With us the people are similarly told that everything would be all right; that the employers would grant even the impossible, but the "curse of officers of the International block the way." This is how a hostile attitude to the International officers has been created.

Notwithstanding the troubles, difficulties and defects that these people see in the Protocol, which, in the opinion of Kottier and Hourwich, enslaves the workers and notwithstanding the "capitalist souls" of our arbitrators, we succeeded in securing a raise of $2.50 for pressers and $1.50 for under pressers—an average of $2.00 a week—without a strike of one moment's duration; and you must bear in mind that some unions carry on strikes for weeks and months to get for their members an advance of $2.00 a week.

If Dr. Hourwich had not neglected to prepare statistics as to the earnings of the cutters and sample makers they also would by this time have received an increase of wages.

THE HOUWICH AFFAIR IN THE UNION.

While referring to the condition of the Cloakmakers' Unions of New York I called attention to the fact that those who stood at the head of the Cloakmakers' Union were young men without experience in the management of union affairs, and they were lacking the courage to tell the workers what they are and what they are not entitled to. They sought to import intellectuals, with claims for learning
and science, who, in their opinion, would thus be competent to heal all the sores and solve all the difficulties in our trade. Then they—the young men—would be able to lean on their "greatness" in time of stress. First they appointed Brother Bisno of Chicago. When I heard of the plan to appoint Bisno I told them that while I had an intimate personal acquaintance with him and knew him to be familiar with trade unionism and very sympathetic, nevertheless, he was not capable of managing a union of 50,000 members; may, not even a small group of a few score members. I also told them that having been several times organizer of the Chicago Cloakmakers' Union, all he succeeded in doing was to break up the organization soon after assuming office, and naturally I warned them against appointing him. To this the leaders of the Joint Board replied that it was too late—Bisno had been appointed already.

Soon after taking up his duties, instead of trying to straighten out the troubles as they arose, he started on a course of creating new problems. Every petty case had been magnified into a general issue, which resulted in a series of daily conferences. Many of his ideas were high-sounding and plausible, but I doubt whether they can be realized in the present century.

It was impossible to convince him of the senselessness of taking up issues and problems that could not be immediately realized.

He contended that since he was clear in his mind about certain ideas, then everybody else must be equally clear about them. It took the Joint Board nearly a year to discover that my estimate of Bisno's methods, even before they appointed him, had been correct.

When the General Executive Board met in quarterly session in December, 1912, in New York, the leaders of the Joint Board introduced to us Professor Hourwich, that we might talk over with him matters relating to the policy of the Union, and so judge of his fitness for the office of Chief Clerk. After a few hours' conversation we openly expressed our doubt whether he would be the right man. We suggested, however, that he should occupy himself with statistical work for the Union for a period of six months, during which time it would be possible for the Unions to judge of his fitness for the office.

A week later we received a letter from Professor Hourwich that he would not accept the appointment. I communicated this information to the Secretary of the Joint Board, but instead of dropping the matter the officers of the Joint Board went to Washington and told Dr. Hourwich to take no notice of the General Officers, as they had nothing to do with the matter; that they would appoint him, and not the International Officers. Professor Hourwich was persuaded and accepted the appointment.

He seized the very first opportunity, in a dispute involving the firm of Goldfield and Lachman, to lower the standing of the International Union. At a conference held January 27, 1913, Professor Hourwich made this statement:

I want to make one correction here. There seems to be a little misunderstanding as to our organization—as to the situation of our organization. This Protocol was made between the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association and the following locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union * * * I represent, the Joint Board, and I am not an official of the International. We represent independent states of that Union * * * We do not concede to our federal body any longer matters which pertain to our internal affairs. The International has no authority to act for us * * * If you desire to deal with the shadow instead of the body it is your privilege, but you must be aware of the fact that they cannot deliver the goods.

The Manufacturers' Association contended that the International officers were the real signatories to the Protocol, and not the locals; not because they cherished a particular respect for the International officers, but because it suited them better to see the union forces divided and at loggerheads. For on a previous occasion, when we demanded that shops opened out of New York by their members should come under the Protocol arrangement, the manufacturers contended that they had signed the Protocol with a union in New York. On this point the Board of Arbitration ruled that since the Protocol had been signed with the International officers, the manufacturers are obliged to introduce Protocol conditions wherever they move their plants. But the new-fangled theory regarding the status of the International, propounded by Professor Hourwich, gave them an excuse for breaking off negotiations with the locals. They therefore insisted on dealing only
with the International, and the conferences were suspended.

Thereupon the officers of the Joint Board came to us for advice as to how to save the Union. On due reflection I then said that inasmuch as I valued the interests of the Union higher than any other consideration, I personally was prepared to sign any statement, even to the extent of releasing the International from any responsibility for the locals affiliated with the New York Joint Board, if by so doing a strike would be averted.

Prof. Hourwich prepared a statement to the effect that the International claims jurisdiction only over the Whitegoods and Wrapper and Kimono workers and other trades in cities where the workers are not organized as yet. He interpreted local autonomy to mean that as soon as the International succeeds in organizing the workers, its jurisdiction over them ceases, and they become free to pursue any course they may choose. This statement he wanted us to sign; in other words, to sign away all our rights.

Our General Executive Board refused to sign any such statement, and instead of this we informed the manufacturers that pursuant to our constitution the locals have autonomy in certain local affairs; but they are restricted in the matter of calling strikes or breaking off agreements which are concluded with the aid of the International officers. These rights are reserved to the International.

The manufacturers were not satisfied with this interpretation of our constitutional status and applied to the Board of Arbitration for a ruling. The Board ruled that this interpretation was correct and that the Manufacturers' Association is obligated to deal directly with the Joint Board, but the International is the guarantor for the locals' compliance with the Protocol. Whether or not we cared to be the guarantors, we were bound to respect the ruling of the Board of Arbitration.

In July, 1913, a conference with the Manufacturers' Association was held on the question of an advance in wages to the pressers, cutters, sample makers and other week-workers. On previous occasions we used to meet the manufacturers as a united committee of local and General Officers representing the Union. At this conference the General Officers had to be present in the capacity of separate representatives, having nothing in common with the cloak-makers. When Prof. Hourwich introduced our committee he deliberately pointed out those who were the direct representatives of the Union and those of the International Officers, who, he said, represented the guarantors at the request of the Manufacturers' Association. At this arbitrary division of our forces the International Officers at first were minded to withdraw from the conference altogether. We did not for one moment wish to be there at the request of the Manufacturers' Association. But in view of the fact that our withdrawal would have caused the suspension of the conference, and would have prevented a probable raise in wages to the workers, we decided to grin and bear it.

By making a difference between the representatives of the Union and the representatives of the International, Hourwich made it clear to the manufacturers that there were two groups—an International group and an anti-International group; that the Joint Board was one thing and the International another thing; that the International officers represented not the Union, but the manufacturers.

As a result of the conference an understanding was reached to refer the question of an advance in wages to the Board of Arbitration.

On September 25, 1913, we received a notification from the Association that a strike of cutters had occurred in an Association shop, and the strikers were picketing the shop, though, officially, the Union had called no strike in that firm.* The Association, naturally, called on us, the guarantors of the Protocol, to stop the strike.

I immediately wrote to the Association that this was the very first intimation we had of any trouble in that shop, and that we would communicate with the Joint Board about the matter. I also informed them that Professor Hourwich was then in Washington, and that upon his return he would take the matter up and effect a settlement; and I added that it was quite within their knowledge that the General Office did not deal with specific cases, and only acted in an advisory capacity to the Joint Board, since the Board of Arbitration had ruled that the International is merely the guarantor.

Naturally the manufacturers were not satisfied with this reply, and when the Board of Arbitration met on October 3 and 4, 1913, to consider the question of the raise of wages for the week workers, they also took up other matters. One of these was the opinion of Pro-
essor Hourwich that under the Protocol every individual employee or group of employees have a right to picket a shop, even if the Union officially has not called a strike there. Commenting on my reply to the Association that the International Officers can act only in an advisory capacity to the Joint Board, the Board of Arbitration handed down the following opinion:

Primarily it is the Joint Board. Secondarily it is the International, and we do not at all agree with the interpretation which President Rosenberg seems to have given to his obligation, that he has merely to “advise.”

It seems to us that the obligation of guarantor of this agreement is a far more serious obligation than merely to give advice. It is the obligation to see to it that the obligation is carried out.

Now, the arbitrators have no means of determining, and have no suggestion to make whatsoever as to how they, the guarantors, are to see to it. It is a joint obligation of the Joint Board and of the International that certain things should happen.

They stand for all practical purposes exactly in the same relation as if they had been partners in entering into this agreement, although the exact legal relation may be something different. The International officers were the people with whom the Association actually dealt in working out this agreement. It was in reliance upon what took place through the International and the intervention of the International that the Association did enter into this agreement. It was in reliance upon what took place through the International and the Association did enter into it, and the Board must feel that the International cannot discharge itself of obligation in this matter by simply saying, “we give advice, and the advice is not taken.” It is a joint obligation, and it must be jointly performed. How it is performed, and how it is brought about, is a matter with which it seems to us the Board has as little to do as the Association has, and they have nothing.

On October 7, 1913, we received from the Manufacturers’ Association the following letter:

October 7, 1913.
Abraham Rosenberg, Esq.,
President International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union,
32 Union Square, New York City.
Dear Sir:

On the 27th day of September, 1913, we received a letter dated the 24th of September, 1913, in which you said:

“As you are aware, this office does not handle any specific cases, for the Board of Arbitration decided that we are merely the guarantors of the Protocol and therefore we can act only in the capacity of ‘advisers.’”

This letter was brought to the attention of the Board of Arbitration at the hearing on the 4th of October, 1913, and, referring to it, Mr. Brandeis (speaking for the Board) held, as to the duties laid down by the Protocol and by the Board of Arbitration decision, that those responsible for the performance were not merely the Joint Board, but the International Ladies Garment Workers’ Union. Upon this point the Board of Arbitration said:

“Irnickly it is the Joint Board. Secondarily it is the International, and we do not at all agree with that interpretation which President Rosenberg seems to have given to his obligation, that he has merely to ‘advise.’ It seems to us that the obligations of the guarantor of this agreement is a far more serious obligation than merely to give advice. It is the obligation to see to it that the obligation is carried out.”

As to the legal relationship between the Joint Board and the International, with reference to the Protocol, the Board said:

“Now the arbitrators have no means of determining, and have no suggestion to make whatsoever as to how they are to see to it, but that they stand together, whether you call it a ‘guarantor’ or not; it is a joint obligation of the Joint Board and of the International that certain things should happen.”

“They stand, for all practical purposes exactly in the same relation as if they had been partners in entering into this agreement, although the exact legal relation may be something different. The International officers were the people with whom the Association actually dealt in working out this agreement. It was in reliance upon what took place through the International and the Association did enter into it, and the Board must feel that the International cannot discharge itself of obligation in this matter by simply saying, ‘We give advice, and the advice is not taken.’ It is a joint obligation it must be jointly, and it must be performed, and how it is performed and how it is brought about is a matter with which, if
The Board not only made its decision with reference to the duties of the International (overruling the opinion of Mr. Rosenberg), but also made clear the duties of both parties—the Joint Board and the International—with reference to the conduct of the work of the Grievance Board and of its clerks and the handling and management of the Neue Post.

It was our understanding that the Board, in February last, made similar decision, and it was based upon this understanding that we called your attention to the "picketing" in the Levy & Friedberg case, and received your most unsatisfactory reply, and with similar understanding we have from time to time brought to your attention the situations that finally required our recent complaint to the Board of Arbitration. You must be aware of the manner in which the Board of Grievances has conducted its work, and the manner in which the Neue Post has influenced the members of your Union by attacks upon our Association and upon the work of the Grievance Board. Over a year ago you sent us a formal communication repudiating these attacks and saying that you did not approve of them.

Notwithstanding the decision of the Board in February last, fixing the duty of the International, and notwithstanding your complete comprehension of the failure of the Joint Board to perform the obligations imposed upon it by the Protocol during the past eight months, there has been an utter failure on the part of the International to perform its obligations as joint obligor to the Protocol. This situation, we believe, has come about, first, through a failure on the part of the International executive officers completely to realize the full extent of the responsibility they carry (as to which we now hope the decision of the Board will make the matter clear), and, secondly, because of a lack of power on the part of the executive officers to perform what they have on paper agreed to perform.

The situation is a most critical one. The conditions disclosed by the record presented to the Board of Arbitration in February last have become more aggravated during the past eight months. There has been a complete breaking down of that relationship of "mutual respect and confidence," which the Board of Arbitration says is essential to the life of the Protocol, and there has been not only a complete failure to educate the members of your Union to an understanding of the difficulties of the problem presented, but, through the columns of the Neue Post and through the work of some of the representatives of the Joint Board, there has been (as the Board of Arbitration now finds) a campaign of "miseducation."

We must now—after three years of experience with the Protocol—call upon you for direct and specific answers to the following questions:

First—Does the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union accept the interpretation of its relationship to the Protocol as laid down by the Board of Arbitration?

Second—Does it accept the obligations imposed upon the parties to the Protocol as laid down by the Board of Arbitration, specifically with reference to (a) The conduct of the Grievance Board; (b) The conduct of the representatives of the Union who deal directly with the Association; (c) The use of the columns of the Neue Post and other organs reaching the members of the Union?

Third—Does the International accept the decision made by the Board of Arbitration, that while the power resides in either party to the Protocol to abrogate it, that it does not lie in either side to suspend its operations, and that "picketing" and calling men "scabs" and "strike breakers," and suffering local shop strikes, must cease, and that the entire power of the Joint Board and the International must be used to discipline the members and prevent the recurrence of such situations?

Fourth—Has the International the power actually to do the things it has undertaken to do?

Fifth—Is it willing, if it has the power?

Upon your answer to these questions depends, in our judgment, the continuance of the Protocol as a working instrument between us.

As this letter is sent by direction of the Executive Committee of the Association, we must ask you for an answer that is approved by the General Executive Board of your organization.

L. E. ROSENFELD, Chairman.
As soon as we received this letter, which we regarded as an ultimatum to the Union, we wrote to the Joint Board, inquiring whether we should assume full responsibility for their complying with the Protocol. After discussing the matter at several meetings, the Joint Board finally adopted a resolution to elect General Officers to represent them in the Grievance Board, and that its official organ, the New Post, should maintain a dignified attitude towards the Manufacturers’ Association, with whom the Union stood in friendly relations.

But no sooner had this resolution been adopted than Prof. Hourwich and his partisans raised the cry that the Joint Board had given away all its powers and rights to the International Officers, who were intent on muzzling the Union’s free press. They did not take the trouble to ascertain the truth or otherwise of these statements—they blindly believed what their “idol” had told them.

In October, 1913, Hourwich accepted the nomination of the Progressive Party, and ran for Congress in the 20th Congressional District. So long as he did not drag in the Union into the campaign none of us evinced any interest in the matter; but when, in his campaign literature, he urged the necessity of his election to Congress on the strength of his fighting for the interests of labor, and assailed the Manufacturers’ Association, and made statements about the Union unbecoming to a labor leader, I felt it my duty, as the President of a Union laying claim to strong Socialist sympathies, to address the question to the makers whether they would pass over without censure the action of Professor Hourwich, in view of the Socialist resolutions adopted at all our recent conventions, and in view of the express provision in our constitution that “persons holding political offices in any of the capitalistic parties are barred from membership in the International.” Thereupon Hourwich came out in the press with a fierce attack on the Union, the Joint Board and the International Officers. He combined with the notorious enemies of the Union in denouncing all and sundry as the “machine.”

I considered it my duty to call these tactics to the attention of the Joint Board, and on November 6, 1913, I addressed to them the following letter:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers’ Union of New York.

Worthy Delegates:

I turn to you—the representatives of the 50,000 cloak and skirt makers of Greater New York—with a few queries touching our trade and our interests. As one of the pioneers in our union movement, and the President of an Organization of more than 100,000 ladies’ garment workers throughout the country, of which your locals form part, I call on you in the name of our great Union to consider and give a clear answer to these queries, without quibbles or evasions, in order that we may know how to act in the future.

Let your answers be definite and unequivocal, simply “yes or no:’’

1. Has a paid officer, be he a professor or an ordinary workman, the right to run as the nominee of any of the capitalistic parties, styling themselves progressive or otherwise, except such party that has been officially recognized or indorsed by the organized workers? I and other members will be satisfied if your answers will be in the affirmative, regardless of the consequences likely to follow such a decision. Should you, however, decide that no paid officer has the right to run for political office on the ticket of a capitalistic party, then please inform me what step, if any, the Joint Board intends to take against the action of the professor.

2. If you decide that an officer of the Union has a right to accept the nomination of any of the capitalistic parties, because you regard it as a private affair, then has he a right to drag in the Union and its relations with the employers into the campaign?

3. Was it right that a Union officer running on a capitalistic party ticket should address a meeting of the former pressers contractors, who have now organized a society with the object of breaking up the Pressers’ Union, and reintroduce the obnoxious systems of piece work and sub-contracting? Was it right for our representative and Bull Moore candidate at that meeting to attack the Joint Board as a “Murphy machine,” our attorney, Meyer London, as a demagogue, and our pioneers in the union movement as traitors? If you regard it as wrong, what step do you intend taking in the matter? You have no doubt read in the Warheit of November 5th the letter of Professor Hourwich addressed to the pressers and myself as their president. Let you should not have seen it, I enclose you a copy herewith, and it is for
you to say whether or not there is a "machine" in the Cloak Makers' Union, and who is the "machine." You certainly cannot say that I am one of the "machine," since the Joint Board rarely reckons with my opinion, and I am too busy to attend regularly the local meetings.

Don’t you think our professor’s intention, in referring to the leadership of the Union as a "machine," is to suggest to those talking in the name of "the people" to wreak their vengeance on us; and if so, what are you going to do about it?

Is not his rushing to publicity with details relating to the internal affairs of our Union open treachery and a scandal to the Union? For by so doing he reveals to the employers our weakness.

What would you say if an ordinary business agent or other active member were to act in this way? Would you not discharge him from office and condemn him as a traitor? Did you not disqualify a member as delegate to the Joint Board for the mere reason that he had been seen in the office of the Manufacturers' Association, otherwise than on official business? You naturally thought that a purposeless visit of this kind is apt to raise suspicion; and when, on mere suspicion, you rejected that member as a delegate to the Joint Board, how can you now justify the conduct of your highest paid officer?

I have no desire to take the part of the Socialists in this matter; there are in their ranks prominent comrades who are more qualified than I am to take up the cudgels in their behalf. All I want to say is that our Union must not permit being dragged into capitalist party mire, lest it eventually lead to disruption.

Twenty-three years ago we also had a strong Union, and the entire trade was organized. Then it happened that two of our walking delegates went to work for the election of a nominee of one of the capitalist parties for judge. This led to internal dissensions which ended in the destruction of the Union.

I appeal to you as one of the very first members; as one who sacrificed for the Union more than any of you; as one who spent his best years and energies in the trade union movement—I appeal to you in the name of our great cause to end the present complication in our Union, no matter whether the cause of it be a high official or an ordinary business agent. Let there be an end to the present tension! It can endure no longer! If you agree that our present relations with the manufacturers, as we interpret them, are not satisfactory to the Joint Board, and that it is advisable to terminate them—a view which the professor caused to be expressed in the Workman editorials—then authorize him to break off the Protocol. I can assure you that if it should have to come to a strike, I and my colleagues of the International will stand in the front of the fight side by side with the professor. Whatever your decision, express your mind freely and frankly and without delay. Please take this matter up at once.

With Fraternal greetings,

A. ROSENBERG,
Pres. Int. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The Joint Board had this letter read before them, but took no steps in the matter, for reasons known to themselves.

When Hourwich saw that his position in the Union was no longer secure he entered into an understanding with Local No. 1, inducing them to begin a fight in the Joint Board in favor of appointing him for a second term, though he had still three months to serve. He arranged with Local No. 1 that, failing his appointment for another term, they should pay him $1,000. The delegates of Local No. 1 pressed for his reappointment, with a raise in his salary from $4,500 to $5,500 a year and expenses. One of the conditions of his appointment was that he should have full power to act, without being responsible to the Joint Board.

The Joint Board finally rejected the motion to reappoint him, by a large majority. This was quite natural, for his entire term of office had been attended by quarrels and dissensions in the ranks—dissensions of which he was the main cause.

Local No. 1 immediately withdrew from the Joint Board. This practically meant withdrawing from the International, inasmuch as, according to our constitution, every local must belong to the Joint Board wherever such body is in existence. Hourwich and his supporters gave out wild statements in the press that they did not recognize the Joint Board, and demanded that the question should be submitted to "the people." The catchword, "the voice of the people is the voice of God," quickly
appealed to the unemployed cloak makers, and, instead of the controversy remaining a personal affair, Hourwich and his supporters made it a question of principle in the form of "shall the voice of the people be heard?" The result was that the people, (1) with the aid of the yellow papers, re-elected Hourwich.

The manner in which the election was conducted is not important. It is sufficient to say that those who ventured to say a word against Hourwich were threatened and terrorized.

We, the General Officers, regarded the incident as closed. If the people want him, let them have their will, we thought.

On the second day—December 16th—after the election of Hourwich by referendum we received from the Manufacturers' Association the following letter:

Mr. Abraham Rosenberg, President,
Mr. John A. Dyche, Secretary,
The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and
Mr. J. Halprin, President,
Mr. M. Perlstein, Secretary,
The Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

Gentlemen:

We are informed that Dr. Isaac Hourwich is to continue to represent the Joint Board in their dealings with our Association under the Protocol. We regret to be obliged to ask you to designate someone else with whom we may have official relations. Dr. Hourwich has publicly charged our Association with having offered him an inducement to work for the Association; has publicly charged us with having connived to warp the statistical inquiry of the Board of Arbitration; has attacked the good faith of our Association, the Board of Arbitration, the Board of Grievances, your International Officers and your Joint Board, and stated in the presence of the Board of Arbitration that, in view of its recent decisions, he could not work in harmony either with the Board or with us. We recognize fully the right of each party to the Protocol freely to select its own agents, but since it is of the essence of the Protocol that there shall be mutual respect in the daily dealings of the parties, it is obvious that neither parties can have dealings with a representative of the other, whose deliberate purpose is to create distrust and ultimately destroy the Protocol. Since we desire fully to perform our part of the duty of upholding the Protocol and abiding by the decisions of the Board of Arbitration, we prefer not to be obliged to deal with one who has both insulted and assumed an attitude of dictatorship in the industry.

We regret exceedingly, therefore, to be obliged to ask you to designate someone with whom we may continue business relations, so that the daily business may be conducted without friction.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) L. E. Rosenfeld,
Chairman, Executive Committee.

When we received this letter from the Manufacturers' Association and, having ascertained from other sources that they were firm in their determination to break up the Protocol unless their request be respected, we felt that we could no longer look on in silence and await developments. We felt it incumbent on us as General Officers to try and avert a strike in the Cloak Trade—a strike which at that juncture we could not possibly win. We fully expected that the professor, his partisans and supporters in the yellow press, would fiercely assualt us, but we were determined to save the Union at all costs. As a preliminary step we sent the following reply to the Manufacturers' Association:

New York, December 17, 1913.

Mr. L. E. Rosenfeld, Chairman,
Executive Board of the
Cloak, Suit & Skirt Mfg. Pro. Ass'n.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of December 16th, notifying us that your Association refuses to deal with Professor Hourwich as clerk to the Board of Grievances. In reply, let me say that this matter will be submitted to the next meeting of the General Executive Board, which will meet in the very near future. I shall then let you know their decision.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) John A. Dyche,
General Sec'y-Treas.

We had also decided to consult with representatives of the organized American workers before our General Executive Board met to pass on the matter, and a conference was held on Saturday, December 25, 1913, in which there participated the following labor leaders; Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, John B. Lennon, Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor; B. Weinstein, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Joseph Schloss-
berg, Secretary of the Brotherhood of Tailors; Isidor Cohen, Organizer of the Furriers' Union; Hugh Payne, Organizer of the American Federation of Labor; Thomas Curtis, President of the Central Federated Union; Max Zuckerman, Secretary of the Cap Makers' Union; William Edlin, Secretary of the Workmen's Circle; A. Baroff, Manager of the Waist and Dress Makers' Union; Max Pein, Ben Schlossinger, William Thompson and Peter Zusman of Chicago and a number of representatives of the Clockmakers' locals and Joint Board of New York. Having conferred for two days, and having given a hearing to Professor Hourwich, the conference appointed a sub-committee of five to prepare a statement.

In the meantime, December 27th, we received the following letter from the Manufacturers' Association:

New York, December 27, 1913.
Mr. Abraham Rosenberg, President,
Mr. John A. Dyche, Secretary.

Int. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
Mr. J. Halprin, President,
Mr. M. Perlstein, Secretary,
Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

Gentlemen:
We have to-day received a request signed "Dr. T. Hourwich, Clerk of the Board of Grievances for the Union," addressed to Dr. Paul Abelson, Clerk of the Board of Grievances for the Manufacturers, requesting a meeting of the Board of Grievances.

We have not yet received any other reply to our letter to you of the 18th inst. other than acknowledgment of the receipt of the letter and statements that it would be referred to the Joint Board and to the General Executive Board of the International for consideration.

In the meantime, and until these matters are disposed of, we see no useful purpose to be served by a meeting of the Board of Grievances. Such a meeting, with Dr. Hourwich present, could accomplish no fruitful result, for the simple reason that his conception of the very function of the Board of Grievances is the reverse of that laid down by the Board of Arbitration in its recent decisions.

We are to-day in the unfortunate position of having no person with whom we can deal as the responsible representative of your Union. You will recall our communication of October 7th, in which we outlined to you the problem presented as the result of the decision of the Board of Arbitration. We were advised by you in answer that you regarded the decision of the Board of Arbitration as fully binding upon you, and from the official organs of the Joint Board and the International we learned that for the purpose of carrying out the decision the Board of Grievances was to be reorganized on your side. We have been patiently waiting for this reorganization to take place. In the meantime, however, the resolutions of your respective bodies have apparently been overruled by Dr. Hourwich, leaving the application of the decision of the Board of Arbitration hanging in the air.

In the circumstances we must ask you without further delay, to proceed with the reorganization of the Grievance Board, so that the joint responsibility of the International and the Joint Board, as declared by the Board of Arbitration, shall be effectively maintained. You recognize, of course, that no employers' association can successfully maintain a joint agreement with a union, wherein arbitration is provided for, if the decisions of the Board of Arbitration can at any time be overruled or openly disregarded by a single person representing the Union.

We take this opportunity of assuring you that our controversy is not with your Union. Of course, we cannot brook either insults or dictatorship, nor do we suppose that you desire us to. Our sole purpose is to see to it that the machinery for the workings of the Protocol shall be consistently upheld. This machinery is blocked to-day, because of the necessity of your taking action in conformity with the decision of the Board of Arbitration and selecting as your clerk of the board one who respects the decisions of the Board of Arbitration and stands ready to carry them out. Yet it is the uncontrovertible fact that Dr. Hourwich publicly repudiates the decision of the Board of Arbitration, and intends to carry out policies already overruled by it.

In order that the Board of Grievances may be promptly reorganized and the business proceed with, we must urge you to prompt action.

In the meantime any meetings of the former Board of Grievances with Dr. Hourwich present as the representative of the Union would only complicate the situation further.
and make further friction, a condition which we earnestly seek to avoid.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) L. E. ROSENFELD,
Chairman.

We did not think it necessary to reply to this communication until after the meeting of our G. E. B. The board met on December 29th, and the following statement, drawn up by the sub-committee of five, was brought to its attention:

December 29, 1913.

To the Officers of the I. L. G. W. U. and Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Unions of New York and the Affiliated Locals.

Gentlemen:

Under date of December 16th the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the officers of your Joint Board received a communication from the officers of the Manufacturers' Association in which they say that while they "recognize fully the right of each party to the Protocol freely to select its own agents, but since it is of the essence of the Protocol that there shall be mutual respect in the daily dealings of the parties, it is obvious that neither party can have dealings with a representative of the other whose deliberate purpose is to create distrust and ultimately destroy the Protocol. Since we desire fully to perform our part of the duty of upholding the Protocol and abiding by the decisions of the Board of Arbitration, we prefer not to be obliged to deal with one who has both insulted and assumed an attitude of dictatorship in the industry. We regret exceedingly to be obliged to ask you to designate someone with whom we may continue business relations, so that the daily business may be conducted without friction."

Upon receipt of this communication the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, believing a crisis had arisen which threatened the destruction of the Union, and being anxious to have counsel and advice from men experienced in the labor movement and interested in the welfare of all those engaged in the Cloak and Skirtmaking Industry, decided to invite representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the Central Federation of Labor, the United Hebrew Trades, the United Brotherhood of Tailors, the United Cap Makers, the United Garment Workers of Chicago and also representatives of the Workmen's Circle to meet in the City of New York with the representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' locals of New York and representatives of some of its affiliated locals, for the purpose of considering the conditions that had arisen, and, if possible, to devise means by which the crisis might be averted and the stability of the Organization insured.

In accordance therewith, a conference was held at the office of the Wage Scale Board on Saturday afternoon, December 27th, which was attended by representatives of all Associations referred to above and which was presided over by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. The situation which exists in the Cloak and Skirtmaking Industry was fully discussed and carefully considered. By special invitation Dr. Hourwich attended one session of our committee and participated in the discussion. It developed during the discussion that the machinery provided for in the Protocol for the adjustment of grievances and the transaction of business between the Manufacturers' Association and the local Unions of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Unions had come to a stop, and that it was imperative to take some action in order to maintain the advantages gained by the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Unions.

In order to fully understand the situation which confronted us it is necessary here to review some of the events which led up to the present situation.

In the latter part of November the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Unions of New York, acting upon the authority vested in it, decided that the interests of the members of the Union required that Dr. Isaac Hourwich should not be re-elected to the position of Chief Clerk of the Board of Grievances, and Dr. Hourwich was not elected by that Board. However, deferring to the wishes of some of the members of the Union, the action of the Joint Board in refusing to re-elect Dr. Hourwich to the position of Chief Clerk was submitted to a referendum vote of the members of the local unions. The names of no other candidates were submitted for election to this office, with the result that about 6,500 votes were cast for
Dr. Hourwich, thus electing him Chief Clerk for the period of one year.

We are informed by the members of your Joint Board that among their reasons for refusing to re-elect Dr. Hourwich was the fact that his methods of administering the affairs of his office were not in harmony with the ideas of the Joint Board and not calculated to protect the best interests of the members of the Unions.

It is further necessary to say that the International Union of the Ladies' Garment Workers, which is the guarantor of the Protocol, is responsible for the faithful maintenance of the agreement.

Dr. Hourwich, during his incumbency as Chief Clerk, refused to consult with the officers of the International Union, refused to recognize the authority vested in them by the constitution of the International Union, thus making it impossible for them to fulfill the obligation imposed upon them as signatories to the Protocol.

From a statement made at the conference, it was perfectly clear to us that a very serious situation had arisen—a situation which demanded such action as would protect the interest of the members of the Union and preserve the integrity of the Organization.

With this situation and these circumstances before us, it was the consensus of opinion that the following suggestions and recommendations should be made to the Joint Board, with the request that these statements and these recommendations be given careful consideration:

(1) We have considered both the merits and defects of the Protocol. We are united in declaring that the Protocol should be maintained, in order that the advantages gained by the workers which were secured in the past, as a result of the great strike of 1910, should not be placed in jeopardy, and in order that reasonable opportunity for further improvements may not be lost. To this end we recommend that your board declare itself to be in favor of the maintenance of honorable industrial peace through the continuance of the Protocol.

(2) In making this recommendation we are not unmindful of the fact that the Protocol does not provide sufficient machinery for the speedy and final adjustment of questions which the workers feel to be of vital interest to them. There has grown up in the minds of the members of the Union a conviction that the Board of Grievances should have its authority extended and that upon it additional duties should be imposed. It is not necessary to state here in detail the nature of these complaints. It is sufficient to say that the proper execution of the obligations imposed upon the parties to the Protocol demands that there shall be machinery for the prompt adjustment of every dispute which is brought before the board and which affects the relations of the parties to the agreement.

In order that this prevailing dissatisfaction may be removed and confidence restored, we recommend that immediate overtures be made by the representatives of the Unions to secure a conference with the Manufacturers' Association, the purpose of the conference being to provide either for a supplemental agreement or such modification of the present agreement as will provide for a disinterested person to act as Chairman of the Board of Grievances and whose function it shall be to decide any dispute that has not been or cannot be decided by the Grievance Board itself.

(3) As stated above, we invited Dr. Hourwich to attend one session of our committee and requested him to give us an expression of his views. Dr. Hourwich did attend and gave us a lengthy statement of his position and of the views he entertained in regard to the Protocol and the administration of the Union's affairs. From his own attitude and his own expressions, to say nothing of the information given to us by the representatives of the Unions, we are fully convinced that the interests of the members of the Union would be best conserved if Dr. Hourwich would withdraw from the position of Chief Clerk of the Union on the Board of Grievances.

It is our judgment that the Chief Clerk should be a man who is familiar with labor union policies and who is acquainted with the trade affairs of the industry, a man whose chief interest is to promote the progress of the Union and the welfare of its members, and who has such practical experience in trade union affairs as would make him tactful in the administration of matters entrusted to him, and at the same time determined to secure for the workers all they are entitled to under the terms of the agreement. We feel
that Dr. Hourwich does not possess the necessary qualifications which would enable him to perform properly the functions of the office of Chief Clerk, and this notwithstanding any qualifications be may have in the literary and legal field.

Being convinced of this, we recommend that your Joint Board request Dr. Hourwich to tender his resignation as Chief Clerk, and we further recommend that you elect to this position a man having the necessary qualifications.

As an evidence of the interest of the trade unionists of this country in the development of organization among the workers in the Ladies’ Garment Industry, we are authorized to say that no American trade union movement will place at your service an experienced trade unionist who will render such aid as he can to the officers of your Union. This service will be rendered without any compensation.

The undersigned have been authorized by the conference to formulate this statement and to transmit this document to the proper officers.

(Signed) JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman,
PETER SUSSMAN, WM. THOMPSON, HARRY KLEINMAN, JOHN F. PIECE.

After due consideration, the General Executive Board, at its session of December 30th, adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, In accordance with the decision of the Board of Arbitration rendered February 3rd-4th, the International Union has been made the guarantor for the Joint Board in its dealings with the Manufacturers’ Association through the instrumentality of the Protocol; and,

"WHEREAS, Upon further decision of the Board of Arbitration on October 4th last this guarantee implies a joint responsibility and joint cooperation of the officers of the International Union with the representatives of the Joint Board in carrying out the provisions of the Protocol; and,

"WHEREAS, The present Chief Clerk, Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, who since he attached his signature to this arrangement made by the Joint Board of Arbitration has persistently and systematically attacked the policies of the International Union and openly denounced its officers as the agents of the Manufacturers’ Association and has in every way tried to discredit them before our members and thus brought about a condition of affairs whereby he has made it impossible for the International officers to work in cooperation and harmony with him; and,

"WHEREAS, His policies are radically and fundamentally opposed to the policies and methods heretofore pursued by the International officers; and,

"WHEREAS, It is the firm belief of the G. E. B. that the methods pursued by Dr. Isaac Hourwich are detrimental to the best interests of the members of our organization; therefore, be it,

"RESOLVED, That the Joint Board of the Clerks and Skirt Makers’ Unions be informed that under the clerkship and guidance of Dr. Hourwich the International Union cannot remain the guarantor for the Protocol."

The board unanimously approved the action of the General Secretary-Treasurer in calling the conference, and decided that copies of the statement of the Conference Committee be transmitted to the locals affiliated with the Joint Board and each local of the International Union, and that the Joint Board, as well as its affiliated locals, be given time until the 15th of January to carry into effect the resolution passed by the General Executive Board; namely, that unless Professor Hourwich is removed from office as Clerk of the Board of Grievances the International Union will withdraw its guarantee for the Protocol.

The board likewise appointed a committee of five, consisting of Vice-Presidents Amdor, Mitchell, Polakoff, Sigman and President Rosenberg, to draw up a statement to the locals explaining the position of the General Executive Board and the situation which had compelled the board to insist upon the removal of Dr. Hourwich from the office of Clerk, and that the name of every member of the board be attached to this statement.

When the resolution had reached the Joint Board our “friend,” the professor, began to discharge all his guns in the Yiddish papers. He raised the cry that all the labor leaders, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of our International had formed a gigantic conspiracy to betray the cloakmakers of New York to the Manufacturers’ Associa-
tion. This and the direct instigation of the sensational press, gave occasion to the noisy elements, a number of scabs and traitors who always flout constituted authority in the Union, to gather on the streets and hold unauthorized meetings for the purpose of denouncing the officers. They even proceeded to the union offices, smashed the glass panels and other things they could lay hands on. When the professor had been asked to intervene and stop the wanton destruction he came out with a statement in the press that there was no sense in breaking panels and it was alone the leaders behind them. This was an unmistakable provocation to break the heads of those in opposition to him. The statement gave rise to a regular state of terror. Open threats were nixed against all who dared to range themselves with the opposition to Hourwich, and some were actually assaulted at meetings and elsewhere.

The Joint Board did not find it necessary to consider the resolution of the International. The manufacturers, on the other hand, pressed for an answer, which we were unable to give them. The Joint Board informed the Manufacturers' Association that they would retain the professor as Chief Clerk, and that no one had a right to dictate to them who should or should not hold office in the Union. A strange element in the situation was that some of the Yiddish papers, which usually maintain an attitude of opposition to unions, availed themselves of the opportunity for sensation, pretending to defend the honor of the cloakmakers, and kept on inciting the people to a general strike.

These irresponsible and inflammatory editorial articles aggravated the matter; for even if the manufacturers had desired to continue the Protocol relations with us they could not do it in face of this open mischief in the press, where the professor and his supporters reiterated the statement from day to day that the manufacturers were carrying on a game of bluff; that they could not afford to have a strike. Had the manufacturers receded from their position they would thereby have verified the professor's claims that the Protocol served exclusively their interests and injured the interests of workers.

On January 7, 1914, we received from the Manufacturers' Association the following communication:

New York, January 7, 1914.
To Mr. Abraham Rosenberg, President,
Mr. John A. Dybo, Secretary,
The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
and
Mr. J. Halprin, President,
Mr. M. Perlstein, Secretary,
The Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

Gentlemen:
The letter of the Joint Board of the 5th inst. ignores the matters put to you in our previous communications of the 10th and 27th of December, 1913.

You have failed to realize that the machinery of conciliation and mediation provided for in the Protocol cannot be operated without the spirit of conciliation and mediation on your part and without a conciliator and mediator representing you. You yourselves have decided, after eleven months' experience, that the present incumbent is without tact, courtesy or respect for the rights of others. While he continues in the office of Clerk of the Board of Arbitration, conciliation and mediation are impossible. If in addition he insults and bullies as he has, and refuses to carry out the decision of the Board of Arbitration, as he has, not only the machinery of conciliation and mediation fail, but all the other provisions of the Protocols are in danger of falling to pieces.

Your Organization must decide, and decide quickly, whether or not you want the Protocol to continue, for if you, as your part, fail to give it that mutuality of binding effect it requires, you make its continuance impossible. The consequences of your failure are too grave to be treated lightly. We are carrying out our part of the contract. We call upon you to perform your duty.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) L. E. ROSENFELD,
Chairman, Executive Committee.

We immediately addressed to the manufacturers the following reply:

New York, January 7, 1914.
Mr. L. E. Rosenfeld, Chairman,
Executive Committee of the
Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your communication of January 7th, we would say that you are well
acquainted with our opinion as to the fitness of Dr. Hourwich as mediator and conciliator. We have also made our position clear to our Unions affiliated with the Joint Board, and have requested them to let us have their reply not later than January 15, 1914. Until that time we are not in a position to give you a definite reply.

With our best intentions to continue the Protocol, we must admit that at this time we are powerless to take a hand in this controversy. Since, however, we attached our signatures to the Protocol, we would suggest that this present difficulty be submitted to the Board of Arbitration.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) A. ROSENBERG,
Genera. President.

JOHN A. DYCHE,
General Sec'y-Treas.

On January 7, 1914, we received from the Manufacturers' Association the following reply:

New York, January 9, 1914.

To Mr. Abraham Rosenberg, President, Mr. John A. Dyche, General See'y-Treas., The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 32 Union Square, New York City.

Gentlemen:

Your letter of the 7th inst. received. The difficulty with the situation seems to be that we are both agreed with regard to the fact concerning Dr. Hourwich:

The Clerks of the Board of Grievances are, as you know, officers of the Board of Grievances, who must follow and obey decisions of the Board of Arbitration, who must be mediators and conciliators, and must, of necessity, work together. It seems to us, not as a matter of personality, but as a matter of principle involving the very life of the Protocol, that either side has the right to call the attention of the other to the actual fact that one of the Clerks is an impossible person in the situation. This is probably controverted by the Joint Board at the present moment. Apparently it presents no controversy between us and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We are ready, of course, to defend our position upon this principle before the Board of Arbitration at any time.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) L. E. ROSENFELD,
Chairman, Executive Committee.

We have sent a copy of this letter to the Joint Board, but the matter was not dealt with and not even brought to the attention of the delegates. Again Dr. Hourwich came out in the sensational press with glaring headlines, announcing a new "black treachery" on the part of the International Officers. When our committee of five saw that the matter was dragging on; that the Union was standing on the brink of a precipice, and that the Joint Board had no intention of communicating to the members the resolution of the International, our committee found it necessary to publish all the facts in leaflet form and distribute it among the members of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union of Greater New York.

Finally the Joint Board agreed to go before the Board of Arbitration. The board met on January 11, 1914; and after conferring with the three parties to the dispute—the Manufacturers, the Joint Board and the International Officers (Professor Hourwich refused to appear with us as one committee, having regarded us as opponents of the Union), the Board of Arbitration made a statement that while "each party to the Protocol should be free to select as its representative such person as it sees fit," yet, since a "dangerous and anomalous crisis" had arisen—the possibility of a strike that might involve "the certainty of great suffering for tens of thousands of men, women and children"—therefore the person who would be the cause of all this—Dr. Hourwich alone, in his loyalty to the Union—could supply the relief by withdrawing from the situation. A truce of eight days was suggested.

The eight days were nearly ended, yet nothing had been done in the matter. The professor continued to give interviews to reporters and write inflammatory articles in the papers, throwing discredit on the Board of Arbitration, the International Officers, the Daily Forward and everyone who opposed him. Two days were left, at the expiration of which the manufacturers would have locked out our people, without their having anywhere to congregate, for no halls had been provided, nor any preparation made to meet a possible strike contingency. Two days—in two days there would occur ruin and disaster.

The professor was still contending that there was no danger, even if the Manufacturers' Protective Association were to terminate the Protocol. We should then immediately sign a Protocol with the United Manufacturers' As
association, he said, an organization composed of employers in a smaller way of business.

Here is a copy of a list of demands submitted by this Association for acceptance by our Union. On perusing them you will realize the class of manufacturers with whom Hourwich intended to enter into a Protocol agreement.

DEMANDS BY THE UNITED ASSOCIATION:

1. If we are to be the masters of our business, and not be interfered with in the conduct of same, we must maintain the right to discharge such employees whom we consider a menace and detriment to our business. Moreover, it was agreed between the Union and our Association some fifteen months ago that we have the right to discharge any employee whom we do not want.

2. Price Settlement.

(a) The present system of settling prices by business agents, in cases where the employers and employees disagree, is a farce. We propose that a Board of Price Arbitrators shall be appointed and remunerated jointly by the United Association and the Union. In every case where the employer and employee disagree as to piece prices each side shall be privileged to call upon a Price Arbitrator, and his decision shall be final.

(b) Prices settled by the employer and his employees shall be binding upon both sides and cannot be re-settled. If, however, the quality of labor is reduced, and the employer and employees mutually agree upon the prices for a cheaper class of garments than previously settled, such prices shall stand and shall not be considered as re-settled. If a dispute arises, the decision of the Price Arbitrator in such dispute shall be final.

(c) If the employees shall cause a stoppage of work for any reason, it shall be optional with the employer to discharge these employees and engage other help.

(d) The Price Committee shall settle with the employer as many garments as the employer is ready to settle at any time. Should they refuse to settle such garments, then the employees shall make these unsettled garments at prices subject to future settlement.

3. It shall be optional with the employer to make duplicate samples, this matter depending upon the selling force of the employer.

Duplicate samples shall be made by week or piece workers, at the discretion of the employer. If made by piece workers, the bonus shall be agreed upon by the employer and employees through their chairman, or, in case of dispute, by the Price Arbitrator.

4. The employers shall have the right to employ at least one sample maker in proportion to ten operatives, by the week, and if his time cannot be occupied making samples, he shall be permitted to work on duplicates or stock.

5. The pressers and under pressers shall be required to mark and tear all tickets. The managing presser shall not be under the jurisdiction of his local.

6. Workingmen shall not be removed by the Union from the shops during the busy season. If the pressers are accused of working by the piece, they shall be tried jointly with their employer by a Joint Committee of the Association and the Union, and if found guilty they shall be removed and the employer disciplined by the Association.

7. Business agents shall adjust and settle all disputes in the show rooms of the employers.

8. Work shall be divided by the employers or whichever they designate.

9. No co-operation shall be permitted, as this tends to the demoralization of the shops and puts a premium on laziness and incompetence.

10. Overtime work shall be permitted, whether or not the benches are filled.

11. Complaints against members of the Association for violating the agreement between the Association and the Union shall be made by the manager of the Association and not by the Union, and the Union shall not designate to whom the fine, if imposed upon by the Association, shall be payable.

12. The Union shall appoint a Clerk to deal with the United Association, and it shall be the duty of this Clerk and the Manager of the Association to promote human and harmonious relations between the employers and employees.

13. A Grievance Committee of three from each side shall be appointed by the Union and the Association, who in turn shall appoint an impartial public-spirited man as chairman. It shall be the duty of the Grievance Committee to adjust and settle all such disputes as may arise from time to time be
tween the manager of the Association and the Clerk of the Union, and also to legislate for the betterment and welfare of the industry.

14. In view of the fact that in addition to legal holidays the employees are observing also Jewish holidays, five or six Jewish holidays shall be substituted for legal holidays, the details to be arranged between the Association and the Union.

We were telling the Joint Board that in view of the crisis reached they might as well drop the Hourwich affair altogether and begin making preparations for a strike. "Let Hourwich lead the strike forces and we will follow him," we said one day. When, however, the professor saw that the probability of war was being seriously contemplated and that the clang of figurative arms was filling the atmosphere, he sent in his resignation and went home to sleep. The delegates of the Joint Board were at a loss whether or not to accept his resignation, for to vote for accepting his resignation meant being morally killed in the Union, and perhaps being exposed to physical violence; not to accept his resignation implied the responsibility of bringing ruin upon thousands of families.

The Joint Board sent a committee to Hourwich—to his private residence—requesting an explicit statement as to what he intended to do. Would he, like a true general, lead the forces out on strike or not? He replied that he resigned unconditionally, but nevertheless conditioned that the voting on his resignation should be open—all the cloakmakers should know who voted for or against him. (What his motive was for this condition can be easily imagined.)

He also stipulated that his resignation should be referred to a referendum of the people. Then "our friend" Morris Winchevsky prompted him to demand the immediate resignation of Secretary Dycho and myself; and since Hourwich is a "good hearted" fellow he consented to do Winchevsky a favor, and condition our resignation.

The Joint Board delegates finally realized that they were dealing with an individual who was deliberately intent on breaking up the Union, and decided to vote on his resignation by secret ballot.

Regarding the demand for our resignation we informed the Joint Board that as we had been elected by all the locals of the Internation, it was our duty to stand at our posta until the constitutional election of our successors; they might, however, prefer charges against us or impeach us before an impartial tribunal composed of the foremost trade unionists of the country, and if we should be found guilty of having infringed any of the laws of our constitution we would resign forthwith.

Up till now no local has taken this step.

I want to say in a general way that if we are responsible for Hourwich being compelled to leave the union movement, we are rather proud of it, inasmuch as thereby we averted a strike that would have had a sad termination. By this time there would have been nothing more to wrangle about; by now the noisy element would have altogether forgotten the Union.

Our movement has got rid of a man who, in a sense, is an enemy of organized labor. The loss of our strikes in Philadelphia and St. Louis may be attributed to the professor's stunts in New York.

A SPECIAL FUND FOR NEW LOCALS.

I have already reported that our organizers have been fully occupied in conducting our general strikes, and had no time left to organize new unions. We have, however, accomplished a more important work—we have, through their energy and untiring efforts, transformed small and insignificant locals into big unions of thousands of members. We are at present engaged in organizing an entirely new trade that has never before been organized; namely, the Ladies' Neckwear Workers—exclusively women. In accordance with the decision of the General Executive Board I have appointed a special organizer for this work.

We have made strenuous efforts to organize the waistmakers and white goods workers of Newark, N. J., but so far we have met with no success. We are also trying to organize the waist and dressmakers of Worcester, Mass., with good hopes of accomplishing our object. When Vice-President Polakoff worked for us several months he organized a Waist and Dressmakers' Union in Chicago, but as soon as he left Chicago the local collapsed, because it had no competent person to take charge of its affairs.

At our last convention it was decided to appoint district organizers, each of whom should devote attention to a particular district, so that locals should be able to obtain organizing assistance in quicker time than when applying
to the General Office. We tried this method, but it did not work successfully in practice. In the first place, we found it almost impossible to obtain organizers willing to make other cities their permanent quarters. It was with great difficulty that we were able to persuade Vice-President Sigman to stay a few months in Boston, and Vice-President Polakoff to spend a couple of months in Chicago. In the second place, the General Office is thereby estranged from the life and doings of the various locals and ignorant of their activities. In the third place, a district organizer often has on his hands a number of strikes or troubles, and it becomes necessary to transfer him from one place to another. Therefore it is more advisable that the General Office shall direct the organizing work.

Many of our smaller locals are under the impression that the General Office is obligated to provide them with organizers to do the work of a business agent; namely, distribute handbills, call shop meetings, and so forth. This makes the organizers so cheap that within a short time they have to be transferred to another city.

An organizer can only be successful when he has the confidence of the workers whom he wants to organize, or of those with whom he has to work together. Failing to have that confidence, he will be powerless to accomplish anything, even if he is known to be the best organizer. Almost all of our organizers are desired in one place, but not desired in another. For that reason it is essential that the organizers shall be assigned direct by the General Office to such places where their work will produce the best results.

**OUR ORGANIZING WORK.**

In my report to our last convention I said as follows:

New locals rarely begin their existence without strikes, and sometimes these strikes are of a very serious kind. In small cities, in the case of a local losing a strike, it may mean that many good and honest employees have to leave the city because of their having been the pioneers in the movement.

A new local in such a case would not be entitled to any benefit, even assuming the International Union had a strike and lockout fund. Yet such locals stand in need of financial support to a certain extent, to enable them to take the proper steps for insuring their existence. I am therefore of the opinion that a special fund should be created to help those new locals that are drawn into troubles from which they cannot extricate themselves. The help has not been rendered and the results are anything but cheering.

The Committee of Officers' Reports reported on this recommendation that the next General Executive Board should create a special fund for new locals. The General Executive Board could not, however, decide anything definite on this matter, as the convention itself did not come to any definite conclusion.

If such a fund was necessary two years ago, it is more necessary at present. In the last two years we were compelled to refuse chartering a number of locals, because they were then on strike, and we would have had to support them, and we had not the means. For the same reason we were also compelled to refrain from organizing new locals in places where such locals were an absolute necessity. Local No. 1 went even so far as to send us ultimatums, warning us that unless we organize the cloakmakers of Jersey City and other cities around New York they will withdraw from the International. But we could not help it. As soon as a union is organized in such places where there are no more than one or two factories, we are compelled to call a strike, and for that the International Union has no resources.

It was therefore my opinion then, as it is now, that the convention should raise the per capita one-half a cent a week, to be used only for strikes of newly organized locals.

**LOCALS ORGANIZED AND LOCALS DISSOLVED.**

We regret to state that the number of dissolved locals is larger than it should have been, only because we had no financial means to keep them up. We could not extend our work to new territories, where our industry is expanding. Our whole activity has therefore been concentrated only on the already existing locals. It is nevertheless necessary to give a list of locals organized and locals dissolved:

**ORGANIZED.**

1. Ladies' Garment Workers, Seattle, Local No. 29.
2. Bonnzi Embroidery Workers' Union, Local No. 66.
3. Skirt and Dressmakers' Union, Toronto, Local No. 70.
4. Ladies' Neckwear and Novelty Cutters, New York, Local No. 108.
5. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Fall River, Local No. 108.
6. Ladies' Tailors' Union, Omaha, Neb., Local No. 110.
7. Cleveland Raincoat Makers' Union, Local No. 111.
8. Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Montreal, Local No. 112.

DISSOLVED.
1. Ladies' Tailors' Union, Albany, Local No. 30.
2. Ladies' Tailors' Union, Atlantic City, Local No. 33.
3. Ladies' Tailors' Union, Cleveland, Local No. 39.
5. Ladies' Tailors' Union, Philadelphia, Local No. 43.
6. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Des Moines, Local No. 46.
7. Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Chicago, Local No. 51.
9. Milwaukee Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 57.
11. Ladies' Tailors' Union, Troy, N. Y., Local No. 60.
12. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Savannah, Local No. 87.
13. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Louisville, Local No. 89.
15. Alteration Ladies' Tailors' Union, St. Louis, Local No. 93.
16. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Winnipeg, Local No. 97.
17. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Richmond, Local No. 101.
18. Raincoat Makers' Union, Boston, Local No. 107.
19. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Fall River, Local No. 109.

The following locals have amalgamated with other locals:
Local No. 18, St. Louis, with Local No. 78.
Local No. 42, Cleveland, with Local No. 26.
Local No. 65, Philadelphia, with Local No. 2.
Local No. 68, Brownsville, with Local No. 35.
Local No. 72, Brownsville, with Local No. 35.
Locals No. 78 and No. 94, Chicago, with Local No. 44.

Most of our dissolved locals were in small cities, where there are only a few score ladies' tailors, who leave the city on the slack season setting in. It is therefore difficult to keep up a union in those places.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.
At our last convention we indicated the necessity of being affiliated with the ladies' garment workers of other countries, first for the support in time of strikes and lockouts; secondly, to show practical solidarity with the workers abroad. Our last convention instructed the General Executive Board to affiliate with the European tailors' unions, and I am glad to inform you that we have affiliated with the International Tailors' Secretariat. In July, 1913, the convention of this Organization took place in Vienna, Austria, and our General Executive Board elected Secretary Dyche to represent our Union thereat. Secretary Dyche has described the proceedings at that convention with fitting comments and impressions of his tour in a series of articles in our Official Organ, the Ladies' Garment Worker. We have also received from Brother Stuhmker, the General Secretary of the International Tailors' Secretariat of Berlin, a number of copies of the official report of the Vienna convention, of which every delegate can get a copy on application.

Our convention will have to decide whether or not we should continue our affiliation with the International Tailors' Secretariat, because affiliation implies the payments of per capita. The convention will also have to decide whether we shall admit into our locals, without or at a nominal initiation fee, members of the affiliated unions who come to us from Europe holding traveling cards. I am glad to inform you that we took the first step toward international solidarity by contributing $100 to the striking tailors of Holland.

THE AUTONOMY OF OUR LOCALS.
It is necessary that our International should make clear its position on the question of local autonomy. According to our constitution, no general strike may be called without the consent of the General Executive Board. Shop strikes, however, may be called by each local on its own account. The result is that after
such strikes are called many locals come to the International for financial support, and we have to support them, because our General Executive Board would not dare to call off a strike. The result is that many strikes are called that should not have been called at all, for they brought no improvement to anybody and drained the treasuries of the locals and the International of many thousands of dollars, and thus weakened our Unions.

The power of the International Office in calling, conducting and settling strikes—in single shops or in the trade of an entire locality, must once for all be clearly defined. Even if the International is not given full power over strikes, it is necessary to extend its powers and to restrict the locals' autonomy in this and other respects. The General Office must have the right to interfere in the affairs of its local Unions and have a voice as to the competence or otherwise of the officers appointed by the locals. It happened many a time that a strike broke out only as a result of the incompetence and stubbornness of a local officer. As, for instance, the Hourwich incident in New York, where the very existence of the Union, together with the International, was at stake. Or take the case of a certain business agent of Cincinnati, whose foolish conduct dragged the Unions into strikes, court injunctions and the loss of thousands of dollars. If, however, the convention decides that the autonomy of our locals should be extended rather than limited, there would be no sense in the International Officers interfering in any strikes, lock-outs and other affairs involving disputes with employers. In the event of such a decision, the General Office will be reduced to the function of stamp-selling and serve as a mere organization committee.

Our International is now a great Organization. The whole labor movement is carefully watching its movements. Many labor leaders with whom we discussed this question failed to understand how it is possible to call a strike or negotiate agreements without the direct consent of the International Union. On the other hand, if the convention desires to maintain the standing and practice of the International and make it strong, our laws must be so amended as to give the International Officers more power than they now possess.

A UNIFORM AND REASONABLE INITIATION FEE.

In our report to the last convention we contended that $28 initiation fee, which some of our locals charge, is really excessive for workers in our trade. Many apply daily to the General Office for relief, but we cannot do anything for them. I then recommended that the convention should determine upon a maximum initiation fee. The convention, however, rejected my recommendation, with the result that in New York there are a great army of non-union men ready to take the places of our members whenever the slightest conflict arises between the Union and the employers. I repeat again that the convention should fix a maximum initiation fee, and no local should have the right to charge more than the fixed rate.

PROTOCOL AGREEMENTS, INDIVIDUAL AGREEMENTS OR NO AGREEMENTS.

We must at this convention decide once for all whether or not our locals and our International Union should sign agreements with the employers. We know from experience that in many cities and trades strikes continued for weeks and sometimes for months, only because the manufacturer refused to sign an agreement, though he agreed to grant all the employees' demands. If, on the other hand, the delegates are of the opinion that agreements should be signed, they will have to go on record in precise terms whether the International Officers should enter into negotiations with an Association of manufacturers for the purpose of making collective agreements or "Protocols." Lately a division of opinion has arisen in our Union over this question. Some of our people agree with the Syndicalists, that on settling a strike it is in the interest of the workers not to enter into any agreement with the employers. They think that without an agreement the workers are always in a position, especially in the busy season, to ask for more. But they forget that in our trade there are seasons that favor the employer. In the slow season he is in a position to take back with interest all the advantages he gave them in the busy season.

Such was at one time the condition of affairs in New York and other cities before we succeeded in building up strong organizations. At the beginning of each season a union was organized, a strike was conducted, and the manufacturers were compelled to raise the prices.
some times as high as 100 per cent. But they more than compensated themselves in the slow season by paying the employees for a dollar garment 35 cents. Since the slow season in any one year is of longer duration than the busy season, the workers mostly have to work at starvation wages.

Those who cherish Syndicalist ideas ignore entirely the experiences of real life. With them everything is a matter of theory or principle. According to them the workers must always and everywhere be at liberty to strike, even at the risk of ruining the entire industry.

On the other hand, there is an element in our Unions who, while believing that the Union may enter into agreements with individual employers, yet oppose any kind of recognition or business relations with an association of manufacturers. The employers, too, resort to this argument; they say, "We are always prepared to deal with our employees individually, but we will never deal with the representatives of a union.

Many of our Unions fought weeks and months in order to break up manufacturers' associations, and when they succeeded and entered into agreements with individual employers, the Union did not last more than a few months.

This happened four years ago, after the strike of the New York waist and dressmakers. At first they signed agreements with nearly four hundred manufacturers, but six months later all the settled shops became non-union shops. The individual employers gave the Union so much trouble that the workers tired of frequent strikes and left the Union.

At one time the manufacturers did not find it necessary to be organized, for the reason that the workers were not organized either. Where the workers did organize hastily and went on strike, the employers knew that a few months later there would remain no trace of a Union. They therefore did not resist the Union, and signed any agreement submitted to them. A certain cloak manufacturer in New York signed two agreements every year without even reading them. He knew very well that ultimately he would be able to do with his employees as he liked. But as soon as our Unions assumed permanence and stability the manufacturers felt that they could no more mold the worker at will, and they began to organize into associations to further their common interests.

Manufacturers' associations may serve one or other of these purposes: They may engage in a war to the knife against the unions, even if this war involves them in the loss of thousands of dollars. They think that when they succeed in breaking up the Union it will repay their losses with interest. This was the idea of the Philadelphia and Cleveland manufacturers. Another purpose of the Association is to enter into negotiations with the unions and try to get the best possible bargain, as the manufacturers of New York and Boston have done. It is, of course, understood that if manufacturers enter into an agreement with the Union, it is not because of their sympathy with the exploited workers, but simply in order to make the best possible bargain with them. They know quite well that a strike will be too costly; it may involve them in great financial loss and sometimes ruin their whole business.

Another aim the manufacturers have in view when settling with the Union is that a settlement will preclude strikes in the middle of the season and they would be able to proceed with their work unhindered. When, however, you claim that the workers should be perfectly free to strike at any time, even under an agreement, then the manufacturers will claim the same right to discharge union men and reduce prices as they think fit. In that case agreements are absolutely useless, and instead of fighting to make the employers sign what becomes a mere piece of paper, it would be better to give up signing agreements altogether.

The aim of every organization of employees or employers is to protect its members whenever their rights and interests are threatened by the other side. When an individual member has a grievance against his employer the Union must take his part, even if this should lead to a struggle with the manufacturers. The same idea holds good with the manufacturers concerning their members; they, too, will protect their members, even at the cost of a general strike or lock-out. To avoid such conflicts a more civilized expedient than strikes has been found, namely, mediation. In time of conflict both sides come together and try to settle their differences in a peaceful manner. If they fail to agree on a settlement the matter may be referred to an impartial tribunal or arbitration committee. You must, however, remember that you cannot expect the arbitrators to decide all points of dispute in your favor or grant all of your demands. When,
for instance, you demand a raise of $5 a week in wages, and the manufacturers refuse any raise at all, you may rest assured that the arbitrators will not grant you more than half your demand. Or when you put forward five different demands, however important you may consider them, you will very seldom get all you want. If, however, you are under the impression that you are entitled to 100 per cent. of your demands and refuse to compromise, then you have no right to resort to any arbitration with the manufacturers, and you must fight it out by a strike.

In that case there is no use entering into collective agreements, because the aim of all collective agreements, or Protocols, is to limit the right to strike. If you go to arbitration you must also be ready to forego some of your demands, whether you like it or not; and, since Protocols are closely related to arbitration, then you must decide against Protocols.

Many of our members believe that we should enter into agreements with the employers, for without agreements our position would be far from enviable, but only with individual manufacturers and not with a manufacturers’ Association. When an individual employer does not grant the demands of the Union, you think we can call a strike at any time; but it is entirely different from an association manufacturer—a struggle with one means a struggle with the entire association. It may lead to a general strike. For this our Union is not always prepared, and therefore we ought not to enter into collective agreements, you think.

The fact is that we did not ask the manufacturers to organize—they organized against our will. At the beginning their main aim was to fight the Union. Being organized, they may refuse to enter into individual agreements with the Union, which may all the same lead to a general strike that we may happen to lose. The question, therefore, arises, would it not be to our advantage to deal with an entire association and try to get the best possible conditions?

If this convention should decide that by no means shall we enter into collective arrangements with the manufacturers’ associations, your officers will have no alternative but to comply with your decision, even if strikes should result from such a decision.

But the truth of the matter is that the cloak-makers and waistmakers of New York and other cities signed a few hundred agreements with individual employers, and nobody will be in a position to say that the workers in these shops are better off than those of the Association shops. The fact is that though in such shops the business agent may call a strike whenever he likes, yet it is common knowledge that in many of the independent shops the union scale is not paid, legal holidays are not observed and a larger percentage of non-union people are employed there than in the Association shops. All strike-breakers and non-union people who are discharged from the Association shops have easy access to the independent shops, in spite of the fact that the agreements entered with them provided for a strictly closed shop. It happens very often that the workers of such a shop are called on strike and lose a day, and sometimes a week, in wages in order to enforce payment for a legal holiday for one of their fellow workers, while in an Association shop such moneys are easily collected without even striking for a minute.

All American labor organizations are aiming to enter into collective agreements with the manufacturers of the whole country if possible, or at least with those of the entire city, for they realize that in this way they would be in a better position to regulate prices and working hours. They also realize it is better to deal with a responsible body. An individual manufacturer, however grasping he may be, as long as he is a member of an association he is compelled to comply with a certain standard of business decency, just as in our Union here and there an individual member may not be up to the mark, yet in an organization he must behave properly. It also prevents many strikes that in most cases are derogatory to the Union.

With us it is quite the opposite: Our people are greatly disappointed if they cannot strike at every opportunity. It is unnecessary to state here the results achieved by our locals through single strikes; they are well known to most of our delegates to this convention.

In the last few years many attacks were made on the Protocol. People who were instrumental in introducing the Protocol are accused by the so-called “radicals,” who never did any constructive, but rather destructive, work in the union movement. Some even go further and say that the Protocol is an obstacle to the class-struggle continually going on between labor and capital. This Protocol is, therefore, injurious to the interest of the workers and should be abolished. Our friend, the pro-
fessor, did not hesitate to permit a Toronto daily paper to come out with glaring headlines, in a report of his lecture in that city that the "New York Cloakmakers' Unions are scab agencies." Perhaps some of the delegates to this convention, who are the professor's adherents, agree with him that those unions who enter into agreements with the manufacturers' associations are scab agencies who provide scabs for the employers in time of strikes.

You certainly do not care to act as scab agents, and you will therefore have to decide at this convention whether every individual worker has a sacred right to strike of which he must not be deprived. If so, you will have to abandon signing whether collective or even individual agreements, for many individual agreements also provide for arbitration. If, however, you go on record that agreements are necessary for the welfare of the unions, you must recognize them collectively as well as individually, for we have now employers' associations always with us, and give up the pleasure to strike every day in the year. You will also have to discipline those of our members who go on strike without your consent. Otherwise no association and not even an individual manufacturer will enter into any agreement with us. Neither will there be any need for a union at all, because if every worker is allowed to do as he pleases, there is really no reason for the existence of a union. The issue before you is, therefore, as follows: Are we trade unionists and believe that when we enter into agreements with the manufacturers we must comply with their provisions, and when we have grievances against the other side we should adjust them by means of mediation or arbitration, or are we Syndicalists and believe in no agreements with manufacturers, and thus give full liberty to our people to strike to their hearts' content? In that case they will have no more act as "scab agents.

The issue is, therefore, clear: Trade Unionism or Syndicalism!

WHO SHALL PAY STRIKE BENEFIT?

In my report to the last Toronto convention, referring to the question of who shall pay strike benefit, I stated that under our present system our locals cannot make much progress. Those locals which have a treasury can afford to pay strike benefit. The majority of our locals, however, never have a cent of their own. Their employers know it and always seek to give the Union trouble. When such locals call a strike they are compelled right at the very beginning to apply to other locals for donations. Those locals who have able solicitors of support always succeed in getting more than those who have no such solicitors, though they may have a larger number of strikers. If the General Office were to pay strike benefit, each local would, in time of strike, be entitled to sums in proportion to the number of strikers. In this way strikes would cost much less than at present.

Under our present system the main burden falls on the few bigger and richer locals, while a large number of our locals will very seldom contribute to strikes, except when the strike involves thousands of workers. I therefore urged in my last report the necessity of raising the per capita tax, and the amount raised shall constitute a special fund for strike benefit. Then each local and each member would contribute an equal amount for strikes and other expenditures, and each member would receive in benefits an equal amount. At present in some of our locals those who can clamor loudest get $15 and $18 a week strike benefit, while those who do not possess enough nerve have to be content with $6 or $8 a week. It has become almost a habit when a shop in New York is called out on strike for the people to inquire how much benefit they will get while on strike. If they are not satisfied with the amount they have to be pulled from the shops against their will.

Our last convention discussed this question, and after a somewhat heated debate resolved, with 59 votes against 56, to adopt my recommendation that the International Union shall pay strike benefit.

The convention, however, instructed the General Executive Board to draw up a detailed plan regulating these payments. The General Executive Board thought that preliminary to any plan it is necessary to know how much the per capita tax will be raised. Some members of the Board were of the opinion that if the per capita would be 8 cents a week instead of 2½ cents, as at present, 5 cents could be put aside for a special strike fund. Our present membership being about 80,000, 5 cents would realize the sum of $280,000 annually, which would be sufficient to pay at least $6 a week to every striker.

Our General Executive Board felt, however,
that if referred to a vote of all the members the proposition to raise the per capita would never be carried. Since all the delegates of the New York Joint Board voted against the International paying strike benefits at the last convention, the opponents of the plan would take good care to defeat it at the ballot boxes. Soon after the convention we got busy with strikes and important organizing work and postponed the question for awhile.

What I want to say to the delegates to this convention is this: If our arguments to raise the per capita two years ago could convince 39 delegates to vote in its favor, we will now try to prove that it is of the utmost importance for the existence of the International and its locals that it should have a direct control over the payment of strike benefit. A mere vote in its favor will not suffice—you will have to amend the constitution so as to make unnecessary to refer the question to a referendum. For as long as locals No. 1 and No. 9 will have a dollar in their treasuries, and as long as the present leaders of these two locals will remain at the head, they will take good care that when the question is referred to a referendum it should be defeated.

In course of the last strikes in Philadelphia and St. Louis the absolute necessity that the International Office should administer the payment of strike benefits was shown to be indisputable. It would not be necessary to give up strikes suddenly, when the chances of settling at least half way are apparent, for the only reason that a Joint Board might have a fight with a professor. Because the International Officers step in to prevent the breaking up of our Unions and restore order—because of that the locals take revenge and stop the money supplies for the strikes. We could not rely on the smaller locals outside of New York, for they have no money to give, and were compelled to give up the strikes, though we were within two days of a settlement.

At our last convention we reported that during the time of the general strike of the Lodis Tailors, Local No. 38, I passed a remark at the Joint Board to the effect that a certain local had no right over a certain branch of the trade over which it claimed jurisdiction. The next day when I came to collect the amount due, I was given one-half of the amount decided upon. Then the secretaries of the other locals followed suit. This was done without warning or giving me any notice. On another occasion it was reported by one of the members of the Executive Board of a certain local that President Rosenberg, in a speech somewhere, having made some uncomplimentary remarks on the conduct of the Executive Board of this local, he therefore issued an order to the Secretary to stop the supplies. 'If you will not see that our local will get what it wants, you will get no money for your Cleveland strike,' said an Executive Board member to me on one occasion."

Surely, under such conditions it is impossible to conduct a strike with any measure of success. The provision for levying assessments has also proven a failure. Even in the case of those locals that have a fund in their treasury we were compelled to run after them every week before we could get the amount due. Thus strike benefit could not be paid in time and the strikers were demoralized. Most of our locals have no money in their treasuries, and they must therefore wait until the members pay their assessments; this naturally causes delay, while the strikers cannot wait.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to establish a sound financial system. This lack of system and of order reacted on the management of the strike funds in Philadelphia.

At the time of the Philadelphia and St. Louis strikes we assessed every member in accordance with our constitution with 10 cents per week for 15 weeks. Soon it proved that the majority of our members, mostly women, could not afford to pay the assessment on account of the small wages they earn. But if the per capita were raised our members would be required to pay every week a very small payment, which would be easy for them, while the General Office would always be able to know the available sum at its disposal for any strike. Benefits would be paid promptly and be under proper control, and in case a strike should have to be given up, owing to lack of financial means, the International would be in a position to make arrangements weeks before calling the strike off.

It will not suffice for the convention merely to vote for a raise in the per capita. We have already shown that there are in our locals many reactionaries who are always ready to oppose every new idea for the benefit of our people, and they will surely try to defeat this proposition at the ballot boxes. It will therefore be necessary that this convention should amend the
constitution giving the delegates power to raise the per capita tax without referring the question to a referendum.

OUR SPECIAL CONVENTION.

Since the last convention in Toronto a number of questions arose in our International Union on which we desired to consult the delegates. We therefore called a special convention, which took place in Yonkers, N. Y., May 1, 2 and 3, 1913, to consider the following questions:

1. The raising of the per capita tax to 5 cents per week.
2. The establishment of a Protocol label in the Dress and Waist Industry and also, if possible, in the Cloak Industry.

We desired the convention again to discuss the question of raising the per capita at the Toronto convention, because it had been carried only by a majority of three votes, and, secondly, because the Toronto convention did not decide definitely how much the raise should be.

After a long debate lasting all day, the convention decided in favor of the per capita being raised to 6 cents.

In September, 1913, we referred the decision of the convention to a referendum of our members. Instantly some locals raised a hullabaloo that the whole control of the Union was in danger of being turned over to those siding with the International. Shop meetings and mass meetings were called; speakers were sent out everywhere to warn the members of the danger that confronted them. Agitation in itself is quite legal and constitutional; every local has a right to agitate for or against any proposition. What I wish to comment on is the manner in which that agitation was carried on.

Local No. 1 had sent out to its members the following letter:

New York, October, 1913.

To Shop Chairman ..............

Dear Brother:—At the last convention of the International it was decided that the per capita, but it was passed at the convention for every member should be raised to 5 cents to serve as a general strike fund, and that the International shall pay strike benefit in New York or in the country, instead of the locals.

Our delegates to the convention were instructed to vote against raising the per capita, but it has been passed at the convention, and has now been submitted to a referendum vote, before it becomes law. Therefore, now is the time to give a final decision on the matter. The time is short, as by the end of October the result of the voting has to be sent in to the International. You are therefore called upon to bring all operators, right after work, to the nearest voting place to record their votes.

Every operator must have his union card with him, which will be stamped.

It is the duty of every operator, as a union man, in his interest, to come and vote in favor or against, according to his conviction.

The Executive recommends that you vote against the proposition for the following reasons:

First, because the dues will have to be raised. With the 80 cents per week paid at present it is impossible to keep up the local. Together with the per capita paid at present to the Joint Board it will amount to 12 cents. We shall have left only four cents for local expenses.

Secondly, every strike, even a single strike in New York, will have to be endorsed by the International. Without its endorsement it will be impossible to call a strike, because no strike benefit will be paid. This means giving the International the control of the shops.

Thirdly, it will be possible to call strikes in places, trades and at such times that may not be to the liking of the New York members; but they will have no voice in the matter; it will be in the hands of the International.

There are other reasons why the per capita should not be raised, but we cannot enumerate them in a circular.

We recommend, therefore, that you vote against the proposition. Let everybody vote. Otherwise the country locals will vote in favor and you will have to pay.

Everybody will receive a card. On one half of every card is printed "Yes" and on the other half "No." Tear off the part on which you want to vote and throw it in the box.

THE EXECUTIVE OF LOCAL NO. 1,
P. KOTTLE, Secretary.

Local No. 1 also advertised in the newspapers that members not in good standing would be permitted to vote. A number of members of
erved to make sworn affidavits that cloakmakers who were in arrears for more than six months had been permitted to vote.

The Election Committee in charge of the ballot boxes warned every member that on voting in favor of raising the per capita he will have to pay higher dues, and as many members do not want to pay higher dues they naturally voted against.

The International Office could neither control the voting nor the counting of the votes. At the election of business agents, in which all locals are interested and which is widely advertised in the press, only an average of 5,000 members of the Joint Board locals usually record their votes, and on this occasion Locals No. 1, 0 and 35 alone reported 11,761 out of a total of 12,341 against, while only 590 voted in favor. Some locals did not vote at all. The result of the whole vote was 6,260 in favor and 12,341 against, exactly as we had expected.

The second question before the special convention was the question of a Protocol label. You will remember that we undertook at the settlement with the Dross and Waist Manufacturers' Association that a Protocol label would be introduced for all garments that are made in Protocol or Onion shops. The manufacturers pledged themselves that after the Protocol label will have been one year in existence they will grant a ten per cent raise in the wages of their week and day workers. We thought that whenever our people have a chance to have their wages increased we should not deprive them thereof.

After prolonged debate the proposition was adopted, not without fault-finding on the part of our so-called radicals. A committee was elected to enter into communications with the manufacturers and try to bring the idea of a Protocol label into realization.

It so happened that the committee elected at the convention was not very enthusiastic about the idea. We are also waiting until the statistics of the wage scale investigations will be completed. These are the reasons why the Protocol label has not been realized as yet.

JURISDICTION DISPUTES IN OUR INTERNATIONAL.

Some of our locals often have disputes about the control of a shop or to what local certain workers should belong. For instance: Local No. 25 claims that all skirt shops now making dresses should be under its control; Local No. 25, on the other hand, maintains that the shops making dresses should be under its control, as at present.

The same applies to Local No. 25, which claims that all pressers, whether they work at dressers or waists, should be members of Local No. 35 and not of Local No. 25.

Similar disputes arise from time to time between Locals No. 3 and 38.

Our locals appear to have taken the advice we gave them in our report to the Toronto convention, that if the event of any jurisdiction question arising they should appoint a committee to settle their differences. Such committees now meet from time to time, and greater harmony prevails in our locals on such questions.

OUR PRESS.

At our last convention we reported that our locals were publishing their own local organs in addition to the Ladies' Garment Worker, which is published by the International. Naturally each publication has a local character, and there is no unity of purpose in our press. We therefore urged the necessity of a joint management, which would result in harmony, greater efficiency and a saving in cost.

The convention then decided that a joint committee of the General Executive Board and the World should be elected to draw up a plan of amalgamation. The joint committee met and after discussions that were prolonged for some months they proposed that the International Office should contribute the sum of $300 a month (this being the cost of the Ladies' Garment Worker) toward the publication of a joint organ; the Ladies' Garment Worker should be discontinued and a press committee consisting of an equal number representing the Joint Board and the International should be elected to control the management of the joint publication. This arrangement should be tentative and hold good for one year. If at the end of the year the plan will prove unworkable, an effort should be made to devise a new scheme or give up joint management.

The Joint Board rejected the scheme, and nothing remained for us to do.

Now, two years later, the necessity of an amalgamated press is even more urgent.

Two years ago only the Joint Board published a paper; now other locals, too, are publishing their own papers. The Cutters' Union,
Local No. 10, is publishing a weekly bulletin in English; the Waist Makers' Union, Local No. 25, is publishing three papers—English, Yiddish and Italian; the White Goods Workers, Local No. 62 and Local No. 50 have issued several bulletins in English and in Yiddish. If all these publications were carried on jointly the cost could be reduced by a half. We should also avoid much friction and misunderstanding. At present every publication is conducted on the write-what-you-like principle. Articles are sometimes published that absolutely do harm to our unions. We are informed that the "Lott de Classe," the Italian organ of the Joint Board, often has articles by well-known Syndicalists and Industrialists. It also contains appeals to their members to secede from the International and join the I. W. W.

Those papers also serve as a means of hurling denunciations against those with whom they do not agree. Though boasting of "Free Press" and "Free Speech," yet it would be impossible for a critic of the present chaotic affairs in the Joint Board to get anything published in its journals. This state of affairs, if permitted to continue, will eventually prove destructive to our unions.

In order to put a stop to that destructive work, I recommend that the convention shall decide to tax every member with one cent a week for which he would be entitled to a copy of a weekly paper in English, Yiddish, Italian or Russian to be published under the supervision of a committee elected at this convention—a practice adopted in all international organizations.

INJUNCTIONS AND COURT TRIALS.

In my report on the condition of our locals, I informed you of an injunction issued against our locals in Cincinnati, owing to the carelessness and incompetency of one of the business agents. As a result of this injunction the entire labor movement in Ohio is destined to suffer. Three of our members were sentenced to prison for contempt of court. We decided to take the case to a higher court regardless of expense, though the strike was of little importance. It is, however, important that no precedent should be created having serious consequences for the labor movement in Ohio State.

It is also important for you to know that three of our active members in New York are at present under arrest on the charge of murder, or of having been accomplices in the murder of a strikebreaker in the general strike of the New York Cloakmakers in 1910. One of the arrested is Brother Morris Sigman, a Vice-President of the International. The other two are Brothers Morris Stupniker, a presser, and Solomon Metz, the manager of the Brownsville office, Cloak Makers' Union.

We are certain that the whole story from beginning to end is nothing but a mere "frame-up" on the part of a few small manufacturers who should have been driven out of business long ago, and a few scabs and agent provocateurs who want to bring some of our leaders to the electric chair and thereby destroy our Unions.

Though we are convinced that our arrested brothers will ultimately be acquitted of the charge, and that this shameful conspiracy will eventually be laid bare, yet we must not rely on mere chance. We must engage the best possible legal service to defend our brothers, and we hope we will succeed in unmasking the vile conspiracy of our enemies—the scabs and detective agents.

Being a member of the Defence Committee, I know that at least $100,000 will be required to conduct the case successfully and prove the innocence of our brothers.

To our great regret, three of our late strikers in Philadelphia have just been sentenced to long jail terms—one to six years and two to three years each. These cases have been appealed and the International Union will have to come to the assistance of the Philadelphia locals to enable them to win the appeal.

The convention will, therefore, have to levy an extra assessment of at least $1 per member in order to cover the cost of the defence of those members.

RESOLUTIONS OF LAST CONVENTION NOT CARRIED OUT.

The Toronto convention passed many resolutions and referred them to the General Executive Board. A few of these resolutions are as follows:

1. Resolution No. 8—That the general office should send free of charge a copy of the "Ladies' Garment Worker" to every member. The General Executive Board, after carefully examining the question, come to the conclusion that it has neither the money nor the necessary facilities to carry out this resolution—publish and transmit 100,000 copies of the Official Journal to our members.

2. Resolution No. 19—That the Interna-
tional should establish a statistical bureau to investigate the working conditions of our people throughout the country. The General Executive Board tried right after the convention to carry out this resolution. We consulted statistical experts about the cost of such a bureau, and they estimated the probable cost as about $12,000 annually. We applied to the big New York locals which are also interested in a statistical bureau and asked them to cooperate with us. We offered to contribute $4,000, and that the Joint Board locals should furnish the balance, but Locals No. 1 and 4 refused to cooperate. Instead of this, Local No. 3 elected a few of its members and sent them around the shops to collect statistics relating to the wages of the workers. You can imagine the kind of statistics they obtained.

Being unable to defray the entire sum of $12,000 ourselves, we were compelled to let the matter drop.

3. Resolution No. 33—This provides for a conference with the three national Tailors' Unions, the United Garment Workers, the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and our International with a view to amalgamating all the three organizations in one body. Your General Executive Board held such a conference in Washington, under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. At this conference Brother Craft, secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' Union, was instructed to work out a complete plan of amalgamation, and submit the plan to a second conference. Brother Craft has not yet submitted his plan. At the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor I asked Brother Craft about the matter, but he gave me no definite answer.

4. Resolution No. 49—This resolution instructs the General Executive Board to change the charter of Local No. 17 to "Infants' and Reefer Operators' Union," and that all those who are not infant and reefer makers should be transferred to their respective locals. The General Executive Board directed Local No. 17 to have its charter changed within thirty days, in accordance with the resolution of the convention; but the officers of Local No. 17 took out a court injunction against the General Executive Board changing its charter. Certain peace-makers requested us to refer the matter to arbitration by a committee of the American Federation of Labor.

I thought that the G. E. B. had no right to refer a decision of the convention to arbitration. I was also anxious to see our brothers of Local No. 17 sending the General Officers to jail for contempt of court. It seems, however, that our G. E. B. members were not inclined to become martyrs, and they consented to refer the question to a committee of the American Federation of Labor. That committee decided that Local No. 17 should retain its old charter and the membership claimed by other locals. Local No. 17 is now affiliated with the Joint Board and it seems that the dispute is settled.

JOINT BOARDS AND DISTRICT COUNCILS—THEIR RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

Our constitution provides that each joint board or district council shall be entitled to be represented at our International conventions by one delegate. In many cities the joint boards are the main factor in carrying on the work of the locals, and it would be advisable that they should be in closer touch with the General Offices of the International. The convention should therefore decide to charter the joint boards and district councils in the manner in which the American Federation of Labor charters its State Federations and City Centrals.

I also recommend that each joint board or district council should pay an annual tax or dues of $10 to the International, so that there should be "no representation without taxation." This would also bring about a closer relation between the joint boards and the International than exists at present.

THE AGITATION AGAINST THE CLEVELAND MANUFACTURERS.

At our last convention the delegates decided to abandon the agitation against the Cleveland manufacturers. The delegates thought that the agitation, as it was then conducted, would never bring the manufacturers to terms with the Union, and possibly they were right. A mere agitation among business people and working women against Cleveland-made cloaks and suits can have no effect. Now, however, the whole matter has assumed an entirely different aspect, and vigorous measures will have to be taken to deal with the situation. Mr. Morris Black, the President of the Cleveland Cloak Manufacturers' Association, and his Secretary, Philip Frankel, are going about from city to city, wherever we have a strike on, and in every possible way they try to injure our Unions.

I have already indicated that Morris Black and Philip Frankel are partly responsible for
the loss of our strikes in Philadelphia and St. Louis. Shortly before this convention Frankel visited Baltimore and Boston, with the object of organizing the manufacturers of those cities against us. Vice-President Cohen informs us the Baltimore manufacturers are already raising their heads, contemplating a lock-out of all our union people.

In this city of Cleveland a convention of the National Cloak Manufacturers’ Association was held on May 9th of this year. The aim of that convention, as you will readily understand, was certainly not to find ways of treating their employees more humanely. Naturally the question of how to destroy our Unions was much discussed. While we quarrel about idle dreams and phantastic theories our economists are busy making plans how to crush our movement.

On April 22nd of this year Morris Black addressed a meeting of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and there he said that the trade unions are but ordinary trusts. They demand high wages for little work, and their main aim is to press money out of the poor manufacturers. He therefore urged the destruction of the unions and the introduction of a system of profit-sharing. In plain words it means that every operator, finisher and presser should become a partner in Mr. Black’s business. Mr. Black, however, failed to show how his operator will secure his right share of the profits, or what the percentage of profit will be. He did not fail to urge on the manufacturers the necessity of combining in strong associations, because when a union makes demands on an individual manufacturer, it stands a better chance than with an organized body of manufacturers; and a strong manufacturers’ organization can get a better bargain from a weak union.

Will our people draw the right conclusions therefrom? At all events Mr. Black is trying to make trouble for us.

The convention should therefore instruct the incoming General Executive Board to start a vigorous agitation against Morris Black, in order to show him before the world in his right color, as the relentless enemy of organized labor. His secretary, Philip Frankel, should also be stigmatized as an ordinary strike-breaker and scab agent.

COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.

A movement has recently arisen in some of our more advanced locals that paid local officers should not be eligible as members of the General Executive Board. Many reasons are advanced for this opinion. Every cloakmaker has his own reasons for it. Some are of the opinion that the paid officers not working in the shops cannot feel the workers’ needs. They maintain that shop employees would be more eligible. If this idea holds good for the officers of the International, why not first put it in operation in the locals? Consider what it implies: On every occasion when it is necessary to send a representative to a manufacturer or do some other executive work for the Union, some employee will have to stop work and go on this particular mission. However, as our locals themselves did not as yet put this idea into practice, we do not think it advisable that the International should begin it.

Others think that while the General Executive Board meets very often out of New York, a local officer who is a member of the G. E. B. must neglect his local duties when attending the meeting of the G. E. B. Those people forget that the work of the International is just as important as that of any local. Yet the idea contains some truth.

I am also of the opinion that paid local officers should not be General Officers, but on different grounds: First, many meetings of the G. E. B. are not properly attended because the members holding local offices are busy with their local duties. Secondly, whenever it is necessary to decide any questions against any local the G. E. B. member who is its paid officer will vote in its favor, even if the local is decidedly in the wrong. In that case the officer ceases to be an officer of the International, and purely and simply acts as a representative of his local.

My plan is, therefore, that one-half the members of the General Executive Board shall act as International organizers and the other half be composed of unpaid officers to check the work of the paid officers. Under no circumstances shall paid officers of local unions hold office in the International.

DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS.

In all civilized countries every citizen of whom certain duties are demanded is at the same time granted certain economic and political rights. The state has to protect his life and property (if he has any), and the state is also in duty bound to defend its citizens when
their fair name in dragged in the mire and their character blackened.

In less civilized countries, as, for instance, Russia, personal rights do not exist. Duties and burdens there are plenty. For that reason pogroms, murders and other excesses are very common in that country.

We, together with all civilized peoples are therefore continually protesting against such barbaric countries as Russia.

Our Unions, which pretend to be advanced and democratic, should really conduct their affairs in a civilized manner. When you require your officers to perform certain duties to the Union and its members, they must be guaranteed certain rights. This, however, is not the case in our Union. With us the higher the office the less rights the officer seems to have.

When a member is slandered or his name blackened by another he may prefer charges against his accuser to his local. When the member thinks he did not get justice in his local he can appeal to the Joint Board or to the International. But when an officer is maligned, either by a member of by a local, there seems to be no justice for him. Our local officers, business agents and secretaries are daily subjected to gross abuse by every low person with a union card in his pocket. Instead of the locals taking steps against such persons, they actually encourage them and consider them good union men and fighters for the cause. A number of these very persons are local leaders and members of Executive Boards. Very often they are members of the Grievance Committees. What justice can be expected at their hands?

The result is that many honest and intelligent workers who could be of great service to our movement are keeping aloof from the Unions and refuse to accept nomination for any paid office. No one suffers more from this than our Unions themselves.

The officers feel like strangers hired to do certain work. They do not feel that noble interest in their work which is born of the conviction that they represent and work for the welfare of the working class. They work like a machine, without zeal or enthusiasm. This naturally leads to demoralization.

In the case of the International Officers the matter is still more aggravated. Any demagogue who has not the least ability to make himself useful in the Union seeks to be a leader. All he need do is to come before a meeting of his section or local and raise the cry that the International takes away all the money in the local treasury for the support of strikes in other cities and trades with which the local union has nothing in common, and is not even consulted. This tone is sufficient to stamp them as fighters for the democratic rights of their locals and elevate them to the highest position as union leaders. These people do not retain their position for any length of time, for their incompetence and interested motives are soon invented. After awhile another demagogue appears and the same story is again repeated. The result is that the better element loses respect for the locals, the International and their officers. The International therefore rightly regard the masses who follow the lead of these trouble-makers as irresponsible hot-heads whose vapings do not count.

Recently a situation developed in our Organization that threatened its very existence. The International saw danger ahead; destruction of our Unions was looming on the horizon. They therefore had recourse to their constitutional rights and insisted on the removal of a person who was the cause of the trouble leading directly to disruption. The entire labor movement agreed that his peculiar trade union views and stubborn attitude had made the situation extremely dangerous to the best interests of the Union.

Some of our people made common cause with the most unprincipled yellow paper known for its antagonism to the organized workers, and together they led a crusade of abuse and vituperation against the International Officers. The most disgraceful epithets of "traitors," "reavers," "spies" and provocators were hurled at them in shrieking headlines, inciting the membership to noisy demonstrations and breaking of doors and windows at our offices, which subsequently looked as if they had passed through the experience of a Russian pogrom. All this was done with the connivance of the high officers of one or two locals. Threats were openly used to hurl the "hated" General Officers from the windows of the tenth floor. Professional scab and provocators took advantage of the general excitement and terrorized everyone who dared to express an opinion in defense of the General Officers.

Instead of our executives and active members trying to quell the disorder, they actually encouraged it. One of the secretaries of our
locals was actually a leader of such demonstrations. When the International Officers evinced firmness and refused to be intimidated by this open anarchy and violence, and, having eventually succeeded in removing the officer who had been the cause of it, they received the following note from the Joint Board:

A motion was made by Brother Saphin from Local No. 1, which reads:

"WHEREAS, The last trouble of our Organization is due to the fact that our officers of the I. L. G. W. U. have not acted in accordance with the sentiment of the affiliated locals of our Union; and,

"WHEREAS, This action is detrimental to our membership,

It is moved and seconded that the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers’ Union request the resignation of Mr. A. Rosenberg as General President and Mr. John A. Dyche as General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. L. G. W. U."

This motion was carried unanimously.

M. PERLSTEIN,
Secretary Joint Board.

I immediately replied as follows:

Mr. M. Perlstein, Secretary,
Joint Board Cloak and Skirt Makers’ Union.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In reply to your resolution, moved by our worthy Brother Saphin and unanimously adopted by a special meeting of the Joint Board, requesting the resignation of Mr. A. Rosenberg as President of the I. L. G. W. U., I wish to inform you that the Joint Board has no legal right to ask for my resignation.

I was elected at a regular convention of all the locals of the International Union, and so long as no charges have been brought and no judgment passed against me in accordance with the laws of our constitution no joint board, local or group of locals have any right to demand my resignation. I therefore advise you to arraign me before a court of honor, composed of well known trade unionists, two or three of whom to be chosen by myself and an equal number by the accusers, and an impartial chairman to be elected by both sides.

Awaiting your reply,

I remain yours,

A. ROSENBERG,
President.

I am still waiting for a reply. Had the gentlemen of the Joint Board adopted the above advice they would have to stop the abuses and insults. Evidently they have chosen the latter course.

The convention will, therefore, have to review the whole matter and pass an opinion whether a paid officer has really lost all his rights and may be subjected to all manner of abuse by anyone seeking cheap notoriety, without being able to ask even for redress, or we must create a tribunal where even a paid officer may get justice.

The convention will have to go on record in unmistakable terms. If we really are traitors to the working class, then there is not only no room for us as officers of the International, but we should be driven from the labor movement and be denied the right to ordinary membership in our local Unions.

If, however, the convention decides that we have committed no crime—on the contrary, that we did our duty as General Officers in trying to insure the existence of our Organization—then we demand that measures should be taken against our calumniators who fomented the trouble.

SHALL UNIONS BE INCORPORATED?

Some years ago a discussion arose in the American labor movement and in the labor press as to whether it is advisable that trade unions should be incorporated.

The discussion arose as a result of the famous fight of the manufacturers for the open shop. They had claimed that the Unions, not being incorporated, are not recognized by the law, therefore it was not advisable to enter into agreements with them, for they could not be held responsible for violations.

After prolonged discussions the Unions came to the conclusion that it does not pay them to incorporate. They held that any member, on being expelled from the organization, might sue the corporation for damages. Enemies in the ranks might obtain injunctions against the funds of the Union being used for strikes or other purposes. Ill-wishers of the Union might apply for the appointment of a receiver to inquire into the financial transactions of the Union. Though in the long run the Union might emerge unscathed from such proceedings, yet it would involve the Organization in frequent court cases. They therefore decided against government supervision.

Recently one of our locals conceived a desire
for government supervision, and decided to be incorporated. Their reason was that they wished to buy New York City bonds as an incorporated body. When I urged that Local No. 9 owns city bonds without being incorporated, they could find no answer.

The secret subsequently leaked out. A movement had been started in Local No. 9 to secede from the International; but as, pursuant to our constitution, secession or dissolution of any local is followed by forfeiture of its property to the International, Local No. 9 wanted to secure itself against its funds reverting to the International Union in the event of its secession.

Three months ago we were informed that Local No. 11 had followed the example of Local No. 9 and was incorporated. This was surprising indeed, for Local No. 11 has no city bonds. We soon learned that Local No. 11 had feared that the next convention would revoke its charter and order its amalgamation with Locals No. 1, 9, 23 and 35. Local No. 11 had therefore taken this precaution in order that its few dollars should remain in the possession of the "incorporator."

The convention will therefore have to decide whether it is desirable that Locals No. 1 and 11 shall remain incorporated. Perhaps it is equally desirable that the International Union should be incorporated in Washington and thus enjoy government supervision.

Under no circumstances should our locals be allowed to secure immunity or exemption from the operation of the laws of our International. The convention should instruct these locals to give up their charter of incorporation.

OUR FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS.

In conclusion I want to express my sincere thanks to our Executive members and our paid and unpaid officers for their good counsel and devotion to the Organization in the most trying times. I also desire to thank all progressive and friendly labor papers for aiding us in getting moral and financial support for strikes. I also sincerely thank the American Federation of Labor and its officers for helping us to organize new locals.

My thanks are also due to the many friendly organizations which rendered moral and financial support to our local Unions engaged in strikes.

In the hope that our delegates will carefully study my report, suggestions and recommendations, I remain, with fraternal greetings,

A. ROSENBERG,
President.
Report of General Secretary-Treasurer

John A. Dyche.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. C.,

Greeting:

Seldom, if ever, did a labor organization have such a brilliant opportunity to convince the workers in the trade of the efficacy of trade unionism as a means of improving their economic conditions as the one which presented itself to us in the Summer of 1910. For over a decade prior to that year unionism in the Cloak Industry had ceased to be a factor, and although single shop strikes were a frequent occurrence, yet since 1894 there had been no attempt made to call a general strike in the trade. This fact made it possible for us to imbue our people with a spirit of enthusiasm and devotion to the Trade Union movement. The faith in unionism became so strong that it removed every mountain of obstruction. The novelty of the idea of a general strike, the unheard-of demand in the Needle Industry for an eight-hour work day electrified the mass. The idea of a general strike spread like wild-fire. It was not confined to the workers in the shops only, but it also reached the foremen, the designers and the contractors, who organized and came out in sympathy with our people. The employers soon began to realize that they were up against it. In spite of the fact that the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association had been organized for the purpose of crushing the Union, it was soon compelled to turn around and radically change its policy. The Association was forced to sign an agreement with the Union which gave us not only Union recognition, but which also pledged its members to give preference to union people, and to "declare their belief in the Union, and that those who share the benefits of the Union should also share in its burdens."

Not only has our Union in the Cloak Trade in New York convinced the Manufacturers' Association that they are up against a tremendous force which they could not overcome—it has done more than that—it removed the economic objections on the part of our employers against unionism in the Cloak Industry. The manufacturers commenced to realize that since the Union was in a position to enforce its standards upon all manufacturers alike and equalize the price of labor throughout the industry, this power of the Union was not only of benefit to the workers, but to themselves also. Especially did this proposition appeal to the legitimate manufacturers who were in control of the Manufacturers' Protective Association.

In no industry, prior to the strike, has the price of labor differed so much between the lowest and highest paying employers as in the Cloak Industry. In quite a number of houses the scale for cutters was $24 per week, while in the down-town houses the prices for cutting were in many instances half that amount. The same thing applied to other branches of the trade. As to the hours of labor, there were houses where the working hours were 54 and 60 per week, and in others the hours were unlimited. In the busy season the unscrupulous employer could turn out much more work and deliver his orders at much shorter notice than the legitimate manufacturer. Quite a number of firms paid their week workers for several legal holidays. The legitimate employers began to realize that with the trade completely organized, the demands of the Union would be a help, rather than a hindrance to them. The only objection they had to the recognition of the Union was the fear that the Union, by becoming strong, would ruin their business. They were afraid of the so-called "walking delegate"; afraid that the officers of the Union would take advantage of the strength of the Organization and by their unreasonable conduct would destroy their business. This
fear was gradually removed by the great influence which Mr. Brandéis, Mr. Filene and other public spirited men succeeded in bringing to bear upon them. The result was that after a brief strike of eight weeks’ duration we gained concessions which no labor union has ever succeeded in procuring as a result of single strikes. Not only did we obtain a substantial raise of wages all around and a decrease in the hours of labor, but we succeeded in abolishing the worst abuses of the sweating system with which this industry in New York had been honeycombed.

For a time it appeared that the Union in the Ladies Garment Industry would be able to accomplish what organized labor in this country is constantly trying to do: namely, to convince the wage earners of the utility of unionism; to convince the manufacturers that Union recognition and Union control does not at all mean ruination of their business, and also to convince the public at large that a labor organization is a useful means of correcting the abuses which inevitably arise out of our present system of unrestricted capitalist competition.

This object of obtaining the loyalty of the members, removing the fears of the manufacturers and soliciting the sympathy of the public was just as important to us after we had won the strike as during our struggle. Since our victory had been confined to New York City only, it became apparent that in order to retain the fruit of the victory, and maintain in New York the high standard we obtained as a result of the strike, these standards would have to be extended to other cities where cloaks and suits and manufactured.

For a time it appeared that we would be successful. For the first year or so the devotion of our members to the Union and their faith and belief in their officers was unchallenged. It became quite a privilege for cloakmakers to be members of the Union. Their pride in their organization knew no bounds.

On the other hand, the manufacturers gradually dropped their fear of our Union leaders and commenced to realize that our officers are, after all, people with whom they can deal; that they are amenable to reason; that they seek to obtain for their members fair conditions of labor. The Association that fought so bitterly against the 'closed shop,' in the end practically helped the Union to completely unionize their factories. The preferential shop turned into a complete union shop.

At the same time the Protocol began to gain wide publicity. All kinds of reformers, social workers, journalists and politicians began to praise the Protocol up to the sky. Some enthusiasts went so far as to believe that this Protocol would serve as a model which could be applied to other industries for the purpose of minimizing the apparently inevitable conflict between Capital and Labor. At one time it appeared that the work of extending our Organization to the other centers in the Cloak Industry would prove plain sailing.

This state of affairs did not last long. Soon we commenced to notice a tendency to reverse. On one hand our workpeople began gradually to lose faith in the Organization and confidence in their leaders. They became skeptical as to the advantages they have gained through the Union. On the other hand, an equal feeling of opposition and distrust against the Union began to be noticeable among the employers. From New York it gradually spread to other centers, with the result that when we began the inevitable work of organization: namely, to extend the union standards to other cities, we met with bitter— I should say almost frantic—opposition on the part of the employers. This opposition on the part of the employers in the trade would not have been so dangerous to us had we succeeded in maintaining the devotion of the members toward the Organization. But the policy of our New York locals has been such as to bring about a condition of affairs which amounted to the ‘burning of the candle at both ends.’ It alienated the sympathy of our members, destroyed their loyalty and at the same time aroused the bitter antagonism of the employers. In view of such a state of affairs it was natural for the public to become skeptical as to the utility of our work.

So much optimism was left two years ago, in spite of our defeat in Cleveland, that the delegates at the last convention light-heartedly sanctioned general strikes, or commissioned the International officers to call general strikes in New York in the Waist, Wrapper, Kimono, Whitegoods and Raincoat Trades, and in the Cloak Industry in Philadelphia, St. Louis and other cities. At this convention I doubt very much whether resolutions of such a nature will be entertained by the delegates.

It is worth while pointing out here that the very same delegates who voted with so much
enthusiasm for the calling of these strikes displayed the bitterest opposition when the proposition of raising the per capita for the purpose of creating a General Strike Fund was submitted to a referendum vote last October. The delegates of Local No. 1 went so far as to circularize their members and warn them to vote against the increase of per capita, because they were sure that this money would be used by the International Union for the purpose of financing strikes outside of New York and helping the girls in the Waist, Dress, Whitegoods and other trades.

The loss of our strikes in Philadelphia and St. Louis can be attributed, in some measure, to the influence of the Western Cloak Manufacturers' Association. The greater evil which was done in New York cannot be attributed to the intervention of Messrs. Black and Franklin, but rather to the work of our own members. The cloak manufacturers in the West may act as strike breakers, but they can do nothing in the way of destroying the faith of the members in their leaders. This work was left to our own people; or, to be more correct, to outsiders who were taken into the employ of our locals.

The question before this convention, and for which a solution must be found if the Organization is going to live and exist, is to find out the causes which brought about this reaction, and what means should be adopted to remedy the existing evils in order to prevent the recurrence of the same. Evidently the policy which brought about the "burning of the candle at both ends" must stop if we are to live; if we are to maintain the ground that we still possess.

IT IS NOT THE FAULT OF ANY PARTICULAR INDIVIDUAL.

When things go wrong in an organization, it is usual for people to try to fasten the responsibility for it on some particular individuals. I dare say there will be quite a number of delegates at this convention who will tell you that all that is necessary to put things right is to get rid of the present "conservative" or "reactionary" general officers, and put a set of genuine radical men in their places—men who will enjoy the confidence of the masses and be in sympathy with their aspirations.

On the other hand, you may find a number of delegates who will tell you that it is all the fault of the outsiders—the Doctors and Professors—the aliens in the Trade Union movement, who were the cause of all this demoralization and strife, and that if you will keep those dilettanti and intellectuals out of the Organization, everything will be all right again.

Should, however, our radical element gain their desire; should they succeed in driving the "traitors" out of the Organization and putting in an administration that will be in sympathy with the aspirations of the masses, they will be confronted with this difficulty: The "masses" know of only one method of increasing their earnings and compelling the employers to put an end to the abuses and "discrimination" in the shops, and that is by calling strikes. But you all know that when an organization begins to call strikes right and left; when it does what the masses want it to do, it can succeed in one thing only, and that is stopping "discrimination for union activity," for such a policy would soon put the Union out of business, and therefore there will be no "union activity." It certainly will not increase the earnings of the workpeople. So that, after all, the problem is not as easy of solution as it seems.

To our friends who think that it is all the fault of the Doctors and Professors in our Organization I want to say that as long as our locals will be numerically strong and financially able to pay high salaries, there will always be sufficient "volunteers" among our "intellectuals" to come to the rescue of such locals, and raise the "holy" principle of the "class struggle" among our members. Under the present circumstances there is nothing to keep this class of gentlemen away from our Organization as long as its finances allow the payment of thousands of dollars in salaries.

To my mind, the fault lies not with any particular individual or group of individuals, but with the faulty construction of our International Union.

Differences of opinion there will be, no, are bound to be in a progressive, militant organization as to the methods, policies and tactics the organization is to pursue in order to obtain for the members the greatest advantages at the least expenditure of energy. Only in an organization which is as loosely constructed as ours can controversies among its officers or members produce such deplorable results as we have witnessed lately among our members.

RADICAL CHANGES NEEDED IN OUR CONSTITUTION.

In every report to our conventions I took
occasion to call the attention of the delegates to "the defects in the organization of our International Union" (New York, 1905). Again to the "changes needed in our International Constitution" (Boston, 1910), and again to "the radical changes needed in the organic laws of our Constitution" (Toronto, 1912).

Just nine years ago, in June, 1905, when I had the honor for the first time to present a report to the convention of this International Union, having had only one year's experience as an International Secretary, under the caption of "The Defects in the Organization of Our International Union," I made use of the following remarks:

"The measure of success we achieved in the first few years of our existence was chiefly due to the fact that we have been born on the crest of the wave of trade unionism which has then been sweeping this country. We did not, however, in its years of growth and prosperity develop within it a force which would enable it to withstand the tide of reaction."

Although "the measure of success" we achieved within these last few years is incomparably greater than "in the first few years of our existence," still we must admit that "we did not, in the years of growth and prosperity, develop within the organization a force which would enable it to withstand the tide of reaction."

The progress of an organization is that of a straight line. It is always subject to fluctuations. It is the business of wise union leadership in time of prosperity to get busy and develop within it a force which should enable it to withstand the tide of reaction. But our members who are, as a rule, so radical in words are hopelessly conservative, almost immovable, when it comes to action.

The composition of our International Union to-day, its organic laws, are just as faulty as they were ten years ago. There is, however, this difference: The faulty construction of a bungalow is not as dangerous to its occupants as that of a skyscraper.

The faulty construction of our International Union—"the defects of its organic laws"—is due to the contradictory nature of its laws. While on one hand the shaping of the trade policies of its membership, the entire relation between our members and their employers, is vested with the national body or central authority, on the other hand the relation of its members to this authority is of such a character as to make any attempt to exercise such authority worse than useless.

Theoretically, or on paper, the locals have practically no local autonomy, for the main activity of every labor union, which consists in its dealing with the employers, is vested with the General President. In reality, however, each local is practically a kingdom in itself.

Under the heading of "Radical Changes Needed in the Organic Laws of Our Constitution," at our last convention in Toronto I said:

"Ever since our New York convention in 1905, when for the first time I had the honor of presenting my report to the delegates of our International Union, I took the privilege of calling the attention of our members "to the defects of our organization " to the loose character of the affiliation of our locals.

From my report to the Boston convention I quoted:

"Confined as it is to rendering moral support, something which is dimly understood by the average member, the general office has been condemned to lead a hand-to-mouth existence, depending for its existence upon the good will and caprice of a few leading men in each local.

Further on in that report, under the same heading, I stated:

"Ever since I assumed the office of General Secretary-Treasurer, I felt all along that as long as our locals will "enjoy," as they do now, almost complete local autonomy, and pay the present per capita, from which the members get no more than "moral support" in case of need, so long our International Union, however large its membership may be at any time, will never be more, to put it bluntly and frankly, than a paper organization, always depending for its existence on the few influential members in each local. For the great bulk of our members it will never be more than a mere name.

The ties which bind our locals are still not stronger than that of "a rope of sand," as was characterized by Brother Henry Abrahams, the secretary of the Central Labor Union of Boston, when addressing our convention in 1910.

At the last convention our delegates passed
all sorts of resolutions, from a declaration in favor of Socialism in accordance with the theories of Karl Marks and Frederick Engels, down to a prohibition of lining garments by the machine; but they left the construction of our Constitution as faulty and as contradictory as ever.

THE LOOSE AFFILIATION OF THE LOCAL UNIONS TO THE NATIONAL BODY.

In every international union not only is there a central authority in the form of a general executive board, vested with legal power to act as a check on the local unions, but since labor unions have no police or military power to enforce the laws or decisions of its central authority, the same as the state has, the international unions have, therefore, introduced a system of strike, sick, death, out-of-work, traveling and other benefits for the purpose of binding the individual member and giving him a financial interest in the national body. Others again have a control over their membership through their union label, of which the international headquarters is the sole custodian.

With us, the International Union is no more than it was ten years ago, when, in my first report in the capacity of General Secretary, I said, "At best our International has never been more to the locals than a figurehead • • • and the payment of per capita depends upon the caprice and good will of the local leaders." We are a free and easy-going lot. In our International Union the individual member is not financially interested and knows nothing of the International Union. When one of the candidates for the office of business agent for the Joint Board of New York was asked before a board of examiners what the function of the International Union is, he replied, "Its business is to sell stamps to the locals." At our last convention the shortcomings of our death benefit system, which was introduced some eight years ago, was remedied by abolishing it altogether, instead of trying to improve and extend it.

Some of the delegates here at this convention have been members of our Organization prior to 1910, when our local unions consisted of a membership of volunteers—people to whom the Union could not give any substantial benefit, but they belonged to the Union out of sentimental notions, to satisfy their desire Union members. They remember how difficult it was to keep such members in line; how these volunteers paid dues as long as they liked, and the moment the Organization decided on something which was not to their liking, or something had been done without their knowledge or sanction, they would disappear. Each time such a volunteer paid his dues he thought he was doing the officers of the Union a personal favor. It was only when the members began to derive material benefit from the Union, when the Union began to control shops, that the members commenced to realize that they owe allegiance to the Organization. The moment the Union was in a position to exercise discipline over the members, that moment we began to have an organization in the real sense of the term.

The relation of our locals to the International Union to-day is still the same as the relation of the individual members to the locals was prior to 1910.

WHY THE OPPOSITION TO THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS COMES FROM THE NEW YORK JOINT BOARD LOCALS.

Especially is it true of the New York locals. The conditions in the small country locals are somewhat different. These locals know that in time of trouble the International Union always has a few thousand dollars in its treasury and can come to their rescue. All that our New York members know of the International Union is that it is a place where due stamps are bought. The utility that they can have from the International Union is a "moral" one, which does not go very far. On the other hand, we have in New York a few locals, each one of them the size of many an international union affiliated with the A. F. of L., governed by executive boards of one or two dozen men, under whose control there are treasuries amounting to tens of thousands of dollars. Owing partly to the big membership of the New York locals, the average member finds little interest in the local meetings and seldom attends them. Out of the forty or fifty thousand members, something like a thousand take an interest in the affairs of the organization, and in time of peace less than that number attend the regular meetings. The average member is interested in the problems of his shop only or his bundle. Outside of this, he does not care to know.

No matter what the size of a local union is, how big its membership may be, whether it consists of fifty, a hundred, a thousand or tens of thousands; whether its treasury consists of a few hundred, a few thousand or tens of thou-
mands of dollars, as the case is with the New York Cloak and Skirt Makers' locals, it is always governed by a small group of men or a "machine," as Professor Hourwich calls it.

The affairs of these locals are vested in a handful of executive board members who are inexperienced and who change office every six months. It is therefore only natural that the entire conduct of these huge locals is strongly noticeable above all a lack of responsible leadership, without which no labor organization can live and thrive. In fact, this "sense of responsibility" our members have been taught to hold in contempt. It is stigmatized as "conservatism," and there is nothing worse in the minds of our members than to be guilty of being "conservative." The moment this label is attached to anyone, he is done for; choose what his ability may be, or what services he may render to the Organization, it is of no account. Instead of a "sense of responsibility" we have "irresponsibility."

No wonder that under such circumstances it is possible for a man like Dr. Hourwich, even before he assumed the office of Chief Clerk, while still a complete stranger, to come before a meeting of the General Executive Board and tell them that the International Union has no jurisdiction over such members who are organized in local unions; and when Vice-President Amdor asked him: where and when the International Union had jurisdiction, he replied: only in places where there are no local unions. In other words, the International has jurisdiction over the Ladies' Garment Workers on the Atlantic ocean or the deserts of Montana.

**THE CONTRADICTORY NATURE OF OUR INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION.**

In short, this present state of affairs is not due to any particular individual or number of individuals, but it is the inevitable result of causes which lie in the organic laws of our constitution, and unless this will be radically changed things will become worse instead of better.

This convention must amend our laws so as to release the International Union from any obligations in the relations of the locals to their employers, and allow every local and every Joint Board to deal directly with the employers—call strikes whenever they find it necessary, present demands which in their opinion are advisable, make settlements on conditions which best suit them, and relieve the International Union of any supervision of such matters. In other words, it should extend the principle of local autonomy in the relations of our members and their employers.

If you are not prepared to do that, you must devise ways and means by which the International Union should have legal powers not of an indefinite nature, as the case is at present. The sense of Trade Union Legality, as every one of us will readily admit, does not go far with our members. In fact, the mere exercise of it by the International officers, in the minds of our big locals, is "treason." If you mean to have an International Union in the real sense of the term; if you want to sadde it with the responsibility of shaping the trade policies of your locals and to regulate the relations of our members and their employers; if you wish to create a Central Authority which should be in a position to act as a check on the excesses and caprices of the local officers—to be in a position to guarantee the conduct of the locals—then the International Union must cease to be, as it is now, "a mere figurehead" to the locals, "depending upon the caprice and goodwill of the local leaders." You must do as all other International Unions have done; namely, make each individual member financially interested in the National Body and bind your locals together in a real union.

Personally I believe that under the present conditions the International Union has no right to guarantee for any agreement which any local or the Joint Board signed with any individual or a body of manufacturers. If any Executive Board of any local union chooses, it may easily call a strike and pay the strikers benefits, as some of them have actually done. Neither the International nor the Joint Board can do anything in the matter. Have not the
officer* of Local No. 1 threatened over and over again to withdraw from the International Union and from the Joint Board.

The officers of Local No. 1 are not the worst in that direction. Only they are more energetic, more vociferous. And with us the crowd follows the loudest noise-maker. All the talk of the fights between the locals and the International is in reality a fight between the local and the International officers—between irresponsibility, demagogism, appeals to the gallery and experienced, cautious, responsible leadership.

Unless this convention can devise ways and means by which the individual member will be financially interested in the National Body, from which he may expect strike, sick and other benefits, then the next best thing to do is to relieve the International Union of any obligations to interfere in trade policies.

Under present conditions there is no more sense in the International Union becoming a party to any agreement or Protocol than it would be for our federal government to become a party to a treaty of peace if it possessed no army or navy and if its income would be derived from a tax, the payment of which depended upon the goodwill of the local politicians in each state. The International Union has no right whatever to be a party to any agreement with employers until it has not only the right to dictate to the locals its trade policy, but the right to have a say in the selection of the person or persons who are to represent the locals before the employers. Otherwise we will always be in the same position as we were last summer, when, through the criminal folly of Dr. Hourwich, we found ourselves on the brink of a precipice into which he was trying to hurl not only the Joint Board locals, but every other local affiliated with the International Union.

If, on the other hand, you will insist upon each local or Joint Board shall have complete autonomy in pursuing its own trade policy and selecting its own representatives to deal with the employers, then you must leave the International Union out of such arrangements. For the moment you make the International Union a party to a settlement with the employers, you put all the other locals in a position in which their interest must suffer from the misdeeds or mistakes of the representatives of other locals.

... Just as you cannot have a General Strike Fund to which all locals must contribute, and at the same time leave to each local the right to call strikes as often as it pleases, and to keep them up as long as it likes, so you cannot have... an arrangement by which the International Union, which means all the locals, should become a party to an arrangement with the employers, and yet at the same time leave it to every separate local to decide how and who is going to carry out this arrangement.

Similarly, if the International Union possesses no strike fund and pays no strike benefit, all reference to the sanctioning of strikes by the International Union in our constitution should be eliminated.

We must for once try to bring in some sort of cohesion and harmony in the provisions of our constitution and put an end to its indefiniteness and contradictions, which so often bring our National Body in a position of assuming duties and obligations which it cannot fulfill properly.

... I have touched here in a general way upon the causes which brought about those constant ruptures between the general officers of the International Union and the locals or the officers of the local unions.

I will try to give you an outline of our relations with the Protective Association to illustrate how this conflict was bound to arise; that it was not so much the fault of any particular individual, but it was due to the system, or rather lack of system, the indefiniteness of the laws and provisions of our International constitution. You will then perceive that if the system will not be changed they are bound to crop up in the future.

THE BEGINNING OF THE PROTOCOL.

The result of our great struggle of the summer of 1910 was neither a complete victory for the Union nor for the manufacturers, but a compromise which has since been known as the Protocol.

We held out against this compromise as long as we could, and only accepted it when it became apparent to the strike leaders that we were not in a position to hold out any longer. Originally this Protocol arrangement or collective agreement began in the Cloak Trade in New York, and since then our International Union has entered into such arrangements with the cloak manufacturers in Boston and with the Dress and Waist Manufacturers’ Association.
tion, House Dress and Kimono Manufacturers' Association and Cotton Goods and Children's Dress Manufacturers' Associations in New York. More than half of our members work under this arrangement and, since it is the larger and better class of employers who are dealing with us under this instrument, it naturally follows that our standing even with the independent or individual manufacturers depends largely on this Protocol arrangement.

The experience of Local No. 25 will illustrate the influence of the Protocol arrangements upon the standing of our Organization with independent concerns.

As a result of the general strike called in the Waist and Dress Trade in the City of New York in November, 1909, 365 firms were unionized. The following year Local No. 25 succeeded in renewing agreements with only 230 firms. In 1912 the number of individual firms with whom the Union succeeded in signing up dwindled to 125. Last year, along with the signing of the Protocol, Local No. 25 also signed 121 agreements with individual firms. This year the number of such individual firms increased to 299.

MY FIRST ACT OF "TREASON."

During our negotiations with the cloak manufacturers, at the Metropolitan Tower in the summer of 1910, when the Protocol proposition as a basis of settlement was submitted to us, although the newspapers made no mention of it, it leaked out that I was the only one among the representatives of the Union who was ready to compromise and was willing to give up the "closed shop" for the "Preferential Shop" proposition. On two occasions committees of angry strikers searched through the General Office "to get even with the 'traitors' who betrayed the interest of the strikers and sold to the employers the sacred principle of the closed shop."

It so happened, however, that on both those occasions I was away from the office, and so gave no opportunity to the committee to carry out their intentions. During the street demonstration which followed the rejection of the first proposition for a settlement I was warned not to show myself on the street, for I would surely be lynched by the angry strikers. Fortunately there was no Dr. Hoffman or Professor Hourwich around, otherwise I would not have been here to tell the story. So that my reputation as a "traitor" dates as far back as the summer of 1910.

I must confess that I was ready to accept the preferential shop proposition, not because I believed that it would be more advantageous than the "closed shop," or that I had a clearer idea of what it meant than the rest of my colleagues. I was ready to accept the Protocol compromise, because my experience with strikes and settlements in the Cloak Trade both here and abroad taught me the worthlessness of signing agreements with individual employers, and I was therefore ready to accept a promise of 50 per cent. of what I was then aiming at from an association than a promise of 100 per cent. from individual employers.

As far back as 1898 we tried in London to organize the employers in the Cloak Trade into an association, for the purpose of entering into a collective agreement with them, because we realized the disadvantages of dealing with individual employers in the Cloak Trade.

When a union enters into an agreement with employers engaged in such undertaking as railroading, mining or brewing, which can only be carried on with large and expensive plants, the chances are that agreements, when entered into with such employers, will be kept and lived up to by the contracting parties. Not so, however, in the case of the Needle Industries, especially in the manufacture of ladies' garments, which is carried on, as a rule, in comparatively small factories, or rather lofts, and which could be easily moved from one place to another without involving any loss to the firm. I was therefore of the opinion that by entering into an understanding with a body of employers and throwing on them also the responsibilities of maintaining the agreement collectively that the settlement would be of a more permanent character.

Although our Union was finally compelled to accept the Protocol as a basis of settlement, still, because of my readiness to compromise with the employers, I lost grace not only with the rank and file of our members, but even with some of the General Executive Board members of the International Union. For the first few months after the settlement of the general strike, Brothers Rosenberg and Polakoff were the chief negotiators with the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association, and I was kept out entirely from the situation.

THE FIRST ATTEMPTS TO ADJUST DISPUTES BY THE BOARD OF GRIEVANCES.

Disputes were then adjusted in accordance
with the provisions of the Protocol; namely, a committee consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees had to listen, to investigate and adjust all difficulties and disputes between the members of the Association and their 20,000 employees. Complaints kept on piling up. They had not been attended to. Of course they could not be attended by the Board or Grievances. The unrest, the dissatisfaction was overwhelming. The Protocol did not work. It looked as if a general strike was imminent. As is generally the case in such situations charges of bad faith were made on both sides.

At the end of November, 1910, a conference took place at the Cafe Boulevard, in which the leaders of the Manufacturers' Association and the Union participated. It was a kind of get-together party. The question was, what is to be done to keep up the Protocol, make it a workable instrument and prevent a repetition of a general strike. To my surprise I found myself among the invited guests to that conference. The speech which I delivered at this conference seemed to have pleased our representatives, and as a result of it I was elected a member of the Board of Grievances.

THE BEGINNING OF MY CONNECTION WITH THE PROTOCOL.

As soon as I had the opportunity to learn at close range of the difficulties the Board of Grievances was laboring under, I realized that the reason why the Protocol did not work was not because lack of good faith on either side, as it was persistently claimed, but because of the inadequate, or the absence of proper, machinery to deal with, or adjust the grievances of our members.

I then proposed the idea that instead of the members of the Grievance Board themselves investigating and adjusting every complaint this should be done through the medium of paid officers, clerks or deputy clerks. In an editorial which appeared in our Official Journal in February, 1911, under the heading: "Is the Grievance Committee a Failure?" I said:

"Besides explaining to our members the important work of the Protocol it is necessary to so construct the mechanism of the Grievance Committee as to enable it to act with promptness and be on the spot as soon as a disagreement arises. In order to do that the Grievance Committee should have in its employ a staff of officers sworn to be faithful guardians of the provisions of the Protocol, men of a judicial temperament, who will decide disputed matters on the spot, and refer to the Grievance Committee only such cases where they cannot agree, or where the parties in dispute are dissatisfied with the decision of such disputes by their officers."

My advice was followed, and the Association, as well as the Union, appointed a number of people whose business it was to visit the shops and investigate complaints, and adjust on the spot all cases upon which these adjusters could agree, and to bring before the Board of Grievances only such cases as the clerks could not agree upon. This, to a considerable extent, eased the situation. The Board of Grievances became more or less a workable institution.

Soon, however, a hitch arose between the Union and the Association because the Manufacturers' Association demanded that the Union relieve the individual manufacturer, who claimed admission to membership in their Association, so as to enable them to come under the Protocol Agreement. This the Union refused. It was still afraid of the Manufacturers' Association and was determined to hinder its growth. The Association also demanded that we should draw up and agree upon a set of rules which should be governed by the workings of the Board of Grievances. To this we also objected, being afraid to bind ourselves to a set of specific rules. In fact every proposition that came from the Manufacturers was met with suspicion and mistrust on the part of the Union. Our people were still afraid of the Protocol idea and of dealing with an Association. In fact, every proposition which emanated from the employers was rejected on the old supposition that "If it is good for the employers it must be bad for the Union."

To confess, I did not share the feeling of distrust and suspicion of my colleagues in this matter. I was of the opinion that the group of men who represented the Association, although always actuated by motives of self-interest as one would naturally expect from a group of business men and employers, yet their business instincts must convince them that the legitimate manufacturer has more to lose from competition of the small employer than from the demands of the Union. My "traitorous" instinct showed itself again in siding with
the Manufacturers' Association on these two particular propositions.

At one time it appeared that the whole thing would go to pieces. The Manufacturers' Association brought their case to the Board of Arbitration. The Board of Arbitration decided in favor of the Association on those two points. The office of Chief Clerk was also created by the Board.

After the set of rules governing the action of the rights of the Board of Grievances was adopted the situation greatly improved and things began to work much better than before. Under the supervision of Dr. Abelson, Chief Clerk for the Association, things began to improve still further. Dr. Abelson introduced what is known as the "N. C. C. Cases," or None Calendar Cases. This comprises such claims as employing non-union people and similar complaints to which, according to the strict interpretation of the Protocol law, manufacturers have a right. But the Association undertook to take up such complaints and to force the manufacturers to either make the non-union people join the Union or leave the shops, or force the people who are remiss in their dues to pay up their arrears to the Union.

THE DISCHARGE QUESTION AT THE BOARD OF GRIEVANCES.

The whole summer of 1911 the International officers were engaged in the Cleveland strike which required all of their attention and energy. After the termination of that strike I again began to attend to the meetings of the Board of grievances and to take part in its deliberations. The sessions were frequent and at times stormy. While attending the meetings of the Board of Grievances, I noticed that along with real grievances and complaints which we were called upon to deal with at these frequent sessions we were also too often called upon to deliberate upon matters which appeared to me to be trivial and unimportant. At that time there were a good many problems which were of vital interest to the Organization, such as the status of the union shop—for there were still a good many non-union people working in the shops of the Association—the out of town shops, and the competition of the inside and outside shops still unsolved. At the Grievance Board, however, most of our time and energy was concentrated on reinstatements of discharged employees. From the manner in which these cases of discrimination were presented at the Board, it appeared as if the act of discharge itself by the employers implied discrimination. Such course of action coincides with the conception of the great majority of our members who believe that the primary function of a union is not, as in the case in all other unions, namely: to maintain standards. In fact, the mass of our members have a hazy conception of what are union standards. The fact is that each shop tries to create its own standard and does not bother about the importance of a Common Standard for the whole trade. They are too individualistic for that. To their conception the primary function of a union is to protect the member's job, and the discharge itself of a union member implies a breach of the agreement or the Protocol.

Since according to our agreement with individual employers, a worker cannot be discharged unless such employer can satisfy the representatives of the Union that the employee was discharged for bad workmanship or bad behavior, which, in the case of a more or less old employee, it is almost impossible to prove our people naturally were anxious to force the same conditions on the Association. Cases of discharge were taken up by the Union indiscriminately. Often a discharged member would have to wait days and sometimes weeks before his case would be finally disposed of. The Association insisted that the Union representatives must prove "discrimination for union activities" before they would order reinstatements. Such a member would hang about the office waiting for reinstatement and would meanwhile denounce the officers of the Union and the Protocol. When such a person failed to be reinstated he would create havoc at the Joint Board or at his local meeting. Our officers, to justify their action, would say they did their very best, but could do nothing against Mr. Lezinsky or Dr. Abelson. The only way to have the discharged member reinstated would be to order a strike in the shop; such action must lead to a general strike in the whole of the Association shops. In this way the feeling against the Protocol would become intensified.

I realized that such action on the part of our officers means "the burning of the candle at both ends." While discreditng the Protocol among our people we also make it equally obnoxious to the employers by dragging every discharge case before the Board of Grief-
ances and making endless fights thereby making the Protocol hateful to the employers as well as to our members.

I may here state that this discharge business not only caused endless fights at the Board of Grievances, but also was the cause of so many stoppages of work. Very often when a man was discharged in a shop, the people would immediately stop work, believing, of course, that since the very act of discharge is a breach of the Protocol, they are therefore justified in stopping from work. Since under the rules of the Board of Grievances the first business of the clerks was to attend to the stoppages of work we found that most of the energies of the clerks of the Union and the Association were concentrated in the shops where stoppages of work occurred; where they would spend sometimes a whole day before they could persuade the people to resume work.

But while the clerks were busy with shop strikes they had to neglect the legitimate complaints of the members. When people came to the office day after day and their grievances were not attended to because the clerks were busy with shop strikes, the people would take the law into their own hands and stop work. So that a shop strike or a stoppage in one shop is often the cause of several stoppages in other shops.

THE EFFECT OF THE DISCHARGE QUESTION ON THE UNIONIZING OF THE INDUSTRY.

I am thoroughly convinced that if, from the very beginning of the signing of the Protocol, we had not made the discharge question our main trouble with the Association, we would by this time have had the Cloak Industry organized 100 per cent throughout the country. We would have succeeded in unitizing a much larger percentage of the Waist and Dress Industry in New York, and would have established the Protocol arrangement in Philadelphia and other cities.

During last Summer I approached an influential waist manufacturer of Philadelphia with the object of using his influence with the Cloak Manufacturers of that city to bring both sides together. In the course of our conversation he told me that at one time he thought a good deal of the Protocol. He thought that it meant standardizing the trade and equalizing conditions. As far as reducing hours of labor, he said that if the Union would succeed in reducing in his city the hours of labor to eight he would boost me to the most expensive dinner in the best hotel in Philadelphia. As to equalizing the price of labor, although he admitted that the prices in his shop are not the very best in town, yet he would certainly welcome any standard which the market could stand, providing the Union would compel his competitors to come up to it. But from his frequent visits to New York he learned from the Waist and Dress Manufacturers that the main work of the Protocol is to prevent the employer from what the union calls "discriminating" against his workpeople. "To me," he said, "it would mean that every time I discharged one of the 600 girls I employ, the clerks of the Union and the Association would cross-examine me to find out whether I was guilty of unfair discrimination. This is the work of your Union and your Protocol," he said. "Not only can you get no co-operation from me to extend it, but you can depend upon active opposition to the idea."

Prior to the General Strike we thought that when the trade would be completely organized, we would not have to be engaged in constant fights with the manufacturers over discharge cases. When the number of union shops were small, by discharging our members, a manufacturer could easily replace them with non-union help. When the whole city would be unionized, we thought, since the employer could procure none but union help, we would be relieved of the obligation to compel them to keep in their employ people even after they found that they could not get along with them. This would relieve the Union of the most serious and constant source of friction with our employers, which frequently involved us in numerous and hopeless strikes. Our expectations were not realized. The organization of the whole Cloak trade in the City of New York instead of relieving the situation has made matters worse.

Thus the main object of the Protocol, which, to me, means much more than adjusting disputes by means of a Joint Board of Grievances, an Impartial Chairman or an Outside Mediator; to me it means "THE CO-OPERATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES FOR THE PURPOSE OF CREATING AND MAINTAINING UNION STANDARDS"—was retarded. When the energy of the representatives of both sides are
spent in fighting over trivial matters, constructive work is impossible.

I am not concerned here with any solutions of the problems of Industrial Unrest, or with the relations between Capital and Labor in general. I know that in our industry at least the interest of the legitimate manufacturer is to have prices standardized so that his competitor should be compelled to pay the same prices. Our Union can only make progress in so far as it will succeed in creating and maintaining and extending union standards and in equalizing the price of labor. But to accomplish this, the union alone is powerless. It requires the co-operation and good will of a strong employers' association as well as a strong union.

I must confess, however, that we are as far away from this idea as ever. We have made no progress in this direction. It does not matter whose fault it is, but this is the situation.

The primitive, instinctive form of unionism, the unionism which knows only of "fighting" or "forcing" the employer in order to gain conditions, is as rampant as ever. The union must always hold the club of the strike ready to fall on the head of the employer at any moment, in order to obtain union conditions; any attempt to obtain the confidence or good will of the employer is denounced as "seeking favor from the bosses" as "giving up the right of the Union." To talk of good will or co-operation of the other side is to commit treason, to become "the agent of the Manufacturers' Association."

Our Syndicalists, our so-called revolutionaries, the people who believe that we must apply the sacred principle of the "Class War" to our relations with the Manufacturers' Association, have triumphed. The few men in the Organisation who may believe in the possibility of co-operation and good will between the Employers' Association and the Union are afraid to open their mouths for fear of being accused of being agents of the Manufacturers' Association. The forces of primitive or "revolutionary" unionism are victorious. The Protocol idea in the Cloak Trade is as dead as a door nail. If it still exists in New York it is because both sides are afraid to take the consequences which would result from its abrogation.

Although I am firmly convinced that before very long our people will realize that for our Organization to make progress and bring order out of the chaos which exists in our trade, the co-operation of the most experienced and best brains on both sides is required in order to standardize the industry, still I must confess that owing to the forces of reaction in our ranks we can expect for some time to come nothing but "class war" in our relations between our Union and the employers, whether ye like it or not. Our "Class Strugglers" seem to have had greater success with our employers than with our own people. Our recent experience in Philadelphia and St. Louis proves this conclusively. Our friend, Morris Black of Cleveland, must chuckle in his sleeves.

BISHOP'S CLERKSHIP.

I was very glad to learn that the Joint Board had made arrangements to bring Mr. Bisno to New York and have him act as Chief Clerk. Although I knew that Mr. Bisno's activities were confined to the Cloakmakers' Union in Chicago only—an organization which never amounted to much—still I knew him to be a conservative and broad-minded trade unionist.

At first it appeared to me that Mr. Bisno would be the Moses who would lead us out of the wilderness of endless petty squabbles with the Manufacturers' Association. In fact he immediately began to tackle the serious problems in the industry. To his credit it must be said that he was the first who undertook a campaign of education among our members of the importance of union standards in piece work and of equalizing the price of labor in the industry. The idea of Collective Bargaining among our people hitherto had never gone further than the Price Committee of each shop. To this Brother Bisno received the ready response of the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association, which body was willing to co-operate with him to establish a Price Commission to study the question of standardizing piece work. The ambitions of Brother Bisno, however, went much further than that.

He was convinced that it was possible to solve all the complicated problems of the Cloak Trade with one stroke; namely, to draw up a set of rules or regulations, forward the same to the Manufacturers' Association, to which the Association would only have to agree, and then all would be settled. The problem of sub-manufacturing to him was easy to solve. All that was necessary, he thought, was to have the
manufacturers register their sub-manufacturers and establish one Price Committee for both inside and outside shops. The fact that there are firms which make goods for retail trade, sell some of their lines to other firms and at the same time buy some goods which they do not care to manufacture inside; that is, they are manufacturers, jobbers and sub-manufacturers at the same time—did not seem to trouble him at all. He was ready even to submit to the Association’s demand, that it should obligate its members to open their books to a representative of the Union and show where they purchased their goods. He believed that this would solve the whole problem.

While he distrusted the Association as a whole he relied upon the fairness of the individual manufacturers, and believed that he would always be ready to disclose reliable information to the Union. Yet we know from experience that the case is just the reverse, namely, we have very often to use the force of the Association to compel the individual manufacturer to live up to the provisions of the Protocol. One of our chief difficulties is that so many members of the Association are ready to cheat both the Union and their own Organization.

Brother Bisno, in company with a good many of our members, believed that the most difficult problems could all be solved in our industry by merely changing the provisions of the Protocol or by adding new clauses to it. It is a fatal error on the part of a Union leader to believe that you can make an agreement effective when you throw all the responsibility of maintaining it on the employer by making him sign a “good agreement.”

For years we were trying in New York City to compel the employers to maintain a closed shop, by making them sign an agreement which could stand the test of the court, until we found that as long as the great majority of the cloakmakers are unorganized, no form of agreement, however well worded, would give us union shops.

You can word your agreement or amend your Protocol any way you like; so long as in one shop the Price Committee will settle a particular garment for a dollar and in another shop the same garment will be made for two dollars, you may rest assured that the workpeople in the high-priced shop will make the sample and duplicates, and the low-priced shop will get the bundles. In such an industry like our the bundles are bound to “leak” from the high-priced shop into the low-priced shop, as long as there will be union men willing to accept low prices. Until you can create union standards and enforce them, all your agitation against “leakage” in the Protocol will bring no results. He had a child-like belief that through an amendment in the Protocol he could force employers to pay for the making of a garment two dollars when the employer knows that he can get it made next door for one dollar.

Not only would be introduce reforms in the Cloak trade, but also in the Waist and Lace Industry and other locals of the International, by taking them into the Joint Board. He even proposed to me that we go over to the District Council of the U. G. W. and invite them to become a part of the Joint Board. He undertook to be the Chief Clerk of the Grievance Board, the General Manager of the Cloakmakers’ Union, to look after the shops of the United Association and to adjust differences with the independent concerns. I noticed to my surprise that I had to deal with a dreamer and a settlement worker and not with a business man or a trade union official.

Instead of trying to gain the confidence of the representatives of the Manufacturers’ Association—which is absolutely necessary for a representative of a Union in order to make headway and do constructive work—he began to act as a kind of scarecrow.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance for a labor organization of having at its head men who can command the respect and confidence of the other side. It is one of its most important assets. The stronger and bigger the organization, the more it becomes necessary that it should have men of this caliber—men who possess a reputation for sanity and fairness among the employers with whom they have to deal. A small organization has no need of men with such qualities, for with a small organization the manufacturers will not deal or recognize, choose whatever the quality of the leadership may be. Our syndicalists and so-called revolutionists—our “tin soldiers”—may sneer at it, may call it “seeking favor from the bosses,” but you cannot find a single trade union leader, who had experience in doing business with employers, who will tell you that this element is as important for a labor organization as any other element you can mention which goes to make an organization successful.
But Mr. Bisno, the moment he came before the manufacturers, the moment he opened his mouth, he, so to say, "put his foot into it." He began to spring surprises not only on the manufacturers but even on his own co-workers. A labor leader who will spring surprises on his own side is the most dangerous person one can have. Before he takes a step of any importance it must be well thought out and the colleagues working with him must be aware of it.

**BISNO'S THREATS.**

I was away from New York when he made his first appearance at the Board of Grievances, but at the second meeting, during the course of a discussion, he declared in a very calm and deliberate manner that if the manufacturers will grant the point in question he would terminate the Protocol. This came like a flash from the sky. It was all the more out of place since he was a stranger in the city and in a new situation. We all left that meeting with a feeling of disappointment. I explained to Brother Bisno that while it is quite usual at the meetings of the Board of Grievances when dealing with minor matters, for clothes side to side to have complete freedom of arguing and voting, yet when a matter of importance comes up, anything which might involve a change in the relation of the Union with the Manufacturers' Association, none of us would think of taking a stand without consulting the other co-workers. He agreed with my reasoning, but at the very next meeting he repented the threat.

It is true that before Mr. Bisno came to New York we had several serious differences with the representatives of the Association. In the case of John Bonwit when the Association insisted upon the right of the employer to discharge a whole department of workpeople and replace them by new employees, we told the representatives of the Association that if they would insist upon this right we would all resign from the Grievance Board. This, of course, amounted to a threat of an abrogation of the Protocol, but it was done unanimously and not in the ridiculous way of Brother Bisno. Such a statement as "I will abrogate the Protocol" was never heard before at such meetings. Here we witnessed the spectacle of a representative of the Union springing a surprise upon his own side. The manufacturers became so alarmed at his strange tactics that they came to the conclusion that it was Bisno's intention to terminate the Protocol and precipitate a general strike. He also succeeded in creating the impression that he was trying to build up the United Association at the expense of the Protective Association. Of course, those of us who watched his work became disappointed with him and began to oppose him.

He thought, however, that he could carry out his ideas by appealing to the masses by what he called "making the members active in the shops." He began to agitate among the members that unless they would carry out all his plans and "stop all leakages in the Protocol" the Union would never be more than a "comedy and a lie." The result of "making the workpeople active in the shops," was that the number of shop strikes increased at such an alarming extent that it appeared as if the whole thing would go to pieces. We then began to realize that as long as he would remain on the job not only would we be unable to solve any trade problems, but the problems would become more complicated than ever. We came to the conclusion that while as a theorist he is brilliant, yet when he tries to put his ideas into practice he makes a mess of everything he lays his hands upon. So, gradually, he began to lose the support of the officers who were working with him.

About this time he began to raise the cry of "Discrimination." According to his contention, all the discharged workpeople are victims of their "social consciousness." Everybody who has the courage to stand up in the shops for union conditions is discharged and the employers terrorize the rest into accepting any price offered. The idea naturally spread like wildfire. Has anyone met a cloakmaker who will admit that he was discharged for any other reason than for his loyalty to the Union, or for his social consciousness? Brother Bisno became all at once the idol of the masses. Of course there is an element of truth in this, but it is wildly exaggerated.

It is usual for people to blame others for their own follies and shortcomings. In private life this is not always easy to do and one does not always stand to profit by blaming others. Not so is the case in a labor union. Here the incompetent official, instead of being compelled to quit a situation in which he does not fit can easily turn the tables and become the idol of the crowd by appealing to the gallery and throwing the blame on the employers. It is all the more easy in the case where there...
is a whole association of employers and a Protocol which does not allow the worker to strike.

THE IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN.

To remedy the evil of discrimination he proposed the idea of the Impartial Chairman at the Board of Grievances to avoid deadlocks. At first I liked the idea of an Impartial Chairman. I thought it would tend to avoid friction and make the machinery of the Protocol work better. We both went to Boston to consult Mr. Brandeis about it. After hearing what Mr. Brandeis had to say concerning the merits of an Impartial Chairman I lost my enthusiasm for it. He told us of the experience the Boot & Shoe Workers had in Massachusetts, where everything is left to the State Board of Arbitration. He also stated that it is much better for the representatives of both sides to get together and argue the matter out.

"Arbitration, like strikes, is perhaps a necessary evil," he said, "but unions should avoid both as much as possible." Although, as I said, Mr. Brandeis damped my enthusiasm for the idea of an Impartial Chairman for the Board of Grievances, I still was not convinced, and I began to argue about it with the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association and asked what they thought of the proposition. One of them, in particular, told me that since the deadlocks on the Board of Grievances arise generally on the questions of Discharge and Reinstatement, should an impartial chairman be brought in who would be forced to give us "Protocol Law" the Union would be the loser instead of the gainers. All that the Protocol says on the question of discharge is not more than appears in Paragraph 6, which reads:

"The Manufacturers will discipline any member thereof proven guilty of unfair discrimination among the employees." If a manufacturer is found guilty of unfair discrimination he can be disciplined by being fined say $25, $50 or $100, but this does not mean that under the Protocol he is obligated to reinstate anyone. "As a matter of fact," he continued, "you know many discharged employees are reinstated not because the Union could prove unfair discrimination. By reinstating such men we are giving you more than what the Protocol calls for, because it is not the policy of the Association to give the Manufacturers a free hand to discharge whomsoever they choose; just as it is not the policy of the Association to maintain an open shop and to employ non-union people or to keep in our shops people who are in arrears in their dues, although according to Protocol Law we have a right to retain such employees. But if you will force us to give you 'Protocol Law' you will be the losers." After that, I must confess, I dropped the idea of an Impartial Chairman as a hot cake, for I realized that the Protocol can only be useful to us if we should get more than its bare provisions give us.

I might here state that during our first session of the Board of Arbitration, in March, 1911, when the question of Preferential Shop was still hanging fire, Bro. Schlesinger, who was present at the session, made a request that the arbitrators shall define the meaning of the "Preferential" clause in the Protocol, so that both sides should know how to go about it. The Board of Arbitration was ready to take it up, but the rest of us insisted that the question be dropped, because we realized that however favorable the arbitrators might be towards the Union, by arbitrating the question of the Preferential shop we must be the losers.

THE "NEW POST."

Troubles as a rule do not come singly. On the 20th of July, 1912, appeared the first leading article of the new editor of the New Post, Dr. Hoffman, an "intellectual" with strong syndicalist and revolutionary tendencies. To confess when the idea of a weekly organ for the Joint Board was first proposed I was not enthusiastic over it. I was afraid, knowing the character of our people, especially the Russian Jews, who compose the majority of our membership, who are always ready to worship an intellectual, a Doctor, a person with a handle to his name, that it would hand over the leadership of our Organization to professional journalists who know nothing of our movement, and do not understand its technique, and would thus create mischief all around. This can readily be conceived by one who understands that the editor of an official journal of a union has more to say to the members than anyone else and is in reality the most important leader in the organization. Dr. Hoffman more than confirmed my fears.

In this first leading article, when writing about the problems of the journal he was going to edit, Dr. Hoffman states:

Difficult and complicated as the problems
of the Cloak Industry may be, it is nothing more than the problems of one particular trade only. There is something which stands much higher than the Union and that is the "working class as a whole," the recognition of Class Solidarity as a basic principle of the labor movement. Class Struggle and Class Solidarity are the soul of the Union. When a Union is permeated with the principles of Class War and Class Solidarity and is not based on the principles of trade solidarity, it is sure of success; such a union can never suffer defeat; such a union must always be victorious. The "New Post" must have for its sacred object the principles of Class War and Class Solidarity and it must do everything it can to spread and disseminate these principles.

No one has anything to say against propagating the principles of "Class Solidarity and Class War" in a general way; but from his subsequent articles you can see that he was not content to apply his principles to the labor movement in general, but began to apply these principles to our dealings with the employers; not with non-union employers, not even to independent manufacturers, but to our relation with the Protective Association only. That is where the mischief came in. It is one thing to advocate the ideas of the Class War in general; it is quite another to apply these principles in your dealings with a group of employers with whom you are working under a Protocol of Peace.

It is not amiss to point out that those of us who have watched the fortunes of such unions as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the I. W. W. and the Syndicalist organization in other countries will not be too eager to admit, with the editor of the New Post, that "when a union is permeated with principles of Class Struggle and Class Solidarity it is always sure of success; that such a union can never suffer defeat or that it must always be victorious." I am certain that the Silk Weavers in Paterson, the Rubber Workers of Akron, Ohio, the Ladies' Tailors of Providence, the Textile Workers of Lawrence, all of whom were organized in accordance with the principles laid down by Dr. Hoffman, will bear testimony that his contention will not stand the test of reality.

In the next leading article, Saturday, August 3, 1912, entitled "What is an Agreement?"—the question is discussed, of course, from the standpoint of his principles—he winds up by making the following threat to the Manufacturers' Association: "The union must not and cannot remain indifferent when a boss discharges an employee simply for union activity. The Union cannot and must not tolerate that. The bosses must know it if they do not want to cause trouble, for this is not in their interest."

On August 10, 1912, in an editorial on "The Board of Grievances," the editor goes more into detail about its workings, as follows:

The privileged position of the Bosses' Association comes simply from the fact that the Union is always in the position of the plaintiff. Out of a hundred cases at the Board of Grievances, in fully 90 of them the Union is the plaintiff. If we should win even 50 per cent. of our cases or complaints, then we will, out of a total of 90 lose 45 cases. We say that we lost 45 cases because in the fight between Capital and Labor the workman is always, with very rare exceptions, in the right. In every case which the Union brings before the Board of Grievances, it is always in the right. When we have out of 90 cases won 45 then we have lost the other 45. And when does it happen that we should win so many cases?

We must demand more justice and less compromise. In order to get that we must reform the Board of Grievances that to some extent it should become an Arbitration Committee, with the power to decide who is right and who is wrong. We say, to some extent it should become a Board of Arbitration, for we know that this will be very bad for the bosses, for the Bosses' Association knows that the complaints from the Union are just ones, and a Board of Arbitration must decide those questions in favor of the Union.

Here you have Syndicalism or primitive unionism in its true form. The workman is always right, he says. In fact, the Manufacturers know that the men are always in the right; therefore they are afraid of arbitration.

If the Union is always in the right, then, of course, there is no place for negotiations, no place for bargaining, collectively or individually.

Of course the facts as stated in this article are absolutely false. As a matter of fact in most of the cases which came before the Board of Arbitration the decision went against the representatives of the Union. Nor will anyone admit that in every case which came before the
Board of Grievances the claims of the Union were always just. In a considerable number of instances after the argument developed at the Board of of Grievances, the representatives of the Union voted with the Association and decided against the clerks of the Union. This is a matter of record.

The reason why we got so many adverse decisions was not always lack of sound judgment on the part of our officials, but often they would bring up cases out of a desire “to please the members.” Neither is it true that the Union never won half of its cases. The records of the Board of Grievances will show more cases decided in favor of the Union than in favor of the Association. During the time that I was clerk, the records will show that out of twenty-seven cases twenty-five were decided in favor of the Union and two in favor of the Association. But to our syndicalists facts are of no importance; their theories and imagination are everything.

On the following week, August 17, 1912, the editorial was headed “The Union and the Bosses’ Association.” In this article the editor developed his original idea that a “Union which obtains the support of the Manufacturers’ Association has no moral right to exist.” There you have Syndicalism again, which is nothing more than primitive unionism put in a semi-scientific garb. The unionists of this type know nothing but force; coercion as the only method of maintaining an organization.

On August 24th there appeared the celebrated article “Thou Shalt Not Steal,” addressed to the Manufacturers’ Protective Association. The article appeared on Saturday and on Monday we had to confer with the representatives of the Association.

The unsophisticated members of our Union, learning from their official organ that their organization is based on the principles of class solidarity and class war and that this applies to their dealings with the Protective Association, began to reduce those teachings to practice and as a result the number of shop strikes increased to such an alarming proportion that on October 12 the New Post had to appeal to the members against the stoppages of work.

It is true that the Joint Board appointed an editorial committee to supervise the editor’s writing but after attending a couple of meetings I found that the committee could do nothing. You cannot put a person at the head of the most important department of your concern, and when you find that he does not understand his business place him under the supervision of a committee. You cannot have a Board of Editors to edit the editor. Along with those writings began also a series of articles from the pen of such pronounced Syndicalists as Dr. Levine, Rothstein and others. No wonder that when Professor Hourwich came on the scene and began to tell the members that they are “slaves to the Protocol!” his agitation should have met with such hearty response, and he should have become the idol of the mass, and the supporters of the Protocol should be looked upon as “agents of the Manufacturers’ Association.” The worst of it all is that those attacks in the New Post were directed exclusively against the shops of the Manufacturers’ Association only. Why was this aufklärung campaign directed against the shops of the Protective Association only?

The outsider would naturally come to the conclusion that in the independent shops, in the shops of the United Association, everything is ideal. Reading such stuff, one must imagine that the only places where our people are discriminated against, the only places where the loyal union people are discharged, where the standard is lower, where the Manufacturers violate union conditions and terrorize the people are the shops of the Protective Association; only there are the workpeople slaves. Yet, no one denies the fact that the cost of labor in the Protocol shops is generally higher than in the Independent shops; that many employ- ers of the Protective Association in order to get their work made cheaper send it out to Independent union shops. If things were so bad in the shops of the Manufacturers’ Association, then the tendencies would be the reverse—the Independent shops would send their work to the Protocol shops.

The question is, if no one claims that the conditions in the Independent shops are better than in the Association shops, what then is the cause of the constant attacks against the Association, the Protocol and the Board of Grievances? Is it due to crookedness on the part of certain parties who are interested to see that the attention of the members should be diverted from the shops of the United and the independent so that they may have a free hand to do as they please? No. The answer is: As soon as our people join a union they want it “to go to the limit.” In the Independent houses they can do that. It is true that when
Is there a union anywhere whose official journal, "the right," have been given away to the bosses. When they fail to get all they expect, their returns are the people led to believe that each worker and workpeople would be impossible. But it is a case of "give and take." You must be prepared to give away some of your demands in order to get anything at all in return; otherwise negotiations between employers and workpeople would be impossible. But here are the people led to believe that each time they fail to get all they expect, their "rights" have been given away to the bosses. Is there a union anywhere whose official journal teaches the members that in every controversy with the employers they are always in the right, and the employers always in the wrong?

Here I want to point out that all this talk and theorizing about the "rights" of the workman, the "rights" of labor, is pure sophistry, invented by briefless lawyers and professional philanthropists. In reality it is never a question of "right," but of ability. Labor is entitled to all it can get, to all it is able to extract, from capital. It never gets more than that. Our motto is always: "Get all you can and holler for more," and when you get what you are after, try to get still more.

This talk of the "right" of the workman or of the employer simply before the issue.

The object of sane and responsible leadership should be to educate the members in such a way that they should not expect more than it is within the power of the Union to obtain for them. But our education has been so "radical" (1) a nature that, choose whatever improvement you may obtain, the gap—the difference between what the members expect from the Union and what the Union can actually give them—is getting greater than ever, and whatever improvement the Union may effect, the discontent of the members must be greater than ever.

In every other labor organization the officers in their speeches and their literature keep on pointing out to their members the advantages the Union has gained. They will never let an opportunity pass by without comparing the conditions as they were prior to the organization of the Union with what they are now. With us the reverse is the case.

Only the New York Joint Board is able to commit such suicidal folly as to have its official organs pervert and falsify facts to mislead its members, and make them believe that things are much worse than they really are—to paint the picture of what the Union fails to get out of the employers much darker than it is.

Do you wonder that so many cloakmakers in New York City really believe that the men who devoted their life to the Organization are agents of the Manufacturers' Association and traitors, when they are weak in and week out for such kind of mental trash? Can you blame them? They have simply been misinformed as to the actual facts and "miseducate," as Mr. Brandeis said when referring to the writings of the New Post.
It is just as difficult to maintain a union when the people in the trade overestimate its power as it is to organize a union when they underestimate it. People who keep out of an organization because they do not possess the ability to understand its value are apt, when they do join it, to overestimate its power; to expect from it something which is not in the power of the Union to give. That is the reason why for so many years we could not maintain a union in our trade. As soon as a shop was organized a struggle commenced between the Union and the firm. Where the Union was stronger than the shop, as in the case of Meyer Johnson, Caspary, Bloomenthal and others, the Union drove the firm out of business. Or when the shop was stronger than the Union, as in the case of Max Schwartz, Zeller, the Empire Cloak Company and others, the Union drove the firm out of business. In both cases the people remained without union shops.

In case of a newly-organized union, it requires as much ability and experience to keep the people from overestimating the power of the Union as to convince them of its value when they are out of it. In our case I am convinced that the few old officials could have controlled the situation but for the officers of the Joint Board, who placed at the head of the Organization Doctors and Professors who know no more about the inside problems and difficulties of a union than the raw recruits who just paid in their initiation fee.

I paid so much attention to the official organization of the New York Joint Board because I consider education to be the foundation of the Union. You may have the best builders and contractors, if the foundation is rotten your structure is sure to fall to pieces sooner or later.

**MY CLERKSHIP.**

About the beginning of October, when it became apparent to the officers of the Joint Board that Brother Bisno's activities as clerk on the Board of Grievance brought no results, I was asked by them to act as Chief Clerk. I did it gladly. I thought I could demonstrate to our people that by using tact and diplomacy—by using the ordinary trade union methods—I could make more progress than by keeping the threat of a general strike over the heads of the Protective Association, as Bisno did during his clerkship. The feeling between the Manufacturers' Association and the Union at that time was very strained. Besides the innumerable shop strikes the Union turned down every request of the Manufacturers' Association. Their request for a Protocol Label was turned down by the convention; so was their request for a change in the legal holidays. After the Union assured them in conference that it would use all efforts to see that the people should accept it, this matter was submitted to a referendum, the official organ of the Joint Board told the members to vote as they please. The Association interpreted it as an act of bad faith. With the shop strikes on one hand and the threat of a general strike on the other, the Manufacturers commenced to think that sooner or later the Protocol would be abrogated. It is natural that under such circumstances they should be disinclined to strengthen the Union in any way. When we asked them to unionize the out-of-town shops which were then increasing in number, they practically told us 'nothing doing.'

Before assuming the office of clerk I interviewed the heads of the Manufacturers' Association and was assured that if I should be able to put a stop to the endless stoppages of work I should find it easy sailing. I told them that what I wanted was to unionize the out-of-town shops, and that the Union should be able to discipline the members working in the shops of the Association, that the Association should assist the Union in collecting fines from members working in their shops who were found guilty for violating union rules. During the course of my association one of the members of the Manufacturers' Association told me that there was nothing I should ask that they would not give me, 'not because we like your face,' he said, 'but because we realize that you are a level headed, sane and practical man, not a dreamer of a revolutionary scarecrow. We know that you have come to realize that this industry needs a strong Association as well as a strong Union.'

The Chairman of their Executive Board, the most influential man in the Association, asked me, 'What is this Protocol anyway?' It is not a Protocol of Peace, but of War. We seem to be always on the edge of a volcano. We are exposed to any stranger the Joint Board will import who may come here and ruin our business. We tell our members to strengthen the Union because they fear the Protocol strikes; but how do you think we can keep our members in line when they can point to so many shop...
strikes; when anyone can come along in the height of the season, pull off a strike and ruin them”! Before my leaving him he expressed his doubts whether the Joint Board would stand for a man of my character and ability.

THE STRIKE AT J. C. STRATTON'S.

As soon as I assumed the office of Chief Clerk the first job which I was presented with was a strike at J. C. Stratton's which lasted a whole week. All our efforts to get the people back to work seemed to be fruitless. The shop was composed mostly of Italians. It was reported that our Italian members working for Max Schwartz, Beiler and other firms were sending committees to the Stratton strikers, and were assuring them of their moral and financial support, urging them not to go back to work until their demands were conceded. It was also reported that several members of Local No. 1 were present at these meetings and encouraged Stratton's people to strike. At one time it appeared that our Syndicalists would have their way and pull off a strike, not only in the Italian shops but in a good many other shops. The Board of Directors of the Joint Board held several conferences with the Manufacturers' Association, and at those conferences the question was put to us by the Manufacturers’ Association: "What is the use of dealing with you if you cannot control the situation? What is the purpose of having a Protocol if it is possible for your members, in the height of the season, without any warning at all, to call a strike in a shop and ruin the manufacturer?" They gave us to understand that unless the Union can show its capacity of controlling its members and compel the strikers to return to work or substitute other people to take their places, it would be no use for them to deal with us. The Board of Directors of the Joint Board held daily meetings at the International Office for the purpose of finding ways and means of getting out of an impossible situation.

Here I want to state that the trouble at Stratton's shop was aggravated by the fact that on previous occasions when there was a shop strike Brother Bisno drew up a stipulation by which the workpeople of Stratton's shop were given the power to appoint special committees to enforce the provisions of the Protocol in the shop. The officers of the Manufacturers' Association strenuously objected to such an arrangement. They contended that this was contrary to the spirit and letter of the Protocol; that they would not leave to others than the representatives of the Association and the Union to administer the Protocol. In this controversy I sided with the officers of the Manufacturers' Association on the ground that it is bad union policy and would be a dangerous precedent for the Union to establish; that we cannot make an exception and leave any shop out of the control of the Union. It was quite natural for the people at Stratton's shop who, because of Bisno's decision, got used to complete shop autonomy to think that they had a right to enforce the Protocol as they understood it.

This strike threw the whole working of the Board of Grievances out of gear. The whole Protocol division of the Union and the rest of the officers of the Joint Board were busy with that strike. At last the Board of Directors decided to inform the strikers that unless they return back to work at a stipulated time they would not be re-employed. After the workpeople failed to abide by the decision of the Board of Directors I, along with the other officers of the Union, did my best to put an end to this illegal strike. Since then the officers of Local No. 1 made it their business to distort the facts and to accuse me of being a strikebreaker.

This strike which at one time looked as if it would end in a big smash-up was not the fault of Stratton's workpeople. It was due to the action of such an incompetent Union official as Mr. Bisno, who did not understand his business; who took the shop out of the Union control and handed it over to a special shop committee.

There is no end to the folly an officer in our Union is able to commit and retain his popularity as long as he knows his game and keeps on attacking the Association. The greatest danger which confronts our Organization—and this danger is growing with its growth—is the fact that appeals to the gallery are beginning to count much more than ability, experience, earnestness or hard work. The larger the Organization the more difficult it becomes for the individual members to watch the work of his officer, and to be in a position to judge his ability. The individual member must take for granted a good deal of what the officer tells him. Therefore if the influence of the officer is greater, the more able he is to appeal to the sentiment of the masses.
WHY THE PROTOCOL WAS "LEAKY."

When I took charge of the Protocol Department I immediately found the reason for the so-called "leakages in the Protocol," and learned why the "Union is a Comedy and a Lie," as Brother Bisno contended. The "leakages in the Protocol" started right in the Union office. Brother Bisno, who undertook to do everything, forgot to manage the department of which he was Chief Clerk. The manager as well as the deputy clerks came into the office any time between 9 and 11 a.m. One of the clerks would be absent every other day to attend either to a funeral, a marriage or some other family affair, and there was no one to call his attention to it. When the clerks arrived in the office too much time was spent in idle talk before proceeding to the office of the Association. They seldom left for that office to attend to complaints before 11 a.m. Since they did not attend to complaints from 12 to 2 p.m., the actual time the deputy clerks or the business agent of the Protocol Division would be out on cases was not more than three or four hours a day. Every clerk acted as he pleased. It was all chaos and disorder. The office was flooded with unattended complaints. Even when complaints had been adjusted the manager was not always in a position to say what disposition was made of them. No wonder there were so many stoppages of work. When people make complaints, call at the office day after day, and can get no answer, it is natural that they should lose patience and stop work.

I found that important cases which were given to Brother Bisno to attend would be put away in one of his coat pockets and he would forget all about them. Thus, for instance, I found that he had in his possession a case involving a loss of wages of quite a number of men of Max Solomon, which had been filed on the 20th of August not attended to. When I asked him the reason for this delay he gave as an excuse that he could get no justice at the Board of Grievances and he did not care to waste time on it. I told him that such being the case he should have recommended to the Joint Board to close the Protocol Division at the 19th Street office and save the salary of the Chief Clerk and the rest of the people working in that department.

You can amend the Protocol from now until doomsday, you can have the best agreement, the best instrument—if you have the wrong people to handle it it will not work.

From a close observation of the situation I became thoroughly convinced that nine-tenths of the so-called "leakages" of the Protocol are due to the lack of ability on the part of our men who handled it. Why worry when by throwing the blame on the bosses, the Association or the Protocol, you are always sure of applause.

At no time was the Protocol as "leaky" as at the time of Brother Bisno's management. He knew, however, how to appeal to the gallery.

While some of the clerks were not at all pleased at the idea of having to hustle with their work, and of not being able to take it so free and easy, others again were glad that at last they could see some management and system applied to their work; that they had somebody to take orders from. In the first two weeks we managed to clear up all unattended complaints and we were up to date. As a result the number of stoppages of work was reduced to a minimum.

Prior to that time the Union could not discipline the members who were working in Association shops. We could not collect any fines. You will realize how important it is for a union to be in a position to discipline its members. The Joint Board was rather reluctant to bring this matter before the Board of Grievances.

As soon as the Secretary of the Joint Board handed me a list of members who were fined I gave it to Dr. Abelson on Saturday morning. He immediately sent out one of his clerks and on Monday morning the fines were collected. As soon as it became known that even in Association shops members must observe the rules of the Union, the union atmosphere in the Association shops began to change.

As my request the Association put on two new clerks, and one of them was sent out with one of our clerks to Newark to attend to the out-of-town shops.

Brothers Halpern and Perlstein, the President and Secretary of the Joint Board, were delighted with my work. Each time a shop in Newark or Harlem was closed or unionized they would come to my office and shake my hand and thank me for my effective work. There were no occasions for deadlocks at the Board of Grievances. Whenever the deputy clerks could not agree on a discharge case and I thought it was important, I simply told Dr. Abelson...
that I want that man reinstated and it was done. At the Fifth Avenue building the talk was that I was running the Manufacturers' Association.

Until then the Board of Grievances met only when there was a dispute between the Chief Clerks. It would therefore happen that the Board would meet at one time several times a week, while at another, months would pass without a meeting taking place.

I got the officers of the Association to agree that the Board should meet every first Tuesday in each month. Since we had no disagreements the clerks would report the result of their work and then the Board of Grievances would resolve itself into a Conference Board. At these conferences we began to discuss the creation of a standard rate for piece work for finishing. Everyone who knows the trade is aware that it is much easier to standardize finishing than operating.

WHY I HAD TO GIVE UP MY CLERKSHIP.

At first it appeared that we would be in a position to do constructive work and make some headway. I soon, however, found that I was mistaken. Previous to my assuming office cases of discharge were taken up indiscriminately. Discharged members would hang about the office for days and sometimes for weeks. If such a member was not reinstated he would naturally denounce everything and everybody at the local meetings or at the Joint Board. Our officers, in self defense, would throw the blame on the Association. When I came into office if I thought a discharged member had no case I would tell him right there and then that he should look for another position. But in this I was up against the officers of the Union. In order to gain the good will of such members—to show how good and kind they are—they would, in the presence of the discharged member, begin an argument with me and contend that it was a first-class case; that the man could be reinstated easily if I only tried. It is natural that such a member should become enraged and at the local meeting denounce me. The Joint Board officers, although they well knew that my action was correct, were afraid to defend me, because that would mean sharing responsibility, and for this they had not the backbone. The result was that where previously the cry had been against the Protocol or against Dr. Abelson, now the whole agitation was turned against me. I realized that since our members are taught that they are always in the right and the bosses are always in the wrong then, unless I could satisfy every member in all his caprices I would be denounced as the tool of the Manufacturers' Association. The case of Benjamin and Martin was "the last straw that broke the camel's back."

I made up my mind that I would not go near the Joint Board or the Board of Grievances again.

I found that I could not get the support of the timid officers of the Joint Board, who were more interested in playing to the gallery than acting in accordance with the dictates of their conscience and judgment.

I saw that our Organization is as far away from the idea of co-operation between the Union and the Association for the purpose of standardizing the industry as ever.

The members are no doubt aware of the fact that our conference for the purpose of creating a standard for piece work in finishing was broken up because of a notice which appeared in the New Post in December, 1912, which read as follows:

Upbld Union Prices—All Business Agents, Shop Chairmen and Price Committees.

The price for piece work must be so figured that piece tailors and operators shall earn on an average not less than 75 cents an hour, and finishers not less than 60 cents an hour. In cases where the prices are settled so that the operators and piece tailors cannot earn 75 cents an hour on the average, and the finishers cannot earn 60 cents an hour on the average, the price settlement is not made according to union conditions.

I therefore call to the attention of the business agents, shop chairman and price committee that whenever I shall find that the piece prices for work are settled in such a way that our union members cannot earn union wages, I shall hold the business agents and the shop chairmen responsible.

(Signed) A. BIBNO,
General Manager.

At this conference with the Association there were present Brothers Polakoff, Lefkowitz, Halpern, Sigman, Fruisen and Wishnak. When Mr. Silberman, the chairman of the conference, asked, "How is it that when the question is
still under discussion, the Union has already decided the point and issued an order to the shops. None of us could give a satisfactory answer to the question. The chairman of the Joint Board disclaimed all knowledge of Bisco's order. Then the spokesman for the Association said that it seemed to him that Mr. Bisco was the real power in the Union, and that it was no use dealing with us. He further stated that unless we would get credentials from the Joint Board that we really represented that organization, they would not deal with us. In spite of Brother Halpern's assurances to the manufacturers that this notice would be withdrawn in the next issue of the New Yorpost of December 14, it appeared again. This is a good illustration how business was carried on by the New York Joint Board.

PROFESSOR HUETTRICH'S CLERKSHIP.

From the beginning of December my time was entirely occupied with negotiating the Protocol with the Dress and Waist manufacturers' Association. I may state here that it was not more accidental that during the time I was acting as Chief Clerk of the Joint Board the Dress and Waist manufacturers' Association consented to enter into negotiations with us, which ended in the signing of the Protocol and preventing a general strike in the Waist and Dress Industry.

On January 29, 1913, while attending a conference with the House Dress and Kimono Manufacturers' Association for the purpose of arriving at a basis for a settlement of the general strike in that industry, I was hurriedly called away to the General Office. I found Vice-President Kleinman, then the Financial Secretary of the Joint Board, and Brother Perlstein, Recording Secretary, who handed me the following letter addressed to the Protective Association, with a request to sign it:

New York, Jan. 29, 1913.
Cloak, Suit & Skirt Manufacturers' Association.

Gentlemen: We are advised that you have refused to recognize the Cloak & Skirt Makers' Union of New York, acting through their Joint Board, as the party to the Protocol, upon the theory that the Protocol is an agreement with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We have to inform you that there was an error. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, through its officers whose signatures are affixed to the Protocol, acted merely as attorney-in-fact for the New York locals enumerated in the opening paragraph of the Protocol. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is a federated body comprising organizations of cloak and skirt makers in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and other cities, as well as organizations of workers engaged in the manufacture of wrappers, kimono, shirtwaists, etc. None of those Unions can evidently be parties to the agreement between the manufacturers of Cloaks and Suits in New York city and their employees organized in the Cloak and Suit Makers' Union of New York.

We take it that you are misled by the fact that some of the representatives of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Suit Makers' Unions of New York have been in the past and are at present simultaneously International officers of our Federated Body. Our Constitution, like that of all other labor organizations in the United States, does not prohibit any member from holding office simultaneously in a local union and in the National and International organizations.

Trusting that these explanations will assist you in forming a clear view of the situation, I remain,

Very truly yours,

I could hardly believe my own eyes. It was only ten days after we had signed the Protocol in the Waist Industry, which involved such tremendous readjustments, and things were yet far from settled. Local No. 25 had still a considerable number of the independent shops on strike. We were then conferring with the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association in the Wrapper and Kimono Trade. The strike of Local No. 62 was in full swing, and we were trying to get in touch with the representatives of the Cotton Goods manufacturers' Association. Just then I was requested to sign a document which stated that since our International Union has jurisdiction over the Ladies' Garment Industry in several cities, and is composed of wrapper makers, waist makers, as well as cloakmakers, therefore it cannot be a party to any agreement in any particular branch of the industry. It followed then that by signing the Protocol in the Waist and Dress Industry we had perpetrated a fraud upon the manufacturers and were on the point of perpetrating a like fraud upon the manufacturers in the other industries.
I was assured that my refusal to sign this document might lead to the Joint Board locals breaking away from the International Union. After a lot of bargaining, I finally consented to sign the document, with the underscored part of the letter, which has reference to the inability of the International Union to become a party to an agreement in any one particular branch of the trade, omitted. I told Vice-President Kleinman and Secretary Perlstein that if the Joint Board will insist upon pursuing a policy which might end in the breaking up of its affiliated locals I could not keep it back, but under no circumstances would I sign a document the publication of which might lead to the breaking up of Local No. 25, the loss of the strikes we had on hand, as well as other locals of the International. After I signed this document as amended, Brother Polakoff and myself went to the Broadway Central Hotel, where we found Dr. Hourwich and the rest of the officers of the Joint Board, and we urged them not to send this letter to the Association. We told them that I had signed the document in its amended form to show our desire not to antagonize the Joint Board, but at the same time we begged them not to send this letter and not to divide our forces before the Manufacturers' Association; that the Association still looked upon the International and the Joint Board as one body and that this question should not be raised at all. We did not know then that a conference had taken place a few days before, between the representatives of the Union and the Association, and there the question of the Joint Board versus the International Union had been raised by Professor Hourwich and seconded by the lawyer on the other side, and that Professor Hourwich reduced the International Union to a shadow. Our pleading was in vain. The officers of the Joint Board were so overwhelmed with the greatness of Dr. Hourwich that even our own G. E. B. members were ready to destroy the Waist Makers' and White Goods Workers' and Wrapper and Kimono Workers' strikes to please Dr. Hourwich. I told the professor at that meeting that I considered the man who drew up such a letter for us to sign either a criminal, a lunatic, or both. No agent provocateur could have attempted a dirtier piece of work than to ask us to sign such a document.

I am accused by some people of combining with the Manufacturers' Association to turn out Dr. Hourwich. Suppose an incendiary came into your shop and tried to put the place on fire, and you were about to put him out, would you change your mind because the employer also wanted to get him out?

I can assure you that if it was not for some of your 'traitors' he would certainly have accomplished the destruction of our Organization, which he tried to do from the very first day he put his foot in it. For his undaunted abilities are of a purely negative and destructive nature. With the help of our Syndicalists and destroyers it would be easy sailing for him if it was not for the 'Old Guard,' who had their hands full with counteracting his destructive work.

Talk of democracy, of referendum, of consulting the masses! Here you have a letter the publication of which would put the whole International Union out of business; yet outside of a handful of officials of the Joint Board no one knew anything about it.

It has come to pass that in our organization you can commit the worst crimes against the Union; as long as you keep on shouting Kampf you are all right. I told the Joint Board crowd on more than one occasion that I, too, can become the darling of the mass if I care to appeal to the gallery; but I know where it will lead to, and I am satisfied to bear the brunt of the insults of our demagogues and act in accordance with the dictates of my conscience rather than to please our mass, which is misled, miseducated and misinformed about the true facts of the case.

**The Composition of Our General Executive Board.**

In my report to our last convention I suggested that the General Executive Board should consist of fifteen members, seven of whom should be paid officers of the International Union to act as organizers, and the rest should be composed of members working in the shops. Only the first part of my suggestion was accepted. With the exception of the General
President and the General Secretary, all the rest of the New York members of the G. E. B. are paid officers of the locals, and the majority of them paid officers of the Joint Board. It is hard to overestimate the injury, the chaos, this system of the General Executive Board members being paid officers of other local unions causes. A General Executive Board member can act independently, even against the wishes of his own local, when the interest of the whole International Union demands it. But once he becomes a paid officer of any particular local he will act as an agent of that local and not as an International officer. Two years' observation of the action of the Joint Board officers who are members of the G. E. B. convinced me that no man can properly perform the functions of a local and a general officer at the same time.

When at the G. E. B. meetings a question came up which affected the Joint Board locals, the General Executive Board ceased to function. The Board then became a subsidiary branch of the Joint Board. Thus the main function of the G. E. B., which is to act as a check on the locals, ceased to exist as far as the Joint Board of New York is concerned. It was not so bad when we dealt with questions affecting, say, the Philadelphia Joint Board; then Vice President Amdur was only one, and had fourteen other members who could think and reason as General Officers should. With the New York Joint Board this was not the case.

You should not be surprised, therefore, to learn that in the fights between the General Office and the officers of the New York Joint Board we found many times the New York members of the General Executive Board at the same time. When at the G. E. B. meetings a question came up which affected the Joint Board locals, the General Executive Board ceased to function. The Board then became a subsidiary branch of the Joint Board. Thus the main function of the G. E. B., which is to act as a check on the locals, ceased to exist as far as the Joint Board of New York is concerned. It was not so bad when we dealt with questions affecting, say, the Philadelphia Joint Board; then Vice President Amdur was only one, and had fourteen other members who could think and reason as General Officers should. With the New York Joint Board this was not the case.

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You should not be surprised, therefore, to learn that in the fights between the General Office and the officers of the New York Joint Board we found many times the New York members of the General Executive Board who were at the same time officers of the Joint Board, on the side of the Joint Board and against the International Union. It is true that later on, when they realized what 'Hourwichism' would lead to, they rallied round us in their opposition to him, and at the last moment took a stand as International Officers should. But if our General Executive Board were not composed of paid officials of the Joint Board matters would not have gone so far. The Chief Clerk of the Joint Board would not have delivered his speech at a conference with the Manufacturers' Association, in which G. E. B. members participated, where he reduced the International Union to a shadow, unchallenged. Your Vice-President would not have brought me a letter to sign, the publication of which at that particular moment would have broken up Local No. 25, the strikes of Locals No. 41 and No. 62 and would have made it impossible for the General Office in the future to negotiate or be a party to any settlement for any local. Of course, if the future policy of the International Union will be to leave each local Union alone, to do as it pleases, and pursue its own trade policy, then it will be of no consequence how the International Union will be composed. You can make them all paid officers of the local Unions or working in shops. On the other hand, if the International Union is to control the policy of the Organization in its relation to the employers, you should not repeat the mistake made at the last convention and erum the International Union with paid officers of other locals.

**THE INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE FOR THE PROTOCOL.**

The next time I met Professor Hourwich was at the Board of Arbitration, where the question of 'who is who'—the International or the Joint Board, which is responsible for the Protocol—was to be decided. The Board decided that the Association must deal with the Joint Board, but the International Union must guarantee for its good conduct. So that even after the Professor succeeded in reducing the International Union to a mere shadow, he had to submit to the humiliation of having to accept this shadow as the guarantor for the conduct of a body of which he was chief.

President Rosenberg was not present at this arbitration meeting. When Mr. London, our attorney, requested me to sign the document in which the International Union undertakes to guarantee the conduct of the Joint Board I pointed out to him the danger of such an undertaking—of the impossibility for us to guarantee for the conduct of the Joint Board under the leadership of such an impossible person as Dr. Hourwich. Mr. London assured me that Dr. Hourwich was not as bad as I took him to be, and that after he himself had attached his own signature to such document, as an honorable man, he will not think of doing anything which will make it impossible for the International officers to fulfill their obligation to the Association. You all know now who was in the right in this controversy—Mr. London or I.

While I strongly objected against raising the question of the relation between the International Union and the Joint Board before the
Manufacturers' Association, so as not to divide our forces in their presence, and give them the opportunity, wherever they found it convenient, to play off one organization against the other. On the other hand I was anxious that the International Union should get out of the situation and leave the Joint Board alone in its dealings with the Manufacturers' Association. In this way we should avoid friction inside our own ranks, which is always more dangerous than fights with employers. I noticed throughout that every attempt on the part of the General Office to exercise any form of authority over the Joint Board was deeply resented by the officers of that body. The Cloak and Skirt Makers' Unions of New York, since they became so big, thought it was below their dignity to be guided or directed by the International Union. It was they who possessed the membership, the funds and a big weekly journal with a circulation of close to 40,000! Where, they thought, does the International Union come in?

The prevailing sentiment among the leaders of the New York Joint Board locals is that it is the business of the International Union to supervise only the smaller and out-of-town locals. Any interference with the work of the officers of the Joint Board was looked upon as an invasion of their sovereign right. It was always met with suspicion and ill-will. I knew that the undertaking by the International Union to guarantee the good conduct of the Joint Board was, to use the language of Brother Bisno, a "comedy and a lie," and could serve no purpose, except to give an opportunity to our employers, whenever they might find it necessary to take up a fight with the Joint Board, to be able, through this Guarantee business, to drag in the whole International Union.

Mr. Brandeis looks upon arbitration as a necessary evil. This guarantee business, I am certain, was an unnecessary evil. It is too dangerous for a group of outside arbitrators, however well meaning, to give a decision affecting the internal affairs of an organization. Subjects like this should not be arbitrated.

Under the circumstances, having the decision of the Board of Arbitration rammed down my throat, I was in a position to do nothing else but swallow it.

This convention, before it adjourns, should take steps to extricate the International Union from this impossible position. The International Union should not be placed in a position of undertaking an obligation which it cannot perform.

In ordinary commercial undertakings the idea of the principal and guarantor may work very well. In a labor organization there must be one body only to carry the sole responsibility for any arrangement with employers.

**DR. HOURWICH AND HIS CABINET.**

I believe it was the 19th of May, when I was hurriedly summoned to a conference at the 19th Street office, where Dr. Hourwich, the managers and some of the officers of the Joint Board were present. There I learned that a dangerous situation had arisen in the Cloak Trade; that the Organization was drifting into a general strike, and if action were not taken immediately a general strike would surely take place; and, in the opinion of those present, such a strike must end in the wiping out of the Organization. This was quite a revelation to me. Besides my regular routine work I was then also busy with meetings of the Board of Grievances and conferences with various Manu-
facturers' Associations with whom we had entered into Protocol arrangements in New York City. During the discussion at this conference it transpired that the reason why we were drifting into a general strike, which must end in wiping out of the Organization, was because Dr. Hourwieh was carrying on an agitation among the cloakmakers, telling them that they were "slaves to the Protocol." This agitation caused a great deal of unrest among the rank and file of the members, and that this agitation must lead to a general smash-up. To remedy the evil, Brother Wishnak proposed that the Protocol, Professor Hourwieh should submit the text of the speeches and articles to the officers of the Joint Board. Dr. Hourwieh stated that he would allow no one to censure his speeches or articles. "But," he added, "in view of the fact that I cannot get the responsible officers of the Union to work with me; since our ideas and opinions are so wide apart, the only thing left for me to do is to resign and return to Washington. If the 'premier' and the 'cabinet,'" he said, "do not agree and cannot work in harmony, then the only thing for the 'premier' to do is to resign and make room for someone who agrees with the methods of the 'cabinet.'" Each one of the conferees tried to convince Professor Hourwieh that he must, under no circumstances, at this present moment, leave the Organization, for that would result in a smash-up of the Union.

The prevailing opinion among the "cabinet" was that, since the Professor, by his agitation, succeeded in arousing the feeling of the members against the Protocol—if he should leave the Organization just then, there would be a revolt of the members against the Union.

Here I must say that on several occasions the officers of the Joint Board told me stories of the conduct of Professor Hourwich which made me sit up. Professor Hourwich, according to what they told me, did not care two cents for the Organization, and was not even interested in the whole business. If he quarreled and fought with the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association it was because by nature he cannot brook opposition of any kind; otherwise he cared for nothing for the Union than the man in the moon. He spent his time at the office in reading newspapers and writing magazine articles. When occasionally a committee came to him, he began to put to them a series of questions which could only be of interest to a professional statistician. A man of his age, who spent all of his life on abstract theories, seems to be incapable of entering into a new situation which requires quite different abilities and training to what Professor Hourwich possesses. In fact, his clerkship was a joke. Each time he took a hand in any case he simply complicated matters and "put his foot in it." I asked them: "Why do you tell me all this? Why not go to the Joint Board and tell them all that?" They simply laughed and said, "If anyone were to attempt to tell the Joint Board anything against Professor Hourwich he would be thrown out of the meeting room." "Suppose you do get thrown out of the Joint Board," I asked Brother Perlstein, "do you not think that it is your duty as a paid officer to tell the Joint Board things as you see them, since the delegates of the Board who are working in the shops have no opportunity of judging his work?" The first business of a trade union official, I said, is to tell his constituents his opinions, or the truth as he sees it. The members may reject his opinions, they may not want to listen to him; nevertheless it is his business, under all circumstances, to tell them the truth. The moment he begins to temporize and play politics, whether he wants it or not, he is deceiving the members. In union affairs Honesty is not the Best Policy, but the Only Policy.

But the whole business of the Joint Board was never more than a game of politics. Everything that was said or done there by the officers was never more than a "move" in the "game." I could not induce them to go out into the open and tell what they knew of the work of Dr. Hourwich. Instead of that, each time he would send in his resignation, they would beg him to stay.

About the middle of last August the officers of the Joint Board all met in my office and discussed what was to be done with Professor Hourwich. The unanimous opinion among them was that he was an impossibility. I told them that they must do one of the two things: they must either make up their minds to work with him and do as he directs them, or, if they cannot do that, they should resign in a body. I warned them that Dr. Hourwich was a canker in the body of our organization, and the longer he stays with us the more difficult it will be to get rid of him. They all unanimously de-
cided that "the Cabinet must resign in a body." Lack of back-bone has been the curse of the leadership of the New York Joint Board. It was all a game of small politics and "gallery" play.

THE GENERAL STRIKES OF LAST SUMMER.

When I came back from Europe last Summer I found that we were in the midst of general strikes in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, St. Louis and San Francisco.

One of the most unpardonable pieces of folly committed by the officers of the New York Joint Board was the sub-manufacturers' strike. At a time when all the energies of the organization should have been concentrated on Philadelphia, such a dangerous New York competitor, another general strike was called in New York, thus splitting and scattering our energies.

The results of the general strikes of last Summer point to the necessity of a revision of our established methods of calling general strikes. At the Boston convention of 1910 we decided to empower the General Executive Board to organize, prepare and call a general strike in New York City. That strike was so overwhelmingly successful that for this last four years we have pursued this method in the other branches of the Ladies' Garment trade and other cities.

Strange as it may seem, a close analysis of the results of all our strikes within the last four years will show that it is easier to win a strike in a trade where there is a weak organization or where there is no union at all than in one which is fairly well organized. In other words, to win strikes you must have either a very weak or a very strong union. Where there is no union the employers do not expect a strike, and therefore make no preparations. But when, contrary to their expectations, the people go out on strike, the employers are caught unaware in a helpless position. Then, again, in a trade without a union, the employer has no clear idea what he is up against, when and whom he is fighting. It is therefore not difficult to induce him to settle. If, however, a trade is organized and the employer chooses to fight, he knows, or he thinks he knows, whom he is fighting, and the chances are that the battle will be a prolonged one. Therefore strikes in an organized trade are, as a rule, prolonged and costly. Our own experience shows that where the employers have made preparations in time and made up their mind to give us battle, they have had the best of us.

The method of deciding upon a strike and making preparations in advance has another serious objection. You decide upon calling the strike; that is, you proclaim it in the very beginning of the season. You call the people out, say, in the middle of July. In June or even in July you do not know how the season will turn out. But what if the season turns out as slow as it was in 1911, in the Cleveland strike, or last year in the Philadelphia and St. Louis strikes?

A strike should be decided upon, organized and called within one week. And then only in the height of a good season.

Under no circumstances is it advisable to talk strike before you are in the midst of a busy season, when the employers have bought their goods and have them cut up, and every firm has all the orders on hand it can deliver. When you catch the non-union employers at the height of the season, then you not only hit them, but you hit the buyer also. For the buyer cannot get as easily his goods from other firms who have on hand all the orders they can deliver. Then he is as interested in a settlement as much as the employer himself.

It may be argued that to call a strike at the height of the season is useless, for when our people see the bundles before them they will not move from their places. I do not believe that this will be the case. After all, we have made some progress. If the worst should happen and the people should fail to respond to the call of a strike, then the loss would not be as great as when you keep them out a whole season, and, when your finances give out, you are compelled to give up the strike and let the people go back to empty shops.

On the other hand, the successful calling of a strike unexpectedly at the height of the season will strike terror in the hearts of the non-union employers and will always keep them in suspense, and buyers will have good reasons to be afraid of placing orders in non-union cities.

But whatever methods you will adopt in the future in calling strikes, one thing you must do, and that is as long as the International will not have a reserve fund or a general defense fund, the General Executive Board will have nothing to do with the sanctioning of strikes.

The financing of strikes by means of a special assessment is impossible. Assessments are all
right as a supplementary means of financing strikes. But if you have no adequate funds to start with, you should not rely upon an assessment. It is especially unfair to the locals whose membership consists chiefly of young girls whose earnings are considerably below $10 a week. You cannot expect members with such small earnings to pay a dollar and a half as assessments, such as we are claiming from them just now.

AT THE CONVENTION OF THE A. F. OF L.

With so many strikes on hand, I had no intention of leaving New York to attend to the A. F. of L. convention at Seattle. I wrote to Secretary Morrison to that effect. But one day Brother Schlesinger called at our office and told me that he had just come from Philadelphia, and the Central Labor Union of that city passed a resolution instructing their delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to introduce a resolution asking for financial assistance for the Philadelphia strikers; that under all circumstances it would be necessary for me to see that the resolution of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union is carried through at the Seattle convention. I doubted very much the wisdom of leaving New York at that time for the convention. I also had my doubts as to the possibility of getting financial assistance from the American Federation of Labor, especially at a time when so many strikes were in progress throughout the country, including the great struggle of the Metal Miners of Calumet, Michigan. But it was pointed out to me by several Philadelphia people that if I did not go to Seattle it would be interpreted that the General Office is indifferent, and that this may have a bad effect on the strikers.

On the 5th of November I left for Seattle. At the Resolution Committee of the A. F. of L. we were asked how many members we have on strike. Then they asked, "How is it that an Organization with close to one hundred thousand members should not be able to finance a strike of 5,000 people?" I must confess that I had no satisfactory answer to give. "Since the strike, you say, costs you $15,000 each week, why do you not do as other international unions are doing, namely, assess your members 15 cents a week and finance your strike in that way?"

OUR LOCALS ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

After leaving Seattle we went to San Francisco. We found there a most unfortunate situation. The San Francisco Cloakmakers are week workers. The wages are ranging from $25 to $30 a week, working only 8 hours a day. But it appeared that the epidemic of general strikes had spread as far as the Pacific Coast. Suddenly Local No. 8 found that it did not have a minimum wage for the women workers and also that they must insist that a manufacturer, after employing a member for two weeks, must not discharge him without the consent of the Union. The reason for this demand was because in San Francisco the number of shops are limited so that when a man is discharged he finds it hard to secure another position. They overlooked the consideration that the employer is also in the same situation, for since the number of men is limited, it is difficult for him to replace a discharged employee, and he must therefore be very careful before he lets anyone go. As one can readily imagine, if you go out on a general strike on the question of discharge, you are up against a situation which cannot be compromised. Such a strike is lost before it is begun. As a result of this strike one of our best organized and oldest locals has been put out of existence.

When a union fights for higher wages or shorter hours, it is striking for something very definite, and there is no place in that case for misinterpretation or misunderstanding. But when you bring up a question of discharge, you are up against something which lends itself to misinterpretation. On one hand you can easily make the people believe that if you will not take away completely the employers' right to discharge, he will drive out the best union men from the place and in this way destroy the Union. On the other hand, the agitators on the manufacturers' side can also raise the cry that the Union wants to dictate to them whom they should employ; that it would be impossible for the manufacturer to maintain discipline in the shop and he would not be able to make the work just as he sees fit; that it means handing over his business entirely to the Union. Such a general strike must resolve itself into a fight to the finish. Before I went to the Coast, from the reports which appeared in the Daily Trade Record, it looked to me that the manufacturers in San Francisco were willing to come to some understanding with the Union. I said to President Rosenberg that I am satisfied that if any one of us would go over to San Francisco a satisfactory settlement could be effected. When I arrived in San Francisco I spoke to
the Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, as well as to several members of Local No. 8, and I became thoroughly convinced that if some of us had been there, the strike would have ended quite differently.

Here I want to say that if the International cares at all to charter locals on the Pacific Coast and to accept from them per capita, however small it may be, it must have an organizer in that locality to look after those locals, otherwise we have no right to charter locals there. Unions, in order to exist, cannot be run on abstract theories or principles, but, like every other business undertaking, must have the services of trained, experienced men. The Ladies' Garment Industry is growing on the Pacific Coast. Trade unionism is a stronger factor there than it is in the East. We must have someone there to organize new locals and also to take care of those that are already in existence.

THE CRINN IN NEW YORK.

When we reached St. Louis I found at the General Post Office a packet of letters and newspaper clippings containing the debate between Dr. Hourwich and Meyer London in the columns of the Jewish Daily Forward. This was a revelation to me. I did not think that the internal affairs of the Union would be handed over for discussion to the public press, since the Joint Board had a weekly organ of its own. Reading through Professor Hourwich's articles, I called the attention of President Rosenberg to the constant attacks Professor Hourwich had made on the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association, and I told him that it seemed to me the professor, with these constant and systematic attacks on the Manufacturers' Protective Association, was deliberately trying to provoke a fight with that Association and break the Protocol, since he sees that he cannot get along with them.

Here I want to call your attention to the proceedings of the Board of Arbitration during the month of August. The manufacturers brought up the question of the contention of Professor Hourwich in the case of Jaffe and Katz, also Levy and Freedberg, in which he claimed that the workpeople engaged in a shop strike, unauthorized by the Union, still have a right to picket such shops. The Association also asked the Board to censure Dr. Hourwich for attacking their Association in the articles which he had written in the official organ of the Union. Mr. Brandes then put to Dr. Hourwich the following question: 'Do you think that the Protocol can live and exist if the representatives of either side will keep on abusing each other?' Although Professor Hourwich argued for over two hours, he did not answer the question. Mr. Brandes could get no reply from him. Professor Hourwich had good reasons for avoiding an answer to this question. For right after the meeting of the Board of Arbitration the Professor renewed his attacks on the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association, thus provoking the manufacturers to abrogate the Protocol.

Although the Board of Arbitration refused the request of the Manufacturers' Association to censure Dr. Hourwich for his attacks in the official journal of the Joint Board on the Association, yet, from the opinion expressed by the arbitrators, it became all the more evident that 'the Protocol would not live if the representatives of either side keep abusing each other.'

THE CRY OF FREE SPEECH AND FREE PRESS.

One would expect from people above the age of school children to understand such a simple proposition without being told so by a Board of Arbitration. Did the Joint Board take notice of the Board of Arbitration and close the columns of the New Post for this writ? The professor renewed it in the same journal with still greater vigor, and this time included also the Board of Arbitration. He became suddenly the champion of 'Free Speech and Free Press.' One can hardly imagine a more unscrupulous piece of charlatanism than this cry of 'Free Speech and Free Press.' The Protocol has not only enslaved the cloakmakers in the shop, but the arbitrators under this Protocol want to muzzle their press and close the mouth of the chosen champion of their rights. The cry spread like wildfire. The people became all the more enthusiastic for their leader and enraged with the Association, the Protocol and everyone who had a good word to say for it.

There was as much justification for this cry of free speech and free press as there was in his contention that members of the Union have a right to picket a shop in which they declared a strike without the sanction of the Union, because as American citizens they have the right to walk the sidewalk.
The moment a person accepts a responsible office in any organization, that moment he gives up his so-called right of free speech in public on matters pertaining to his duties. Nor will anyone think it proper for the New Post to accept scab advertisements or articles from the scab union on the ground of free press. But, as I said before, everything goes in our organization as long as you know how to play to the gallery. And I must confess that in this art the Professor is a past master.

THE PROFESSOR'S PROVOCATION.

Can you imagine Ambassador Rice, in the controversy between Great Britain and the United States over the Panama Canal tolls, writing articles in the London Times or any other prominent British newspaper, under his own signature, in which he questions the good faith of President Wilson, his Cabinet and American people without it being intended as a provocation of war? Would England allow its Ambassador to do that without having decided beforehand to go to war with the United States? Would the British government enter a plea of "free press" or speech if its Ambassador in Washington kept on a campaign of attacks on the American people or their government? Yet the Joint Board allowed Professor Hourwich to go on attacking the Protocol, the Manufacturers' Association in its official organ and the daily press without realizing that this must lead to a fight with the Association, "a fight which is lost before it started," according to the admission of the very same journal. Of course such a fight must be lost before it begins. For can any sane human being imagine a body of people with any degree of self-respect at all to allow the official organ of a union and its representatives with whom they are working under a Protocol to keep up a systematic attack on its officers without taking up a fight to a finish?

It must be admitted that our people have never been guilty of such savage tactics. For it is certainly nothing but savagery to keep on abusing the people with whom you do business. This practice began with the appearance of the great learned doctors. Hitherto when a manufacturer notified the Union that he cannot get along with a particular officer, the Union made no fuss about it, but substituted another in his place. For our simple tailors realized that a union cannot afford to fight and call strikes over personalities. They understood also that if you want to do business with men, they must see that the agents who represent them should be more or less acceptable to the other side; that they should not make themselves personally objectionable. This was the case when the business of the Union was conducted by plain tailors, but the moment the great men came on the scene, the whole thing changed.

No wonder that when people are under the influence of such a learned man, who brought the Organization to the brink of ruin, that they should raise the cry "treason" when the International officers tried to keep them back from committing such an act of suicidal folly as insisting upon the Association to deal with the Union through no other person than the man who made it his business for months to abuse and attack them in the public press.

When I came to New York I found the battle at its height. Although there are fifteen members of the G. E. B., out of which only two were out on the Pacific Coast, the majority being in New York, right on the spot, none of them thought it necessary to call a meeting of the G. E. B. to talk over the course to be pursued in this crisis. This was so because, being paid officials of other organizations, they did not act as International Officers should. Matters drifted along. Dr. Hourwich not only continued attacking the Manufacturers' Association, but practically tried to annihilate morally every responsible officer of the Organization.

DR. HOURWICH AS A LEADER OF THE MASSES.

In an Organization like ours, which is suffering from the lack of experienced and trained men to handle such a big Organization, Professor Hourwich thought it permissible to discredit every man who could be of service to the Union. In politics, when one party indulges in attacking the men of the other party, it is done with the intention of replacing them by politicians of its own party. But in our Organization, where there are no parties, where the number of men with the experience and training of handling such difficult problems are so hard to find, if you succeed in eliminating these few, what is there left of the Union but a disorganized mass? Professor Hourwich applied political methods to our Organization and tried to drive every responsible officer out of the Organization, so that he may become the
solo "leader of the mass." There is not, and there never has been a body of employers who did business with the "representatives of the mass." They can only do business with a well organized body through its responsible officers. Of course, our people do not realize that one cannot be the "leader of the mass" and a leader of a Union at the same time. The two do not go together.

There is as much difference between a union and the "mass" as there is between an army and a mob. The one presents an organized, drilled and disciplined set of men moving and acting in accordance with specific instructions and led by trained officers; the other is an incoherent, disorganized number of people moved by excitement and hysteria. An army, whether victorious or defeated, remains. The mass melts away after the first flush of excitement.

Dr. Hourwich almost succeeded in converting the union into a mass, of which he was the leader.

On the second day of my arrival in New York I called a meeting of the G. E. B. and asked what they intended to do about it. My proposition was that we should go out and tell the members the truth, namely, that it is useless for them to elect Professor Hourwich as the Chief Clerk, because since it is evident from the action of Professor Hourwich that the manufacturers will under no circumstances consent to do business with him, and should the Union insist that the manufacturers must deal with him, the Protocol will be abrogated, and with the Protocol, of course, the office of Chief Clerk ceases to exist.

The General Executive Board members argued that there has grown up among the members of the Joint Board locals such a bitter feeling against the International Union as a result of the agitation of Professor and others that anything the International officers will say against him will only strengthen his position.

**The Doctor's Advice to Reduce the Union.**

As far back as the middle of last Summer the Professor advised that the Protocol be dropped; that the Joint Board should send individual agreements to the members of the Protective Association, and the Union will then do business with as many individual manufacturers as it can compel to sign such agreements. "If it should turn out that we cannot do business with any of them individually, there would be no harm. Then there would be less dues to collect and less officers to pay. Must you have forty thousand members? Suppose you will have only ten thousand?" He knew, however, that the Joint Board was unanimously dead against such a proposition. Since he could not induce the Joint Board to break the Protocol and free the cloakmakers from its slavery, he tried all his ingenuity to provoke the Protective Association, and they should take the initiative and break the Protocol.

On the 10th of December last we received a letter from the Manufacturers' Association notifying us that they will not deal with Professor Hourwich, and asked us to substitute someone else in his place. Professor Hourwich was in his glory. At last he got what he was waiting for. The moment those letters were received, he issued an order to the 16th Street office to close the Protocol Division and to take up no complaints from members working for Association houses, and at the same time he notified Dr. Price that the Cloakmakers' Union is out of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. Unfortunately it happened that on that very day a special meeting of the Joint Board took place for the purpose of considering this letter.

At that meeting Professor Hourwich was called down for his action, and the Joint Board ordered that the Protocol Division resume work.

I considered this an unfortunate incident, for had not the Joint Board counteracted this order, if the Protocol Division had been closed, the great mass which called us traitors, which was advised by Dr. Hourwich instead of merely breaking the windows, to break the heads of the people who are behind the windows, those very same people would have broken his head.

Here again you find the democracy of Dr. Hourwich. Without consulting anybody, he at once decided to end the Protocol right away. The fact that they elected him as Chief Clerk shows unmistakably that members did not want the Protocol broken. Why then did he act against their expressed wishes and give an order to stop the machinery of the Protocol?

To make it sure that the Protective Association should not be able to recede from its position, he rushed to press with that letter of the Association, and his official organ, the Warkcit, next morning called upon the cloakmakers to hit the Association "On the head" for having dared to dictate to the Union who its representatives shall be. The rest was easy sailing. If the people are assured by such men
as Dr. Hourwich, Dr. Hoffman, Louis Miller, and S. Janofsky that the manufacturers have undertaken to dictate to the Union who their representatives shall be, do you blame them for making demonstrations against their officers? I feel that if I had believed that the Manufacturers' Association had undertaken to dictate to the Union who its officers shall be, and that some officers of the Union had seconded their demand, I would have been tempted to do what Dr. Hourwich advised the mass to do. I would be inclined to "break the heads of the people who stand behind the windows."

You can always trust the mass when it is informed rightly. The masses are often misled, but they are always honest. But the people who always keep on talking of democracy, of consulting the masses, are the very people who lie to them, who misinform and mislead them. You could not blame the French masses for making demonstrations against Captain Dreyfus when they were assured by their leaders that he sold the secrets of his country to a foreign power. Nor can we blame the Russian peasants for making pogroms on the Jews when they are told that they use the blood of their children for their religious rituals.

Dr. Johnson said that "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." If that celebrated lexicographer would have had an opportunity to witness the tactics of Dr. Hourwich he would have changed the word patriotism for democracy.

If declining to do business with a representative of the Union means dictating to the Union who its representatives shall be, then I want the accusers and defamers of the International Officers who are at this convention to answer this question: Why did they not raise the same cry when the United Association last Summer informed the Joint Board that it will not deal with Brother Slotchin, and asked to send them another man in his place? Why did the Joint Board go out of its way to appoint the man whom the United Association asked for? Why was this not dictation?

Why do they grant freely to the United Association something for which they are ready to fight the Protective Association? Is it crookedness on the part of some one or pure folly?

The convention is entitled to an answer to this question.

When we received the letter from the Manufacturers' Association, in which they asked us to substitute someone in place of Dr. Hourwich, we answered that we can give them no reply until their letter will be submitted to the next meeting of the General Executive Board, which was scheduled for December 30th. The following day we had a private consultation with a few members of the General Executive Board, Joint Board officers and Attorney London, and we agreed upon the advisability of calling a conference of the representative trade unionists to consult them as to the course to be pursued in this crisis.

**President Gompers' Advice.**

The next day Vice-President Polakoff and myself went to see President Gompers in Washington. At this conference I expressed the opinion that it may be advisable for the G. E. B. to take its hands off the whole affair and allow the cloakmakers to fight it out with the Manufacturers' Association. I made the following statement to President Gompers: "You have often seen a child who sees fire and wants to touch it. The mother keeps it away from it, and the child gets sore with the mother, thinking that if it were not for the mother it could get hold of this fire. There is a growing feeling among the cloak and skirtmakers in New York that they can get much more out of their employers than they are getting now and are itching for a fight. The International Officers have tried to keep them back from such fight. The result of our constant intervention has been that the International Union has been losing prestige and influence with the Cloakmakers all along, and it is perhaps more advisable for us to leave them alone, so that they could have it out with the manufacturers."

"If they can get more than we think they can, then nobody will be more glad than the officers of the International Union. If, on the other hand, they will be defeated, then I believe that it will not take long before the cloakmakers will reorganize and then they will have a union. Then they will know how far to go." I instanced the case of Local No. 25. Five years ago they had a general strike and gained a signal victory. After a year or two they found that the fruit of their victory had vanished, and, having been taught a lesson, they now realize how far they can go, and are therefore inclined to listen to the officers of the International Union and take their advice.

The Grand Old Man of the American Labor Movement got up excitedly and banged his fist on the table and told me that I talked like
a man without any experience; that he was surprised that at this juncture an International officer could think of sitting quietly and let the cloakmakers have their way. "Under the present conditions," said Mr. Gompers, "the abrogation of the Protocol, which must result in a fight with the Manufacturers' Association, will be a blow not only to the trade union movement, but the very idea of collective bargaining in this country would be set back a quarter of a century. We have through our agitation," continued Mr. Gompers, "succeeded, in a measure, to counteract the work of the National Manufacturers' Association and to get a good many friends among the neutral forces. Should the Protocol be abrogated just now, the Manufacturers' Association will rally around every enemy of organization of labor in this country. You must not allow this Protocol to be abrogated unless you have good and sufficient reason to do so. But under the present circumstances, since you have no reason at all, except to satisfy the wish of an impossible person, its abrogation will be a blow to the whole Union Movement throughout the country. The officer of an international union who at this present moment lay low, without taking a stand, has no place in the Labor Movement. If the strike is inevitable, if you cannot stop it, at least the people who go on strike must strike as non-unionists. You are responsible to the Labor Movement of this country."

He concluded by saying: "The path of the responsible officer of a trade union is not strewn with roses. When the occasion arises he must be ready to stand up against the man, even at the risk of getting his head broken."

After that speech, President Gompers all doubts as to the advisability of taking our hands off this matter vanished from our minds. On the 2nd day of January the General Executive Board passed that famous, traitorous resolution. When Brother Sigmann got up and made the motion to notify the cloakmakers that unless they will dismiss Professor Hourwich from their service the International Union will revoke the guarantee, I was exceedingly surprised.

**COMMENDATION OR CONDEMNATION—WHICH?**

We are called traitors for having passed this resolution. This convention cannot adjourn without pronouncing in a most emphatic manner whether the adoption of such a resolution is an act of treason or an act of duty on our part. In order to judge it intelligently and logically, you must first pronounce your opinion whether the letter of the 10th of December, in which the manufacturers declined to do business with Professor Hourwich was an act of dictation on their part or our representatives shall be. If in that letter they do take themselves the privilege of dictating to us who our representatives shall be, then every member who has attached his signature to this resolution must get out of the Organization and must not be a member of any local Union of the International or any other labor organization.

In fights among nations, when they are about to go to war, if the heads of one nation will in any way help the other, such officers are condemned as traitors and are summarily executed. In a trade union such men must, under all circumstances get out of the organization. On the other hand, if this letter does not mean dictation who the representatives shall be, but it has been so misinterpreted by Dr. Hourwich and his followers so as to enable him to provoke a fight with the Manufacturers' Association, these men should be condemned in the most emphatic manner. If in that letter of the 10th the Manufacturers' Association simply desired to do business with Dr. Hourwich and requested the Union to substitute another person in his place, a request which by the established precedent in the Cloakmakers' Union the manufacturers had a legitimate right to make, then it was the duty of the officers of the International Union to do everything in their power, everything which their reason dictated to them, with a view of preventing the Joint Board locals from entering into a fight with the Manufacturers' Association, a fight which every one of us felt was "lost before it began," a fight which in the opinion of the men who are experts in the Labor Movement in America would have been a "blow to the very idea of collective bargaining." If that is the case, then the officers of the G. E. U. should be commended for their heroic stand in the face of all the opposition, and the conventists should do all in its power to make amends for the indignities, abuse, slander and insults which were heaped upon the officers of the International Union for doing their duty. There can be no half measures in this matter. The people whom you represent should then be told that they have been misled and misrepresented, that the letter did not mean any invasion on their rights on the part of the manufacturers. You must not
allow this question to hang fire. If you do not want to create further confusion, dissension and internal strife; if you want to stop this demoralization, then you must tell our people your findings in full. If we are guilty, I am sure we are all ready to step out and leave matters alone. Then the people will know there are no more traitors, no more "agents of the Manufacturers' Association" in their midst. Then they will be able to gather their forces and heal their wounds. If, on the other hand, this letter does not mean dictation on the part of the manufacturers, then the people who are responsible for this chaos and demoralization should be condemned by this convention. Above all, we must have unity in our own ranks. This constant hurling of abuse must be stopped once for all, and you can stop it by giving out a clear and emphatic declaration as to the merits of the dispute, and what has really happened in this Hourwich controversy.

You must give to the members of the local you represent a clear and definite answer to the great number of them who are looking to you for an answer. "Did the General Executive Board act like traitors, or was it an act of duty on their part?" This must be the first thing the convention should answer before proceeding with any other business. Until this question will be clearly and definitely answered and disposed of by you, until the air will be cleared you will not be able to accomplish anything.

The feeling of the masses will largely depend upon what you will tell them, providing you will tell them in such language as will lend itself to no misrepresentation.

The only danger I can see is, if this convention will try to do what is so often done in our Organization, namely, to try to whitewash and patch matters up, then it will lead to chaos and confusion, for this is too important a measure to be patched up.

In conclusion I ask your indulgence to say a few words concerning my own person. Four years ago I was looked upon as a traitor because I happened to see things a year or two ahead of most of our members. I foresaw that it is possible to maintain our Union without the slogans of the "closed shop," and that it is more advantageous for us to deal with an Association of Manufacturers than with individual employers. This time there is a conspiracy in our Organization to drive me out of the Labor Movement, a movement in which I spent my whole life, because I happen to see things ahead of most of our people. Because I realize now what I am certain most of us must realize sooner or later, that our industry needs the co-operation of a strong union and a strong Manufacturers' Association for the purpose of equalizing the price of labor, for the purpose of creating, maintaining and extending union standards; because since the Protocol was signed I have tried to bring about an understanding between the Union and the Association and establish a Protocol of Peace and not of War.

It is true that the forces of syndicalism, which is nothing else than trade unionism gone mad, the forces of destruction, of impossibilism, are very strong against me just now, but I am positive that much sooner than most of you imagine my ideas will be realized, for the logic of the situation demands it, because I know that our people, with all their faults, have as much, perhaps more than any other class of workers, the power of reasoning, and that the Force of Reason must finally triumph over malice, prejudice and ignorance.
The Executive Board,
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
New York City.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

I have made monthly audits of your books for the two years ending April 30, 1914, and have found them to be correct. This audit has included the verification of all receipts and disbursements, the proving of the several bank accounts, and the cash on hand, and for the payments made I have seen proper vouchers.

I have made a summary of the receipts and disbursements for each year, showing them separately, and in connection therewith beg to hand you the following statements:

Financial Statement, as at April 30, 1914.
General Statement.
Receipts and disbursements for the year ending April 30, 1913.
Receipts and disbursements for the year ending April 30, 1914.
LADIES' GARMENT WORKER—Publication Account—Year April 30, 1913.
LADIES' GARMENT WORKER—Publication Account—Year April 30, 1914.
All of which are respectfully submitted.

Fraternally yours,

FORBES DUNDERDALE,
Certified Public Accountant (N. J.).

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
April 30, 1914.

ASSETS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash (in Broadway Trust Co.)</td>
<td>$3,692.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cash (on hand)</td>
<td>18.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supplies on Hand—at cost</td>
<td>2,483.92</td>
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<tr>
<td>Furniture and Fixtures</td>
<td>1,060.66</td>
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LIABILITIES.
Due to Locals for balance of loans advanced during strikes at Philadelphia and St. Louis:

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<th>Local No.</th>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
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Total: $14,000.00

Net deficit of Organization: $8,155.20

FORBES DUNDERDALE,
Certified Public Accountant (N.J).

GENERAL STATEMENT
RECEIPTS.
Balance on hand May 1, 1912: $3,193.30
Receipts for year ending April 30, 1913 (Schedule 1): $101,072.81
Receipts for year ending April 30, 1914 (Schedule 2): 362,517.48
Total receipts for the two years: $463,590.29

DISBURSEMENTS.
Disbursements for year ending April 30, 1913 (Schedule 3): $97,459.78
Disbursements for year ending April 30, 1914 (Schedule 4): 362,739.19
Total payments for the two years: $460,198.97

Balance (in Broadway Trust Co.): $3,692.62
On Hand: 18.00

RECEIPTS (Schedule 1).
For Year Ending April 30, 1913.

<table>
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<td>Loan from Local No. 9</td>
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<td>Due Stamps</td>
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<td>Supplies</td>
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<td>Donations</td>
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<td>Death Benefit Assessments</td>
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<td>Assessments and Fines</td>
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<td>Charter Fees</td>
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<td>Refunds:</td>
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<td>J. S. Greenberger</td>
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<td>Strike Donations</td>
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<td>Sundries</td>
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<td>Interest on Securities</td>
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<td>Interest on Bank Balances</td>
<td>20.35</td>
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<td>Bond Premiums</td>
<td>282.62</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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Total receipts for the year: $101,072.81
RECEIPTS (Schedule 2).
For Year Ending April 30, 1914.

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<td>Donations</td>
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<td>Interest on Securities</td>
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<td>Disbanding of Local No. 87</td>
<td>112.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. R. Fares refunded</td>
<td>5.70</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Loans received from:

- Local No. 1: $9,000.00
- " 9: 19,300.00
- " 10: 7,000.00
- " 17: 4,000.00
- " 23: 9,920.42
- " 25: 10,000.00
- " 35: 9,000.00

Total receipts for the year: $362,517.48

DISBURSEMENTS (Schedule 3).
For Year Ending April 30, 1913.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Securities purchased</td>
<td>$14,080.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>Organizers' Salaries and Expenses</td>
<td>18,577.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Salaries</td>
<td>6,464.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Supplies</td>
<td>368.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing for Main and Local Offices</td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing, Stamps and Supplies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postage, Telephones, Telegrams, etc.</td>
<td>1,088.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>1,702.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Legal Expenses</td>
<td>5,998.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Federation of Labor (per capita tax)</td>
<td>6,611.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Executive Board, Expense</td>
<td>3,477.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Donations (as per schedule)</td>
<td>19,583.97</td>
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<tr>
<td>Premiums on Bonds</td>
<td>327.53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auditing Office Accounts</td>
<td>404.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toronto Convention Expense</td>
<td>788.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleveland Strike Expense</td>
<td>500.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labels</td>
<td>5.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Federation of Labor (Convention Expense)</td>
<td>495.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yonkers Convention Expense</td>
<td>43.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Furniture and Fixtures</td>
<td>592.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' Garment Worker Publication—net cost above receipts (Schedule 5)</td>
<td>3,041.99</td>
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</table>

Loans Paid Off:
- M. and L. Jarmulowsky: $5,000.00
- Local No. 9: 2,000.00

Total disbursements for the year: $97,469.75
DISBURSEMENTS (Schedule 4).
For Year Ending April 30, 1914.

Organizers' Salaries and Expenses...........................$17,500.37
Office Salaries..................................................7,238.86
Office Supplies.................................................264.21
Office Printing..................................................358.43
Postage, Telegraphs, Telegrams, Expressage...........1,235.75
Rent.................................................................2,160.00
Legal Expense....................................................5,717.65
American Federation of Labor (per capita tax)........7,968.12
American Federation of Labor (Convention Expense)....1,176.40
Bond Premiums..................................................372.93
Auditing Office Accounts......................................$185.00
White Goods Strike..............................................100.00
Philadelphia Strike..............................................314.45
St. Louis Convention of N. W. Trade Union League—Expense, 609.45
Cleveland Convention—Expense Printing and Hall Rent...20.00
Congress, International Tailors, Vienna—Expense........555.00
St. Louis Strike Expense........................................10.00
Committee Work—Philadelphia Strike.....................3,609.93
Cleveland Strike Expense......................................151.75
Interest on Loans..............................................90.40
Philadelphia Strike Fund......................................236.05
Secretary's Expenses (miscellaneous).....................141.00
General Executive Board Expense.........................2,310.10
Donations (as per schedule)..................................245,182.06
Printing, Supplies, Stamps, etc................................9,826.13
Furniture, Fixtures.............................................118.38
Ladies' Garment Worker Publication (net cost above receipts (schedule 5).........3,450.98
Paid to Local No. 1, excess on sale of $5,000 Securities deposited as Collateral on Loan, 1,000.00
Paid to Broadway Trust Co., to redeem $5,000 Securities deposited as Collateral by International..........4,000.00
Loans Paid Off:
Local No. 1 ...........................................$9,000.00
Local No. 9 .............................................17,800.00
Local No. 10 .............................................2,000.00
Local No. 17 .............................................4,000.00
Local No. 23 .............................................7,920.42
Local No. 25 ..............................................5,000.00
Local No. 35 ..............................................9,000.00
Miscellaneous..................................................54,220.42

Total disbursements for the year.............................$362,739.19

LADIES' GARMENT WORKER—PUBLICATION ACCOUNT (Schedule 5).
Year Ending April 30, 1914.

COST OF PUBLICATION.
Printing...............................................................$3,179.96
Contributors.......................................................163.00
Delivery and Postage...........................................188.03

$3,530.99

INCOME.
Advertising ......................................................$90.00
Subscriptions from Locals.................................230.82
Subscriptions from Individuals.........................489.00

Deficit for the year..............................................$3,041.99
**Year Ending April 30, 1914.**

### COST OF PUBLICATION

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<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<td>$3,809.07</td>
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<td>Contributors</td>
<td>506.30</td>
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<td>Delivery and postage</td>
<td>154.80</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4,470.17</strong></td>
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### INCOME

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<th>Amount</th>
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<td>Advertising</td>
<td>$71.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subscriptions from Locals</td>
<td>829.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subscriptions from Individuals</td>
<td>113.11</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,013.19</strong></td>
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**Deficit for the year:** $3,456.98

### DONATIONS PAID OUT BY THE INTERNATIONAL UNION.

**May, 1912, to May, 1913.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joint Board of Cleveland (Acquino Case)</td>
<td>$300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Strike Fund</td>
<td>500.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joint Board of Boston</td>
<td>700.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Cincinnati</td>
<td>300.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ettor and Giovanti Defense</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estate of Joseph Belyea</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local No. 20, Kenyon Strike</td>
<td>1,500.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 25, Waist and Dressmakers' Union of New York</td>
<td>400.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 41, Wrapper and Kimono Makers of New York</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 62, White Goods Workers of New York</td>
<td>7,260.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; To Locals No. 41 and No. 62 (White Goods Strike)</td>
<td>4,180.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local No. 48, Ladies' Garment Workers of Des Moines</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 49, Ladies' Waist Makers of Boston</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 50, Children Dressmakers of New York</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 52, Ladies' Garment Workers of Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>150.00</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 71, Ladies' Tailors of Chicago, IL</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 72, Dressmakers' Union of Brownsville, N.Y.</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 82, Corset Workers of Kalamazoo, Mich.</td>
<td>1,410.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 90, Garment Cutters of Buffalo, N.Y.</td>
<td>107.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strike Relief</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$22,153.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less amount returned by President Rosenberg, received during White Goods Strike $2,570.03

**Total:** $19,582.97

### DONATIONS PAID OUT BY THE INTERNATIONAL UNION.

**May, 1913, to May, 1914.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joint Board of Philadelphia, Strike Fund</td>
<td>$204,060.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; St. Louis, Strike Fund</td>
<td>34,500.00</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Toronto</td>
<td>300.00</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Cincinnati</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Boston</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local No. 8, San Francisco Cloakmakers' Union</td>
<td>500.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 20, New York Raincoat Makers' Union</td>
<td>3,050.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 41, New York Wrapper and Kimono Makers' Union</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 50, New York Miners' and Children's Dressmakers' Union</td>
<td>1,428.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 52, Los Angeles, (Cal.) Ladies' Tailors' Union</td>
<td>50.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 54, Chicago Raincoat Makers' Union</td>
<td>306.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 65, Brooklyn (N. Y.) Ladies' Tailors and Dressmakers</td>
<td>325.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 62, New York White Goods Workers' Union (reimbursement to A. Mitchell for expenses incurred during the White Goods Strike)</td>
<td>35.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 71, Chicago (Ill.) Ladies' Tailors' Union</td>
<td>200.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>For Almelo Strikers of Holland</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$245,183.08</strong></td>
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67
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local No.</th>
<th>Due Stamps</th>
<th>Supplies</th>
<th>Death Benefit</th>
<th>General Ass'nt</th>
<th>Bond Premiums</th>
<th>Charter Fee</th>
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</tr>
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</table>
FOR TWO YEARS
FROM MAY 1, 1913, TO MAY 1, 1914.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local No.</th>
<th>Due Stamps</th>
<th>Supplies</th>
<th>General Assesm't</th>
<th>Bond Premium</th>
<th>Charter Fee</th>
<th>Total 1913-1914</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$12,100.00</td>
<td>$423.50</td>
<td>$17,000.00</td>
<td>$12,731.00</td>
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**Total** $50,576.10 $9,275.77 $2,798.11 $11.50 $614.50 $376.50 $100.00

**New York Joint Board** $5,000.00

**Miscellaneous** $50.00

**Total Donations** $7,848.11
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<td>J. A. Dyche</td>
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Report of the General Executive Board of the
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Presented to the President and Delegates of the
Twelfth Bi-Annual Convention

Cleveland, Ohio, June, 1914.

Brother President and Brothers:

In accordance with the requirements of our constitution we herewith submit a report with reference to the activities of the General Executive Board of the International Union during the past two years.

We understand that President Ab. Rosenberg and General Secretary-Treasurer John A. Dyche are writing quite extensive reports, giving many details and explanations regarding the progress our International Union has made, the difficulties we have overcome and those that are still confronting us.

As our General Executive is at present constituted, it must follow that nearly all of the work that the International Office has to carry through is done by Brothers Rosenberg and Dyche, and so long as the General Executive Board members will not be the paid officers of the International, but will have to earn their living either as workers in a shop or as officers of local Unions, the work of the General Executive Board will consist mainly in advising and shaping the policy of our Organization, and the actual work will be carried out by the aforementioned officers.

We will here mention and explain some of the most important matters that have transpired during the past two years, and make such recommendation to this convention that we believe are necessary for the delegates to act upon for the greater progress of our Organization.

ORGANIZATION.

Amongst the principal topics of discussion at the last convention was the many requests of our locals to organize the various unorganized branches of the Ladies' Garment Industries throughout the United States and Canada. A number of resolutions have been adopted to that effect. Soon after the close of the convention the entire General Executive Board met in session at the City of Toronto for the purpose of devising plans for carrying out the work of organization.

At that time the various branches of the Ladies' Garment Industries were totally discouraged in Chicago, Ill., and Boston, Mass., and in New York City the Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers, White Goods Workers, House Dress and Kimono Workers and Children's Dress Makers' locals were in a very poor shape.

The Board then appointed Brother S. Polakoff as Organizer for the Middle Western States, Brother Sigman for New England State and Brother Mitchell for New York State.

Brothers Polakoff and Sigman were instructed to proceed immediately to Chicago, Ill., and Boston, Mass., respectively, and Brother Mitchell took charge of the New York locals.

During the past two years the International Union also had the service of Vice-Presidents Feit and Lapidus, who have done very important work as organizers. In the strikes of Locals Nos. 41 and 62 in New York we have had very valuable service of the New York Branch of the Women's Trade Union League.

OUR STRIKES IN NEW YORK.

At our last convention the incoming General Executive Board was empowered to call, if necessary, several general strikes.

Of the most important strikes that we have had during the past two years, we must first mention those that took place during the early part of 1913. As it is known to all of our members, the International Union conducted a strong agitation amongst the women workers in New York engaged at White Goods, Underwear, House Dresses, Kimonos, Children's Dresses, and in the Ladies' Waists and Dress Industries. We have spent quite a lot of time, energy and money on those agitations, which we carried on during 1912 and in the early part of 1913.

Acting upon the advice of the convention, we have called these trades out on strike, and we have met with very gratifying success. The most important part of this work has been done
in the Waist and Dress Industry. In this industry we have for the first time adopted a policy that is in a way quite unique in the labor movement in this or in any other country. Through the very able and ingenious work of Brothers Rosenberg and Dyche, negotiations were begun at the end of 1912 with the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association, and after conferring with them for several weeks we have arrived at an agreement, based upon the Protocol in the Cloak and Suit Industry.

During the negotiations with the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association Brothers Rosenberg and Dyche had the constant moral and technical help of a special committee of Local No. 25 and of Local No. 10. The General Executive has on a few occasions had to criticize the negotiations, and we are glad to say that our criticism has, to a considerable extent, helped to work out a much better agreement.

By arrangements with the Manufacturers' Association, in this industry the necessity for a prolonged strike has been avoided. The manufacturers promised to close their factories for three days and to send all their employees to the Union headquarters. By this arrangement more than 20,000 persons in this line of work have gained a shorter working week, namely, 50 hours, a raise in wages, Union shops, payment for legal holidays, double pay for overtime and several other necessary improvements. Experience has proven that this has been a very practical move on the part of the International Union. A short time after the Protocol in the Waist and Dress Trade had been signed, the same method had been followed in the negotiations with the Children's Dress Manufacturers' Association. In this industry we have also succeeded to get a Protocol agreement. These negotiations have proven that there are cases when practical men, on the part of the Union and of the manufacturers in an industry, can bring about industrial improvements and changes without loss of time and money to either the employer or the employee.

The strike of Local No. 62, White Goods Workers, and Local No. 41, House Dress and Kimono Workers, for which we have also been agitating for quite a long time, continued for nearly two months. Settlements have in all cases been made satisfactory to the Union. During the past year we have then succeeded to largely increase the membership of the local Union of Waist and Dressmakers, White Goods Workers, Children's Dressmakers and the House Dress and Kimono Workers of New York. Unfortunately the last two named organizations have, since beginning to work under the new arrangements, had great slackness of trade, and this caused the organizations to weaken. We must also mention the fact that after the settlement of their general strikes there remained a large number of unorganized workers who had not responded to the strike call. Both causes combined to work harm to the locals, though both locals have as yet a much greater membership than they had at the beginning of 1913.

In addition to these strikes, where mostly women workers were concerned, we have had to take up the grievances of the workers in the Raincoat Trade and help Local No. 20 conduct a general strike, which proved successful, for we have been able to enter into a collective agreement with an association of employers in that line of work and have also settled with quite a number of individual manufacturers; but as very much of the strength of this local depends on conditions of style and weather, Local No. 20 is not as strong now as its ordinary union activity would have made it to be, were trade conditions different.

O ur stri ke s in othe r ci ties.

At the Toronto convention the General Executive Board was empowered to attempt negotiations with the Philadelphia Cloak and Suit Manufacturers for the purpose of arriving at a peaceable settlement of the grievances of our locals in that city, and when failing to peacefully adjust the matter we were to call the Cloak and Skirt Makers out on strike. Through the hostile interference of the Cleveland Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association and of the National Manufacturers' Association and several other groups of enemies of labor we were not successful to avoid a strike or to arrive at a settlement with the manufacturers when the strike was called.

The strike has been conducted for quite a long time. The response of the workers and their activity throughout was splendid. Our Philadelphia members deserve the highest credit for their behavior through a very trying period. Unfortunately, for the reasons stated and because of a very backward season, we were not successful in bringing this strike to a successful end. We have kept on the fight for about six months.
We have also had strikes in Boston, St. Louis, San Francisco, Buffalo, Baltimore and in other smaller towns where we have locals. In every case the International Union has been helpful with both money and men, according to the means we had at our disposal.

The strikes in Boston affected the Cloakmakers, the Ladies' Tailors and the Dress and Waist Makers. In this city we found the employers organized, and after strikes of short duration we came to an understanding with their associations to settle the difficulties by the methods of a Protocol agreement.

THE FINANCING OF STRIKES.

The problem of helping our locals in organizing the various branches of the Ladies' Garment Industry, outside of New York City, is a very great one. It requires constant and concentrated effort to be able to gain for them a greater membership and to improve working conditions.

On account of the various strikes, especially with regard to the strikes of the Cloakmakers in Philadelphia and the strike of Local Nos. 62 and 41 in New York, we were not able to undertake any extensive agitation amongst the workers in several other towns and cities where our industry is growing.

In financing the strike in Philadelphia we met with the same difficulties as we have encountered in the strike of the Cloakmakers in Cleveland.

By our constitution the International Union has the right and duty to assume the responsibility to call strikes, but as matters stand today we cannot call a strike, however small, without going to a great expense, both in its Organization and in giving financial support to the strikers for a considerable length of time. The International Union is without the necessary means to finance such undertakings, and usually falls short a few weeks after the struggle has begun.

The 2½ cents per capita that we now receive is just sufficient to maintain the Organization and to conduct organizing campaigns. To pay strike benefits we must have a separate and distinct fund. After a few weeks of strike in Philadelphia we had to make loans and appeals. Appeals for the support of strikers always weaken their spirit and strengthens the spirit of the employers. The strikes in Cleveland and in Philadelphia proved conclusively that we must give up the idea of conducting strikes without a large strike fund. To our minds, the General Executive Board should not assume the responsibility for any more strikes until the question of the per capita is definitely decided upon, and decided in such a manner that the International Union will become the responsible party to pay strike benefits.

At the special convention held in New York during 1913 the delegates decided in favor of a higher per capita, submitting the proposition to a referendum vote. Though this question was of supreme importance to the welfare of the members, only a comparatively small number of them took the trouble of voting. However, the vote was against the proposition.

When submitting such question to a referendum vote, experience has proven that members will always vote in favor that their organization should pay higher benefits, and will generally defeat the proposition for larger payments of dues or per capita. If the per capita question should ever be settled rightly, it will have to be settled by the delegates at our convention, without submitting same to a referendum vote.

THE HOBART CASE AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE UNION—BOTH LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL.

Just as we were successful in our negotiations with the Dress and Waist and with the other associations of employers, and increased the membership of our International with nearly 25,000, we have, on the other hand, met with a reverse, morally, such as this International Union has never experienced in all its life, and the reverse was most undeserved and unexpected.

During the past two years or more the New York Joint Board has tried to get the services of outside men to run its highly important and most difficult of its affairs, and though these men have been intelligent and educated, they have never, before coming to the Joint Board, done any such work that would have given them the experience and the training necessary for the work that they were expected to do. With the result that after some of their very serious mistakes the Joint Board and the General Executive Board of the International Union found it difficult to keep the organizations from falling to pieces. It can be rightfully said that the moral reverses of our whole Organization started through the chief clerk-
ship of Abraham Bisno, and especially through the chief clerkship of Dr. Hourwich. The latter has, throughout his period of office, been actively fighting, instead of negotiating, the work for which he was engaged. Dr. Hourwich viewed the conditions in this industry in such a manner that he could not become anything else than, what he said himself—a Minister of War.

His attitude towards the International Union, claiming that we were nothing but a shadow, and that the people with whom employers and the public have to deal with are the local Unions and their officers, has opened up many serious questions in our Organization—questions that have not troubled the locals, the general officers or the employers before Dr. Hourwich came to office. And once these questions were asked in the manner Hourwich has done, they had to be answered, giving the International Union the position it has to occupy as the central body. Dr. Hourwich has also spoken of the Protocol in a manner that found very little sympathy with a number of officers of the Joint Board as well as with the General Executive Board of our International Union. We began to consider his harmful tactics and naturally advised and warned him to change his attitude and pursue different methods. As an answer to our criticisms he attacked the character and honesty of the officers of the International Union—the men who have been the main builders of our great Organization. Dr. Hourwich had the idea that as we now have a big Organization, we should rather try to break up the Protocol arrangement and fight the manufacturers to obtain from them a more definite and, as he thought, a more workable agreement.

Dr. Hourwich considered that the Cloak-makers have, since 1910, been enslaved by the Protocol and that a return to a period when the Union could strike with the employers at any time the workers considered they were aggrieved was much better than to hold on to the non-strike principle of the Protocol. Such policy we naturally could not support.

We felt that to follow out the policy of Dr. Hourwich means to make the International Union what Dr. Hourwich claimed it is—a shadow. Dr. Hourwich thought that there was, not only no necessity, but there is a positive danger that there should be one body to criticize his work and acts and to pass upon the more important and serious work of our local Unions. His expressions to that effect divided us still farther apart.

**THE INTERNATIONAL UNION IS CONSTITUTIONALLY A PARTY TO EVERY LOCAL AGREEMENT.**

According to the rule of our constitution, the International Union is a party to every agreement made with employers. It then follows that agreements cannot be abrogated, suspended or strikes called without the consent of the G. E. B. Especially is this the case where it affects a majority of workers in an industry or place; but those rules and regulations necessary for the proper maintenance of an International Union were of no importance to Dr. Hourwich. His words and actions at last provoked the Manufacturers' Association to ask the Joint Board to appoint some other man as chief clerk. This gave Dr. Hourwich opportunity to become, for a little while, the idol of the masses. He told them that as circumstances are, the people must regard him and his supporters as the only honest men in the whole International Union, and that only for him alone the employers are afraid, and that there is absolutely no fear of a lock-out in case the Union will refuse the request of the Manufacturers' Association.

As a matter of fact the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Protective Association did not want to dictate to the Joint Board who should be the chief clerk. All that they asked was to the effect that, as they cannot continue to transact business with Dr. Hourwich, because of his insulting remarks in the press and at open meetings, and because of his agitation against the Protocol, the Joint Board was asked to appoint someone else in his place. Dr. Hourwich, being in constant touch with the Vorwelt and the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, he at once used those papers to inspire exciting news and editorials calling upon the membership of our Unions to light and defeat the manufacturers in such a way that they will never think of asking the Joint Board to change the chief clerk. Bringing out this subject in the public press brought with it such a condition of affairs that neither side could with dignity change its position.

Every day matters became more and more complicated. At last it seemed absolutely certain that the stand taken by Dr. Hourwich would lead to a lock-out. The General Executive Board was then forced to inform the New York Joint Board that it could no more stand
as guarantor in their relations with the Cloak
and Suit Protective Association when Dr. Hour-
wich will be their chief clerk. We believe that
as general officers we have acted within our
rights prescribed by the constitution. If we
could possibly have avoided to take a decisive
step we would have done so, but neither the
constitution nor the circumstances of the case
left us any other course to take; circumstances
forced us to act the way we have acted.

At times there may be great differences of
opinion regarding what the general interest of
our local Unions are, and when such differences
of opinions arise, the question resolves itself
too to who shall have the deciding voice. We
are aware of the fact that the Joint Board of
New York represents about one-half of our
membership, and Dr. Hourwich claimed that
when such is the case, the G. E. B. should not
use its official powers, but we could not agree
with his opinion that our right as general o f-
oficers is only applicable to the smaller locals,
and not to the larger.

During Dr. Hourwich's term of office the
regular and orderly organization methods in
many of the Joint Board locals were often
suppressed and matters were ruled by excited
and impatient crowds. Mass meetings were
called together in the middle of the day by irre-
sponsible persons from amongst the thousands
of people that assemble daily at Fifth Avenue.
The regular meetings called for the transacti on
of union business were either broken up or
conducted in a disorderly manner. The most
important referendum vote taken during the
time was cast only by a fraction of the mem-
bership. Offices were stormed, windows broken
and persons assaulted. Under such circum-
stances our membership and local officers were
not in a position to conduct their own affairs,
especially when a general lock-out was threat-
ened. The G. E. B. had to take action to re-
lieve the situation and bring about order out
of the chaos that prevailed. Our action in the
Hourwich case has done the locals of the Joint
Board much good.

If it be the opinion of the delegates of this
convention that the G. E. B. should not have
a deciding vote in any dispute between locals
and their employers, or in any crisis threaten-
ing the life of a local Union, then the conve-
vention should go on record to that effect and
state definitely how the G. E. B. shall act
under such circumstances. If the delegates
think that at all times our locals shall do as
they please, and that great strikes and lock-
outs may be caused and conducted without the
advice and consent of the G. E. B., then the
delegates at this convention shall say so, and
make it a part of our constitution. On the
other hand, the members of the General Execu-
tive Board consider that, as every other im-
portant organization, we need an authority in
matters of dispute between locals themselves
and between our locals and employers of labor,
and that the General Executive Board is to act
as the authority in such cases. Insofar as the
Hourwich case is concerned, we claim that we
have done our full duty. We believe that any
other body of men working under the name of
the General Executive Board would have acted
no different than what we have done.

LOCAL JURISDICTION DISPUTES.

The last convention has handed over to us
a decision to change the charter of Local No.
17 and thus settle the jurisdiction dispute be-
tween this local and Local Nos. 1 and 9. As
is known to all of you through the reports of
our official organ, the matter in dispute be-
tween these locals has now been decided by a
Board of Arbitration appointed by the Execu-
tive Council of the American Federation of
Labor.

There is only one part in the case that re-
quires our comment, and that is with reference
to an action of Local No. 17. We refer here
to the injunction that this local has taken out
against the International Union. The injunc-
tion was intended as a means to prevent the
International Union from changing the charter
of the local. We think it proper to ask the
convention to express an opinion as to the
propriety of local Unions using the method
of injunction, especially against sister locals
and against its own International Union.

During the past two years there has also
arisen wider jurisdictional disputes between
Locals Nos. 23 and 25 on the question as to
whose members are entitled to make dresses
and skirts of the heavier material. Upon the
advice of the G. E. B. both locals are now con-
ferring amongst themselves as to how peaceably
and equitably to adjust their claims.

THE QUESTION OF AMALGAMATION WITH
OTHER TAILORS' UNIONS.

At our convention in Toronto a resolution
has been passed that our International Union
should begin conferring with the two Unions
that
of tailor's in America, namely, the United Gar-
mant Workers and the Journeymen's Tailor's
Union, with a view of amalgamation. Several
conferences have already been held at the office
of the A. F. of L. and also in New York.
However, very little progress has as yet been
made, because, as we all found, there is no
great desire on the part of the membership that
such an amalgamation should take place. If
we should ever have one great union of men's
and women's garment workers in the United
States the amalgamation will have to come
about through a more definite expression of
opinion from the rank and file. The confer-
ences are not entirely broken off, and we hope
that we will yet find it possible to solve the
problem of amalgamation.

THE PROTOCOL LABEL.
The question of the Protocol label has been
taken into consideration at the special conven-
tion held in New York and decided in favor
of the measure. The plans for its application
have been left in the hands of a committee
composed of the three bodies, namely, the
Union, the Dress and Waist Manufacturers'
Association and the Joint Board of Sanitary
Control. The committee held a few meetings,
but nothing definite has yet been decided.

OFFICIAL ORGANS OF OUR INTERNATIONAL
AND LOCAL UNIONS.
With regard to our official journal, our con-
stitution is not quite clear. In Section V, Ar-
ticle V, relating to the General Officers, it says
that the General Secretary-Treasurer shall have
the supervision of the editorial department of
the official organ. In Section XI of the same
article, defining the duties of the General Ex-
ecutive Board, it says that it shall be its duty
to supervise and issue the journal in as many
languages as it finds necessary. We desire to
state that we do not consider this provision of
our constitution practical. Either the General
Secretary or the G. E. B. should be charged
with having full control over the matter. We
consider that it would be to the greater in-
terest of the International Union that the Gen-
eral Executive Board shall have the control
over both the editorial and the business side
of the official organ.

With reference to combining our journal
with those issued by the New York Joint
Board, we have had a committee to bring this
matter before the attention of that body, but
on account of prejudice and misunderstanding
our proposition was rejected. At the
present time another local of ours, Local No.
25, with its growth of membership, thought it
necessary to issue two weekly and one bi-weekly
paper of its own, and the problem of combining
all these official journals has become more
difficult than it has been before.

Our recommendation is to the effect that the
incoming General Executive Board should be
instructed to assume the responsibility of issu-
ing such weekly or monthly organs as it will
find necessary for the convenience and needs
of our various local Unions.

PROPOSAL FOR A STATISTICAL
DEPARTMENT.
With reference to the proposal of the last
convention to establish a statistical department,
we have held several consultations with statisti-
cal experts, including Dr. Hourwich. The
advice we have received was to the effect that
to make the statistics of any value for the
guidance of our Organization we must collect
them in such manner that they shall cover all
branches of our trade in the larger centers of
the country and be revised and augmented
from year to year. The cost of such a depart-
ment, the experts estimated, would be about
$10,000 a year. The International office, of
course, cannot undertake to create such a de-
partment without the co-operation, morally and
financially of the local Unions. We submitted
the proposition to the New York Joint Board,
as an important group of locals, and as they
have not taken favorable action the whole
proposition was for a time allowed to rest.
After a while we had strikes in New York and
Philadelphia. Under such circumstances we
had still further to postpone action with ref-
erence to creating such a department.

EFFECT OF GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
COMMITTEE ON LOCAL NO. 38.
The decision of the Toronto convention to
have Local No. 38 reinstated and for a time
under the direct supervision of a committee of
the G. E. B. proved beneficial. The committee,
consisting of Vice-President S. Lofkovich, H.
Kleinman and Aft. Mitchell, were appointed to
the local Union. They worked very harmoni-
ously with the local officers and brought about
good results.

BROTHER DYCHE'S TOUR IN EUROPE.
To come to an understanding with the Ex-
European Tailors' Unions on the question of an exchange of cards and to learn more intimately regarding their working conditions, we have considered it very advisable to send Brother Dyche, General Secretary-Treasurer, to attend the International Congress of Tailors, held at Vienna, and there to gather such information that will give us a knowledge how we can bring about a better relationship between European and American Ladies' Garment Workers. Brother Dyche's tour proved very successful. The information he gathered, part of which you have no doubt read in the official journal, will, we are sure, give us a better idea in our future dealings with the problem of international affiliations or amalgamations.

PROPOSED PRINTING PLANT.

Regarding the proposal of the last convention that the International Union, in conjunction with the New York Joint Board, start a printing plant, we have given the matter our consideration and decided to postpone its creation indefinitely. Our reason for doing so is that the building of a large printing plant would have absorbed very much of our money and time, both of which we could not afford.

THE SIGMAN, STUPNIKER AND METZ CASE.

During the past year there has grown up in New York an organization in opposition to our Cloak and Skirt Makers' locals. The organization calls itself "Union," and is composed of a number of well-known scabs and traitors to our cause, and those persons attempt to harm our locals at every opportunity they have, especially during the time of shop strikes these people act as strike-breakers. The trouble that our locals had lately to overcome in the Hourwich affair gave these persons added strength to continue their nefarious tactics. One act of theirs was to frame up a case against our tried and true co-workers, Morris Sigman, M. Stupniker and Sol Metz. The frame-up against those men is that they have been present and instigated a fight during the Cloak Makers' strike in 1910, in which a man was killed. For those who know our men it is impossible to believe that they are guilty of such a crime, but as the case now stands they are held for trial, and we will be forced to spend a part of our energies to defend them against the wrong accusations. We have no doubt that this convention will go on record passing a vote of confidence in the honesty and uprightness of our men and also giving them such moral and legal aid as lies in its power.

THE HOPEs AND FEARS FOR THE PREFERENTIAL UNION AGREEMENT.

During the past two years the Protocol agreement, with all that it implies, has been adopted in New York in the Dress and Waist Trade, in the Children's Dress Trade, in the Trade of House Dresses and Kimonos and partly in the White Goods Trade and Raincoat Trade in New York City and also in the Cloak, Skirt, Waist and Dress Trade in Boston. With the extension of this form of agreement it naturally received additional praise and criticism from both our friends and enemies.

The Preferential Union shop agreement has at first been accepted by us in New York in the Cloak and Suit Trade in 1910. Not because we have won that, as our demand, but we have accepted the Preferential agreement as a compromise, after a struggle of nine weeks, after our members have been, in a great measure, exhausted from the struggle they have fought. Experience has proven that the Preferential Union shop agreement is such that we can accept it with dignity and with profit to our members. If there is one drawback in the Protocol agreement, it is that much of its results for the good or evil are left to the imagination and to the good will of the officers of both the Union and the Manufacturers' Association. And in consequence of that it is very essential that both sides should have at the head of their organization men who are honest and able to conduct affairs with the least possible jarring and ill-feeling, but with a degree of mutual satisfaction.

As we look back on the work of our International Union during the past two years we feel glad that we were able to serve the interest of our members the way we have done, for in spite of all obstacles and personal inconveniences and suffering we have managed to increase our membership and to bring about improved conditions for many thousands of workers. To our view of things, the future of our International Union seems bright and hopeful.

With Union greetings,

Fraternally submitted,
The General Executive Board,
I. L. G. W. U.
32 Union Square, New York City.
Report and Proceedings
of the
TWELFTH CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL
LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING
SESSION.

Cleveland, Ohio, June 1, 1914.

The Twelfth Convention of the International
Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was called
to order at 10:30 A. M. Monday, June 1st, in
Germania Hall, President A. Rosenberg in
the chair.

President Rosenberg: Before the conven-
tion is opened I desire to make an announce-
ment which is of very great importance. You
know that lately in New York we have had
three of our brothers and fellow-unionists con-
fined in prison on a charge of murder in the
first degree, Brother Morris Stupniker, Brother
Sol Metz and Brother Morris Sigman. I take
pleasure in announcing that last Friday we
succeeded in getting them out on bail. Two
of them are delegates, and the third, Brother
Stupniker, has been brought here as an hon-
orary delegate. We are sure that in a short
time the charges upon which they were ar-
rested will be dismissed.

Vice-Presidents Polakoff and Mitchell were
appointed a committee to escort the three
delegates to the platform. Their appearance
on the platform was greeted with applause by
the assembled delegates.

Secretary Peter Hassenpfue of the Cleve-
land Federation of Labor was introduced
by the president. Mr. Hassenpfue welcomed
the convention to the city on behalf of the
C. F. L. and extended the greetings and good
wishes of the members of the local labor or-
ganizations. He spoke briefly of the number
of well organized unions in the city, and stated
that the movement in Cleveland was as clean
and well conducted as any labor movement
in the country. He expressed the hope that
the deliberations of the convention would be
profitable to the members of the organization,
and that the delegates would have a pleasant
visit in Cleveland while not engaged in the
business of the convention.

Fifth Vice-President Graney, of the Ohio
State Federation of Labor was introduced by
President Rosenberg. Vice-President Graney
stated that the President of the Federation
was out of the city and unable to attend the
session, but in his behalf he would extend the
greetings of the Ohio State Federation of
Labor. He stated that he appreciated the
honor and privilege of appearing before the
convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union, one of the most progressive organiza-
tions in the country.

Vice-President Graney spoke briefly of the
affairs of the Federation and the success that
had attended its efforts in securing legislation
of benefit to the workers of the state. He
stated that Ohio had a model workmen's com-
pensation law, child labor law, mothers' pen-
sion law, a fifty-four hour week for women
workers and many other beneficial laws that
have been placed on the statutes through the
efforts of organized labor.

Mr. H. W. Raisse, Editor of the Cleveland
Federationist, was introduced by the chair-
man. Mr. Raisse made an eloquent address
in which he discussed various phases of the
labor problem, and gave a brief resume of the
strike of the garment workers in Cleveland
in 1911. He spoke of the sacrifices and suf-
fering of the strikers and of their loyalty to
their cause. The speaker referred to the suc-
cess of the movement in New York, where
the members had been educated to follow
their leaders and to act in a spirit of unity.
He urged the members to maintain peace and
harmony in their own ranks, and if there
were attacks to be made to direct them at
the people who were opposing their organiza-
tion, not at their fellow unionists.

Organizer Michael Goldsmith, of the Cleve-
land Federation of Labor was introduced by
the chairman. Organizer Goldsmith spoke of
the responsibility that rests upon delegates to
labor conventions to legislate wisely for the
rank and file and to elect men to office who can best advance the interests of the members. He urged the delegates to read carefully the reports of officers and to become familiar with all the business of the convention in order that no mistakes might be made in the legislation that would be enacted to govern the members of the organization. The speaker congratulated the delegates and officers upon the growth of the organization in the past few years, and expressed the hope that the membership will have reached two hundred thousand by the time the next convention is held. He stated that such a result can be reached only by working as a unit, by eliminating all personal feeling and striving only for the success of the organization.

In closing Organizer Goldsmith expressed the hope that the convention would be the best and most profitable ever held by the organization, and stated if there was anything the C. F. L. could do to help make it a success it would be done.

Mr. Joseph Weiss, Chairman of the Label Committee of the Cleveland Federation of Labor was introduced by the chairman, and made an eloquent plea for a more general demand on the part of workers for the union label. He urged the delegates to purchase nothing in Cleveland that did not bear the union label if it were possible to secure articles with the label.

Hon. Harris R. Cooley, Director of Public Welfare, welcomed the convention to the city in behalf of the mayor. The statement was made that Mayor Baker was not in the city. Mr. Cooley, in opening his address, said in part: In behalf of Mayor Baker and in behalf of our municipality I am glad to welcome you to our city. I trust it is no merely formal matter. Six hundred thousand people living together in peace and in happiness extend to you, not simply to those who are here today, but to those you have left behind you at home, those whom you represent, a welcome from the municipality to the great organization you represent. We are glad to welcome you for what you are, for what you are doing for the world.

There are three things which have contributed to our civilization, the material side of it, more than anything else. One is the getting of the things which sustain our bodies out of the earth, the production of food; another is the building of our habitations that protect us from the storms and the cold, that has enabled us to extend our dominion far to the northward where we live in comfort; and the third is that trade or industry which has provided for us our raiment, which has permitted us in heat and cold to be in comfort. These are the things that have advanced the progress of civilization, these are the fundamental things which have made possible the growth and development of our present life.

Mr. Cooley discussed the question of organized labor briefly, and in closing said: Sometimes when our friends have been with us and they have gone away we find that they have left some very pleasant and happy memories, and we have been the gainers although we have entertained them. And so we somehow feel that when people have come from other cities to our city, people who have different ideals, we are happy and glad to have them come. When they go away they leave our city a little better and broader and happier because they have been with us. We trust when you go away after your days of deliberation you will carry with you pleasant memories of our fair city by the lake, and we will be happier because you have been here. Again in behalf of the municipality I am glad to bid you welcome.

President Rosenberg introduced to the convention Brother A. Gold, a representative of the Workmen's Circle, who made a brief address in behalf of that society.

President Rosenberg, in responding to the addresses of welcome, said in part: Before we proceed with the business of the convention I desire to thank the speakers for their addresses this morning. Coming to a city where three years ago we were defeated, and I may say badly defeated, we can show to our enemies, the Manufacturers' Association, the largest delegation we have ever had in a convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In 1903 we held a convention in Cleveland. At that time we considered our convention a large one. We had forty delegates present and we had at that time five or six thousand members throughout the United States. In the ten or twelve years since that time we have developed and have increased our membership to one hundred thousand, in spite of all our defeats. In that convention held in 1903 even the manufacturers, those who fought us hardest three years ago, were
invited to attend the sessions and to attend the banquet. Now I am sure that this time they are not going to be invited. At that time they thought we were nothing more than a bluff; they thought they could very easily shove us aside and get rid of us; but since that time they have changed their minds. It is true we were defeated three years ago, but, as one of the brothers who spoke this morning said, another defeat of that kind and they are lost. We gave them the fight of their lives. Our organization is always ready for a fight when people want it; whenever the people are prepared for it the officers are always prepared to fight. That is why the manufacturers are doing everything in their power to weaken the organization.

President Rosenberg discussed the Cleveland strike briefly, and in closing said: I think the time is not far distant when a strong Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will be built up here provided the representatives of organized labor will help us build it. The material is here; there is very good material in this city, and if organized labor will decide to do it they will succeed in building up a strong organization. I thank you all for being here and addressing us. We will do our utmost to make this a success provided you do your share.

Delegate Cohen (J. B.): I move that the delegation give the speakers a rising vote of thanks. (Seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.)

The chairman announced that President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor would address the convention during the afternoon session and that other speakers would also be heard.

The chairman announced that the Committee on Credentials would collect the union books, and asked that duplicate credentials be given to Secretary Dyche. He announced the Committee on Credentials, as follows: Isadore Epstein, Chairman; S. Koldofsky, Secretary; M. Grishkin, Local No. 2; A. Silver, Local No. 25; B. Kurland, Local No. 73; A. Salivioff, Local M. Deutch, Local No. 9 and Solovioff, Local No. 38.

At 12 o'clock noon, the convention was adjourned to 2 P. M. of the same day.

FIRST DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock P. M., Monday, June 1st, President Rosenberg in the chair.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Secretary Dyche read the following telegrams:

St. Louis, Mo., June 1, 1914.
John A. Dyche,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Accept our congratulations. Let your work bring success.

Joint Board St. Louis,
Louis Weissman.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
The future of our organization depends upon your action. The eyes of organized labor are upon you.

Executive Board Local 35.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
Twelfth Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
We wish you heartyest congratulations and success in all your undertakings.

Protocol Division Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union
Buffalo, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Congratulations and best wishes for the best of success. Go forward, brothers. Local 90, Buffalo.

J. K.

Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers,
Germania Hall, Cleveland. O.
Your union is the mirror where we can see the strength and power of the quarter of a million organized Jewish speaking working people. It is stronger than all the destructive forces that assail it. Long live the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Long live organized labor.
The United Hebrew Trades of New York,
B. Weinstein, Secretary.

Montreal, Que., May 31, 1914.
The Twelfth Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania, Hall, Cleveland, O.
We wish you the greatest success hoping that the International will at this convention become a united and strong organization which shall be an example to the trade union movement at large.
The Joint Board of the Cloak Makers' Union, Montreal, Canada.
Montreal, Que., May 31, 1914.
The Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
American Hall, Cleveland, O.
All Jewish workers are on the watch of our convention. Take good care that we shall
remain the banner carriers of the working class movement of America.
Cloak Pressers, Local 61, Montreal, Can.

Montreal, Que., May 31, 1914.
The Twelfth Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
A united convention means a strong International. The future of the Union is in your hands. Remember that the Frankels and Blacks are on the lookout.
Executive Board of Local 13, Montreal, Can.

Denver, Colo., May 31, 1914
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
We greet the delegations of the Twelfth Annual Convention. We wish you to carry out the planned work of the convention successfully and peacefully without unnecessary disturbances for the welfare of all the members of our organization and the great principle it is standing for.
Yours fraternally,
Ladies' Tailor Union, Local 47, Denver, Colo.
J. Bergovoy, Secretary.

Newark, N. J., June 1, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Accept our greetings to the Twelfth Convention. Success to your good work.
Ladies' Tailors and Cloak Makers' Union.
Local 21, Newark, N. J.

Baltimore, Md., June 1, 1914.
John A. Dyche, Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Chairman and Delegates—We wish you all a hearty success, and may all proceedings be for the good and welfare of our International and its locals.
Yours fraternally,
Local No. 4, Baltimore, Md.

Toledo, O., June 1, 1914.
The Delegates of the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. Union,
Care John A. Dyche, Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Greeting: Accept our congratulations and heartiest wishes. May your deliberations lead you to higher and loftier ideals to be crowned with fruitful results.
Cloak and Skirt Makers' Auxiliary,
Care Local No. 67.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
May your convention, the twelfth in the history of the International, solve the various problems confronting us. May unity, harmony, peace be the outcome of the convention for all affiliated locals.
J. H. Heller,
Secretary J. B. C. and S. M. U.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
Convention of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Cleveland, O.
District Council United Garment Workers of New York extends fraternal wishes for a successful convention. May your deliberations bring forth the best achievements for the garment industry all over the country, and also with the ultimate result of the amalgamation of all garment workers' internationals into one strong clothing workers' union.
J. H. Lavner, Manager.

Luzon, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention,
Cleveland, O.
My heartiest congratulations and best wishes. Let experience and wisdom conquer the inexperienced, hot headed, enthusiastic. Do away with selfishness for the cause sake. Remember that thousand of bosses and millions of workmen are watching your deliberations. Let the enemies of the working class become disappointed.
Sam Shingler.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
Chairman Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
We send you cordial greetings, hoping and wishing that the result of your deliberations may increase the prestige of the union and prosperity of the entire membership in all its locals.
J. W. Wagman, Recording Secretary.

St. Louis, Mo., June 1, 1914.
John Dyche,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Accept our congratulations and great hopes for betterment of conditions.
B. Blumoff, Chairman.
Cloak Pressers' Union 31, St. Louis.
President Rosenberg: I have received a resolution signed by about fifty delegates asking us to have the proceedings of each day printed to be distributed the next morning. Arrangements were made prior to this convention to have the proceedings printed every day. We also arranged that the resolutions which will be presented to the chairman every day up to one o'clock in the afternoon will be printed in the next day’s proceedings. Resolutions presented after that will be printed a day later.

I am requested by the members of Local No. 26 of Cleveland, to see to it that non-unionists, those who are going around the street, trying to injure the union, shall not be permitted to enter our hall. I shall appoint as sergeant-at-arms two delegates and one member of Local No. 26. Delegates Gerechekoff and Kovalsky and Brother Sam Bergstein. Today we will have open sessions because there will be very little except speeches. Tomorrow the actual business will start and those who are not in good standing in the Cleveland Local will not be permitted to attend. Delegate Gerechekoff will be chairman of the committee of sergeant-at-arms.

President Gompers, of the A. F. of L. entered the hall, escorted by a committee. The delegates arose and applauded as he entered.

President Rosenberg introduced to the convention Mr. Samuel Doerfler, Assistant County Prosecutor. In introducing the speaker the chairman referred to the fact that Mr. Doerfler had been very helpful to the organization in the past in helping clear members of our organization who had been charged with crimes during the strike in Cleveland; also that he had secured the conviction of an agent of the manufacturers, Mr. Luban.

Mr. Doerfler, in addressing the convention, said in part: “Your chairman said I would tell you of the cases I have defended for unionists, and also of the crimes that have been committed by unionists. I cannot do that, because I have not had much experience in crimes committed by unionists. Most of the crimes I am familiar with; in fact, most of the crimes I have tried to familiarize myself with, are those subtle crimes which never come into a court of law or before a jury, and by reason of which labor organizations have become necessary those crimes, I mean, of which the law does not take cognizance, those things which are not written in the law books at all, those subtle, unseen—I was going to say unfelt but they are not unfelt—but the unseen kind which made the conditions of those who toil so unbearable that they were obliged to organize to get a chance to live as human beings should live. Those I consider the most serious crimes against the nation. Not those which we get in our courts those are serious but those, I believe, are the result of our social condition. I believe the real criminals, the real crimes never get into a court of law, and until we abolish those criminals and those crimes we are always going to have the others, which are the result.”

Mr. Doerfler discussed the organized labor movement, and in closing said: “While it is true that the labor organizations will never in themselves accomplish the thing they are struggling for, I do think, and have always thought, they are a means to an end. I believe the time must come some day when those who toil will receive the product of their labor. And I believe labor organizations are a step, if but a slight step, toward the day when that condition will exist. I believe the time will come some day when the men and women who make fine clothes will wear them as well as make them, when the men who build fine houses will live in them as well as build them, and when the men who raise the finest things to eat do not eat them. If labor organizations are but a step toward the day and in the direction when those who toil will get the benefit of their toil, then I am and always will be in favor of labor organizations. But I do believe they are but a means to an end, a temporary expedient, that they never can accomplish what social justice will accomplish.”

President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, was introduced by the chairman.

President Gompers: Mr. President, Delegates to the Convention and Friends—I am very glad of the opportunity of being with you today while you are in convention. There are numbers of you whom I have met in your own
consideration, to weigh it, to judge it and to weigh it with you, for there are some things upon my mind which I should like to convey to you, and I trust that what I may have to submit may go to your careful thought, your careful study of the historic struggles of the peoples of all ages, and counting the progress which has been made, I cannot conceive that the labor organizations, either today or in the future, are mere expedients. I can conceive of no time in the future history and development of the human race when the labor organizations will be unnecessary. For, let your minds run riot, if you please, there can be no institution on the face of the globe, no matter how far reaching your minds or your imagination may go, but will have as its foundation rock and administrative agency the organizations of the working people. If ever the highest ideal of social justice will come to the working people and to the masses of the people of our country or any other country the whole civilized world over, it will be brought about by the much misunderstood labor organizations.

We are now living in an age when the concept of social justice is the most pronounced in the minds of our people or the people of any other country; but I think that all will agree that if we but look back a few years and compare the conditions which obtain among the working people today with those that existed ten, twenty, fifty or a hundred years ago, we shall surely reach the conclusion that the people of those days never dreamed that we would accomplish in our day what has been achieved. As a matter of fact, twenty years ago it would have been an absolute impossibility to have held a convention such as this, representative of the men and women who work in the ladies' garment trades; it would have been an absolute impossibility, for the men and women in the trade themselves could scarcely dream, much less realize or hope, that the men and women in the trade would have the character, the persistence, the determination to stand erect declaring to the world that the men and women of labor who are giving their services to society are entitled to a better life, better conditions, shorter hours, more pay, more manhood, more womanhood, more independence of thought and action in determining the destinies of the working people of our country.

Look about you, if you please, not only in your own trade but in all others, wherever the potent influence of organization has come among the working people, and there you will find a greater degree of independence, a greater degree of character, of manliness, of womanhood, a greater degree of determination to fight, and fight, and still fight on and on until the workers shall come to a better life and a better system of work and life and home. In such a struggle of the human race there are battles which are lost, there are struggles which fail to accomplish the aim and the purpose for which the struggles may be inaugurated. In no struggle of the human family, whether it be political, whether it be industrial or whether it be on the bloody battlefield has any cause been uniformly and absolutely successful. Here and there a battle has been lost, here and there a setback has been endured; but in any cause, and particularly the cause of labor, it has always been temporary; the working people have never been conquered, the working people cannot be
conquered, because they represent the cause of human justice and they must always succeed.

There have been battles supposedly lost, such, for instance, as the great copper miners' strike in the Calumet district of Michigan. Who will tell me that that was a defeat? As a result of that movement to which the toilers of our country gave their earnest support in all ways, moral and financial, what has been done? The world says the copper miners have been defeated and that the labor movement has had a setback. But is that true? As a matter of fact the things for which the strike was inaugurated have been achieved. The eight-hour day was wrung from this great corporation, a higher wage was secured, better conditions all around have been accomplished. The thing that was not achieved was the recognition of the union and the collective bargaining of the union and the employers. But I say the purpose, the primary purpose, the improvement of the conditions of the copper miners, was accomplished. And who will say that with a shorter work-day, with higher wages, with larger liberty of action, the cause of unionism is lost in the copper mining district of Calumet? Who will have the temerity to so claim? Organization among the copper miners of Calumet is as sure to come as that the sun will rise tomorrow morning.

And what of the tremendous struggle that has been going on among the coal miners of Colorado, accompanied by tyranny and brutality that puts the name of Colorado to shame? And it will take some time before the good name of that state can be regained, and the blood of the murdered men, women and children shall be wiped out from the annals of history and from the minds of the people. And the struggle is going on. it is being waged, and even the Rockefellers are trying to hide their heads from the aroused indignation of the people of the country. And last night in one of the local churches of Cleveland a minister of the gospel, so called—rather it may be that he can be characterized in that picture where there is a four-legged animal that listens to his master's voice—hearing the word of a Rockefeller, tries in the name of God and humanity to whiteness this monumental fraud upon the American people, the Rockefellers.

Does anyone believe the spirit of justice, the spirit of freedom can be shot out of the hearts and the minds of the Colorado mine workers? Does anyone for a minute harbor the thought that the murder of innocent women and children is going to be forgotten by the American people? If there be anyone so oblivious to the lessons of history, let him look back to the times when men were sent to prison, to the gallows, were branded with red hot irons, torn and dismembered, and still know that out of it all, out of the tyranny, out of the brutality has come a spirit of manhood and womanhood in the people of our country, in the people of the world who are demanding now, and tomorrow, and tomorrow's tomorrow, justice for the toilers and the masses of our people.

Perhaps an incident which has occurred here in this city within the past few weeks has attracted your attention. I refer to the few men who, constituting the board of education of this city, undertook to deny the right of the employes of the city, the teachers, to associate themselves for mutual protection. Think of it. The teachers who do such splendid service, the teachers who help mould the characters of our children, the teachers who have more concern and more intimate concern with our youth, paid the most miserably low wages and treated with a contempt that a ditch digger or a hod carrier would resent. Does anyone imagine for a minute that the Board of Education of Cleveland is going to finally succeed in stamping out the spirit of organization among the teachers? Why, as a matter of fact, the movement, instead of being confined to Cleveland itself has already spread throughout the state and throughout the nation. That is labor's answer to every tyrant and to every form of tyranny. Phoenix-like the cause of labor, like the cause of justice, arises from the ashes of any defeats.

And so we are making progress. Slow? Yes, all too slow to suit my impatient spirit; but do not fail to recognize the advances we have secured—not the advances, if you please, which have been handed to us on a silver platter, but the advances and the improvements and the achievements which we have secured by our own efforts, by our own endurance, by our own sacrifices and by the burdens which we have borne, by the spirit which permeates our very being—which are typified in the words, the demand of the or-
ganized labor movement of America. And we shall not stop. We could not stop if we wanted to, and we don't want to.

I was invited by your organization to come here and visit the convention and to address it. Without the slightest hesitancy I accepted it and took myself away from other perhaps equally important work in which our movement is engaged and which rightfully commands my attention. I am away today from the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor when there is one of the most important matters which has come up and which, in my judgment, will be determined by the House of Representatives today. I ought to be there, and yet I felt I ought to be here, and so decided.

The measure now pending before Congress has for its accomplishment three important facts, first, to guarantee the life of the labor movement from either criminal prosecution for the doing of normal acts, acts of normal human activities, to prevent suits and the recovery of three-fold damages under the Sherman Anti-Trust law; in other words, to secure for the working men and the working women the right to exercise power and control over themselves in determining when they will or will not work, to quit whenever their rights are invaded, to stop work whenever they may fancy, whether they have a good cause or whether they have no cause at all. I refer not to the human right alone but to the legal right.

The bill also has to do with the effort to abolish the use of the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes when no such injunction would be issued if a labor dispute were not in existence. It also seeks to regulate the proceedings in indirect contempt cases and provides for a jury trial. In other words, it is the establishment of a new Bill of Rights. It is a new Magna Charta, it is a new Declaration of Independence, it is a new Bill of Rights for the working people to exercise their normal activities in their own behalf, in behalf of the common people of our country, now and hereafter.

Now I want to say something more particularly in regard to your own organization. I have already said I have been with you in all sorts of struggles and battles, and I think I may say without appearing vain or vainglorious that I have tried to be of some assistance to the men and women in the needle trades. I think I have. I think I have a right to say I have helped a bit. You have taken me into your councils, you have asked me for such assistance, such advice, such counsel as I was able to give, and I know of no instance in which I have withheld from you anything. I have endeavored to give you the best that was in me.

There was a time when you had some few little fragmentary organizations, when you would go on strike and make a battle and a struggle that was worth going any length in the world to observe—to see the heroism and the self-sacrifice and the hunger which your men and women endured. You would win, and after that you would go to work, and very shortly thereafter you would leave your union. And when you did that your victory flew away, your wages and conditions of employment, if they did not get worse at least went back to the old conditions. Then after a year or two, after going to sleep in the meantime, you would wake up again and make another glorious fight. Then there was a repetition, you would win, but in name only, because you again deserted the union and the employers took advantage of your demoralized state and you went back to the old conditions. And this was true until a few short years ago, when you finally succeeded in getting an international union, you succeeded in getting the idea of maintaining it in good times and bad times, in victory or setback, whatever it was, you maintained the union. Now, that is the point.

I know that among the rank and file, and perhaps among some of the delegates here, the idea prevails that your progress is too slow, that you ought to be absolute masters of the situation. You want to establish immediately the mastership of the industry, and that you, and you alone, have to determine the course without regard to any other interest. Now I am not here to advocate the rights or the interests of the employers, they have enough brains to do that for themselves; but I do want to bring your attention to your own responsibility, to your own people and to yourselves. Nor is it my desire to pronounce a eulogy upon the officers and the leaders of your International Union, but I would be a traitor to the cause of organized labor did I fail to take advantage of this opportunity to say to you—
experience with the needle trades, with the effort to organize them, those trades have never had a set of men in authoritative position who have so thoroughly, unselfishly and intelligently safeguarded and protected the interests of the men and women as those you now have officers of your organization.

I know whereof I speak when I say that, no matter how thorough your organization may be, there will here and there creep up an injustice practiced by an employer, an injustice practiced by a superintendent or by a foreman—it is difficult to meet because of the work in which you are engaged for the protection and the uplift of all. It is not always wise and it is not always practical to make even a justifiable fight; it is sometimes the part of wisdom—it is often the part of wisdom—it is often for the best interests of all, even that some injustice may not be rectified immediately.

One of the greatest evils which your trade has to endure, one of the greatest difficulties you have to overcome, is the attempt on the part of some of the working people engaged at their work to permit what is known as shop strikes. Shop-strikes undertaken with so little concern for all the workers in the industry are very much like a company of a regiment of soldiers engaged with other soldiers in a great war, if that company of soldiers on its own account undertakes to engage in battle with the other side. If one shop can go on strike so can every one of them on their own initiative and without any general understanding or direction. If one company of a regiment can engage in a battle with any other army, so can any other company, and instead of there being any general understanding, and general maneuvering each company could act—using the language of the street—on its own hook without regard to the rest of the army.

And so with the organized labor movement. It is better to wait until there is a general concept of what is best for all the women and all the men in a trade, that the ammunitions and the lives of those engaged in a general battle shall not be squandered or torn asunder. And I appeal to you to have in mind the lessons of history, the lessons of industry and the lessons of the organized labor movement, to see to it that there shall be a better opportunity provided by your convention by which those who are entrusted with the affairs of your International Union may have a larger authority, at least of a supervisory character, of a directing character, that there shall not come a time when all that has been gained and all that has been secured, the splendid advances that have come to you through your efforts shall not be thrown to the four winds of heaven and destroyed to you perhaps for a decade or two.

After all there is no power to compel workmen to do anything, not by a union. There must be some discipline, however, if we expect to go forward. And how can we secure such discipline? No international union has a police force, we haven't a military force, we haven't an army or a navy to force people to do anything, and nobody wants them; but there must be some discipline. We cannot move, we cannot advance without discipline. I hold it is the duty of every man and woman in this convention and every man and woman in this organization, of every man and woman in the industries to join the union, then to form and be a part of an international union, and then part of the general movement represented by the American Federation of Labor. That in itself is the beginning of discipline. And when we adopt a resolution or law that means we shall impose discipline upon ourselves it is the most potent and effective discipline for intelligent men and women.

See that you do not overrun, for by overrunning you miss your mark and lose your venture. Make progress, adopt laws that will make the integral part of your movement and your unions more forceful and effective; stand by the principles of collective bargaining, see to it that you secure more every year and every day. See that you maintain the spirit of solidarity among the ranks of your people, see to it that you put a curb on your own imagination, and see to it that you keep step, moving onward and onward and onward until the great day of deliverance from human injustice has been established.

Mr. Louis A. Katz was introduced by the chairman, who spoke of the service he had rendered the organization in various places. Mr. Katz was greeted with applause and given three cheers by the delegates.

Mr. Katz spoke of the pleasure it gave him to again address a convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and congratulated the organization on the increase in the number
of delegates and the number of members since the Toronto convention. He spoke of the importance the organization would achieve in the labor movement of America if the members continued their activity as they had in the past, if they not only secured new members but retained them. The speaker dwelt at some length on the history and development of the general labor movement, spoke of strikes and battles engaged in by the organized workers, and the better treatment accorded the workers as a result of such struggles.

Mr. Max S. Hayes, of Cleveland, was introduced by the chairman, and was very cordially received by the delegates. He referred at some length to the strike of the garment workers in Cleveland and to the causes that prevented them from winning that struggle. He spoke of the strikes of other organizations, especially that of the International Typographical Union for the eight-hour day in Cleveland, and the different conditions that existed during such strikes. He referred to the different administrations in the city during the two strikes, and stated that the strike of the garment workers was lost largely as a result of the unfriendly attitude of the police and city administration, while the strike of the Typographical Union had been helped by a fair and impartial administration. Mr. Hayes condemned the practice of allowing the manufacturers and other employers to maintain armed gunmen during strikes of the workers, urged the workers to see that the administration of the city is changed and their power to employ such gunmen taken from the employers.

Delegate Martin, Local No. 10 moved that a vote of thanks be tendered the speakers of the afternoon. The motion was seconded, and carried.

"COMMUNICATIONS.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
All clerks, business agents of association and independent divisions of Local 25 send greetings to your Twelfth Convention. May your deliberations be for further advancement of our cause.

Jacob Zimmerman, Charles Jacobson.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
President and Delegates of the Twelfth Convention of I. L. G. W. U., Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Accept our heartiest congratulations. We trust that your work will bring harmony and new life into the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Jacob L. Banach, Secretary, Executive Board, Local 38, New York.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
The Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U, Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Heartiest congratulations. May your deliberations bring more life, energy and solidarity to our organization.
Skirt and Cloth Dressmakers Union No. 23.
I. Rubenstein, Recording Secretary.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 1, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention, Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Heartiest congratulations to all delegates of the Twelfth Convention of I. L. G. W. U. Trust that all personalities will be settled, and unity shall prevail so to benefit the one hundred thousand workers of our international union.

M. Black, Acting Sec'y, Joint Board of Cloak and Suit Trade of Philadelphia.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
John A. Dyche, To the delegates at the Twelfth Convention we are sorry we are not with you, but hearts and souls are with you. Do good work for the Ladies' Garment Workers. The boys of sixty-two.

HENRY LANG, WILLIAM DAVIS, MORRIS SEEITZ.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Cleveland, O.
Accept our greetings to the Twelfth Convention. We heartily wish the greatest success of your enterprise. The trade union movement is the beginning of the abolishing of slavery of the wage earners. Do your best and the credit will be awarded to you.

Cloak Operators' Union, No. 1.
B. Fried, Sec'y.

Chicago, Ill., June 1, 1914.
Twelfth Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers
The members of Local 44 regret the inability to be represented, but we assure you we are with you for a strong, solidified and harmonious international in our industry. May your work in our interest be crowned with success.

Chicago Cloak Makers' Union, H. Schoolman, Sec'y.
Greetings to you men and women of labor.

May your work be done with great deliberation and result in a harmonious industrial organization.

Yiddish Arbeiter Welt of Chicago.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.

Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers, Cleveland, O.

Comrades: May logic, good judgment, harmony and the spirit of a true brotherhood lead you through all difficulties. Three cheers for our international.

L. Finkelstein, Manager New Post.

New York, June 1, 1914.

National Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention, Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.

Wishing you great success in your work, harmonious results for the benefit and contentment of the workers of our organization, three cheers for our sufferers. Sigman, Matz and Stupniker.

Officers of the Downtown District Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914

John A. Dyche, General Secretary International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Cleveland, O.

The future of our organization depends upon your action. The eyes of organized labor are upon you.

Executive Board, Local 35

Secretary Dyche stated that the roll would not be called at the beginning of the sessions, but that attendance cards would be given the delegates to sign as they entered the hall.

At 5 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene a 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, June 2nd.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock A. M., Tuesday, June 2nd, President Rosenberg in the chair.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Dyche read the following communications:

UNITED HEBREW TRADES
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
Organized 1888
175 East Broadway.


Delegates of the Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers.

Dear Brothers:

The United Hebrew Trades has done a great deal towards the organization of the workers, and to commemorate this event, the successful activities of a quarter of a century, it is publishing a history of the labor movement of the Jewish speaking workers in the United States.

Such history necessarily would have to deal with all the different locals and international unions that have been represented in the United Hebrew Trades, mentioning, of course, the activities, the progress, and the success of the various organizations.

For this purpose The United Hebrew Trades has engaged a number of writers to write for this book. It is already more than a year and a half that they are working on it. It will contain a thousand printed pages which will relate the history of each and every union separately; and also the Jewish labor, Socialist and anarchistic movements. It will, of course, deal with the trade union movements in America, England, and Russia mainly.

The history of the Cloakmakers' Union alone will take up 70 printed pages. The book is being printed now. We have $2,000.00 already, and to complete it another $1,500.00 is required.

The United Hebrew Trades is a delegative body with no treasury. The locals have contributed and are contributing towards the fund of publication. It believes that the publication of such a volume is for the good of the entire labor movement, and we, therefore, appeal to you, knowing the activities of the United Hebrew Trades and the good that such a volume will do for the labor movement generally and for your organization especially, that you help financially towards the fund of publication.

Thanking you in advance for any kindness that you may show to the United Hebrew
Trades and the labor movement through it, we remain.

Fraternally yours,
United Hebrew Trades.
B. Weinstein, Secretary.

The communication was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Dychc: We have a resolution here that has nothing to do with our organization in particular, but is of general interest to the labor movement. It was as follows:

WHEREAS. The House of Representatives passed the Clayton Bill, H. R. 15657, in which has for its purpose the relief of voluntary organizations of workers from the interpretation the courts of the United States have placed upon the Sherman Anti-trust Law, which bill also remedies the evils and abuses of the writ of injunction in labor disputes and further provides for jury trials in indirect contempt cases; therefore be it

RESOLVED. By this Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, now in session, that we urge the passage of said bill by the United States Senate, particularly in reference to the features herein enumerated, and further urge that the same receive the approval and signature of the President of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED. That the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, be and they are hereby directed, to transmit a copy of the above preamble and these resolutions, duly signed and sealed, to the President of the United States, and President of the Senate, and that an abstract of the above be telegraphed to them.

The resolution was concurred in by unanimous vote of the convention.

JOINT BOARD
of the
CLOAK AND SKIRT MAKERS' UNIONS
OF NEW YORK
Locals 1, 9, 10, 11, 17, 23, 35 and 64,
I. L. G. W. U.
Brooklyn, N. Y., May 29, 1914.
Mr. John A. Dychc, Gen. Sec'y and Treas. of the I. L. G. W. U.

Dear Sir and Bro:

Kindly extend my heartiest congratulations on the 12th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

I regret exceedingly that I am unable to be with you at this convention on account of my ill health and also my failure to be duly elected as a delegate, but although I am not one among you, my heart and spirit are with you.

It has been continuous and arduous work to bring this organization to its present standard, to which I, as one of its founders, contributed cheerfully of my share of labor, and to adjust the various controversies for the promotion and the protection of our men and women who are toiling for their daily bread.

I therefore wish to have the delegates glance through the history of our International Union, which has been fighting for its existence for the last twelve years, and to consider how different it is to build up such an organization, and I trust that the newcomers will not think it is an easy task, and that it was handed down to us on a silver platter. Whatever was achieved up to the present time, was obtained through struggling step by step, and inch by inch. And it is thus that we can now say with pride that our International Union is today the greatest and most powerful organization in the American labor movement.

As I have said before, I am unable to be present at this convention, and I therefore wish to express a few words and wishes to the delegates of this convention.

I trust that the delegates who were selected by their respective locals will find the ways and means to enact such laws by which our fellow craftsmen will be most benefited.

I know that a great many of the delegates present at this convention have had no experience in attending to labor conventions, and some may think this assemblage a farce. So I therefore wish to say that this convention is of the most vital importance to our fellow workmen, and I appeal to them, not to take this matter as a joke, but to act earnestly, and I trust that the delegates will put all personalities aside, and bear in mind that no matter what individual opinion they may have, the unity of the organization must be upheld, and to see that the differences of the opinions of the various locals affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. are adjusted to the sat-
Our delegates must not forget the perils that beset our locals in the City of New York through the Scab Agencies, some manufacturers and also some of the scabs who pretended to be members of different locals with murder of first degree in order to disrupt our organization in New York City. It is a well known fact to all our members as also to the world that our hands are clean from violence as charged, and that same is merely a frame-up on their part to weaken the labor movement.

I therefore appeal to you, delegates to elect such officers and to enact laws, that in spite of all the obstacles placed in its path, the I. L. G. W. U. will become so strengthened that its members shall be enabled to derive the full advantages of this organization.

Nine years ago, at the expiration of my term as General President of the I. L. G. W. U., and handing over my office to my successor, Brother B. Schlessinger, a convention was held at Cleveland, where a banquet was given at which many of the greatest manufacturers were present. Peace and harmony then prevailed between the manufacturers and the working people. I hope and trust that at this convention, the delegates will endeavor to adjust and to bring about the friendly relations between the manufacturers and the working people of the City of Cleveland.

Again permit me to extend my congratulations, and I trust at this critical period that this convention will adjourn in full harmony, and that when the delegates return to their respective locals, harmony will prevail forever, and I therefore with my full might and strength call:

Three cheers for the I. L. G. W. U.

Three cheers for the labor movement in general.

With sincerest wishes and kind regards to all, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

HERMAN GROSSMAN.

Secretary of Convention of I. L. G. W. U.

Please read this letter in the Convention.

Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates:

I am one of the members of Local No. 8, of San Francisco, that I am sorry to say is now out of existence. Since our strike has been lost, things have gone from bad to worse; it is impossible to describe the conditions that now exist in the cloak trade in San Francisco.

We have made several attempts to reorganize, but it is impossible because as soon as a boss finds out that one of his people tries to do any organizing he is fired at once; therefore it is very hard for us to get together. One does not know of the other. I wrote one letter to the International and I got no answer so I thought that now would be the best time to do something at the convention. I hope you will try to do something for us in the way of organizing. There are many other places in California where a general organizer could do a lot of good, therefore I would suggest that you try to send a good man out here from the International. I am sure he could do a lot of good to the cloak trade in general.

I am writing this letter in the name of the Cloak Makers of San Francisco, hoping you will do the best you can for the welfare of the I. L. S. W. Union, and wishing you all the success at the convention, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

MAX P. HARRISON,

1126 Buchanan St.,
San Francisco, Cal.

The communication was referred to the Committee on Organization.

President Rosenberg: Before we proceed with our business for the day I desire to say a few words to express our sorrow that one of our strikers in Philadelphia, a young man of twenty, has been killed by a strike breaker. I therefore call upon the delegates to arise and pay tribute to our dead brother.

The request of President Rosenberg was complied with.

Delegate Metz, Local No. 1: Yesterday a number of people addressed the convention; in fact, the entire day was spent in listening to speeches. All of the speakers contributed somewhat to the organization, but none of them know the organization as thoroughly as a man who was not here, a man who from
the very first day of the International organization stood with us, worked with us and sacrificed with us. This man is absent, Comrade Meyer London, the attorney of the International organization. I move that the convention invite Comrade Meyer London to address the convention. (Seconded.)

President Rosenberg stated that he was glad the motion came from a delegate of Local No. 1, as recently in New York an effort has been made to oust Meyer London from the convention without being invited.

The motion was carried, and the delegates applauded when Meyer London's name was mentioned.

REPORT OF CREDENTIAL AND FINANCE COMMITTEE

Delegate Epstein read the following list of delegates against whose seating there was no protest:

New York, May 26, 1914.

To the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

President and Delegates:

Your Credential and Financial Committee examined all the credentials and recommends that the following be seated as delegates:

Local No. 2, Cloakmakers' Union of Philadelphia, three delegates—Max Amdor, Max Grishkin and Morris Polen.

Local No. 4, Cloakmakers' Union of Baltimore, four delegates—S. Caplan, I. Etkin, A. Rotkowitz.


Local No. 10, Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union of New York, nine delegates—Jesse P. Cohen, Chas. Beaver, Adolph Davidson, Iadore Epstein, Max Gorenstein, Sam Martin, Chas. Nagel, John F. Pierce, Elmer Rosenberg.

Local No. 11, Cloakmakers' Union of Brownsville, New York, three delegates—A. Cohen, J. Levy, M. Sweet.

Local No. 13, Cloakmakers of Montreal, Canada, two delegates—T. Jacobs, P. Sheinberg.


Local No. 16, Ladies' Garment Cutters of St. Louis, 1 delegate—Nathan Grass.

Local No. 17, Reever Makers' Union of New York, six delegates—Max Cohen, Sam Blumenton, Abraham Gerchekoff, Morris Jaizhinsky, Morris Leader, Abe Pesin.

Local No. 19, Cloak Cutters' Union of Montreal, two delegates—Jacob Kievenko, Louis Auerback.

Local No. 21, Ladies' Tailors' Union of Newark, N. J., one delegate—S. Chakles.

Local No. 23, Skirt Makers' Union of New York, nine delegates—Joseph Abramsky, Frank Comunali, Jack Dubester, Philip Fest, Sam Granofsky, Harry Kleinman, Sam Pirsam, Fishel Slopak, Max Singer.

Local No. 25, Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union of New York, eleven delegates—A. Baroff, Jennie Block, J. Holtzman, Jos. Portnoy, S. Seidman, B. Witzhkin, Bessy Switsky, Sara Shapiro, S. Polkoff, Ab. Silver, H. Silberman.

Local No. 26, Cloakmakers' Union of Cleveland, Ohio, two delegates—Abe Cohen, I. S. Feit.

Local No. 28, Ladies' Garment Workers of Seattle, Wash., two delegates—A. S. Glassman, Ernest Meader.

Local No. 31, Cloak Pressers' Union of St. Louis, Mo., one delegate—B. Gelbert.

Local No. 32, Underwear Workers of Peekskill, N. Y., one delegate—Elizabeth Rogan.


Local No. 52, Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of Los Angeles, Cal., one delegate—Sam Tauber.

Local No. 53, Cloak Cutters' Union of Philadelphia, Pa., one delegate—Simon Davidson.

Local No. 61, Cloak and Skirt Pressers' Union of Montreal, Can., one delegate—K. Simon.
Local No. 63, Cloakmakers' Union of Cincinnati, Ohio, one delegate—David Borwitz.

Local No. 67, Cloakmakers' Union of Toledo, Ohio, two delegates—Morris Cohen, Jay Katz.

Local No. 69, Cloak Finishers' Union of Philadelphia, Pa., one delegate—Beckie Stein.

Local No. 70, Skirt and Dressmakers' Union of Toronto, Can., one delegate—Hyman Zeligman.

Local No. 71, one delegate—Harry Strasburg.

Local No. 73, Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union of Boston, Mass., one delegate—Benjamin Kurland.

Local No. 78, Cloak Operators' Union of St. Louis, Mo., two delegates—Joe Edlin, P. Pechersky.

Local No. 81, Cloak and Suit Cutters' Union of Chicago, Ill., two delegates—I. Davidson, Chas. Morris.

Local No. 82, Corset Workers' Union of Kalamazoo, Mich., two delegates—Ida Laperce, Belle Yount.


Local No. 90, Ladies' Garment Workers of Buffalo, N. Y., two delegates—Paul Hering, B. Resnikoff.

Local No. 92, Cloak Pressers' Union of Toronto, Can., two delegates—Leon Tredler, H. Hiorns.

Local No. 98, Skirt Pressers' Union of Cincinnati, Ohio, one delegate—Abe Croban.

Local No. 108, Neckwear Workers of N. Y., one delegate—A. M. Copstein.

Joint Board of Cincinnat, Ohio, one delegate—David Fusfield.

Joint Board of Montreal, Can., one delegate—S. Labensohn.

Joint Board of New York, one delegate—Harry Wagner.

Joint Board of St. Louis, one delegate—Sam Glassman.

Joint Board of Toronto, Can., one delegate—Jacob Glickman.

Joint Board of Philadelphia, Pa., one delegate—M. Sandler.

Upon motion the delegates whose names were read by the committee were seated.

Delegate Epstein continued the report of the committee, as follows:

"We recommend that the Delegates of Local No. 1, Cloak and Suit Operators of New York, be seated on condition that Local No. 1 pays its assessment, amounting to $462, by August 1, 1914. The names of the delegates are as follows: J. Ashpis, Abe Goldstein, Peretz Kottler, Solomon Meta, B. Meyerson, Morris Rubin, Samuel Sapin, Al. Student."

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in and the delegates of Local No. 1 seated.

"We recommend that the delegates of Local No. 12, Cloak Pressers' Union of Boston, be seated on condition that $50 be paid on account of the assessment before the opening of the convention and the balance of $458.50 be paid by May 1, 1915. The names of the delegates are as follows: Morris Cohen, Sam Flashner."

Delegate Lefkovits asked if the local had satisfied the committee that they would comply with the decision of the convention.

Delegate Rosenberg: The delegates of the local mentioned are here and if there are any objections they will speak in their own behalf. I therefore raise a point of order.

The point of order was declared well taken.

Delegate Flashner stated that the committee had not asked him if the local would pay the $50.

Delegate Koldofsky stated that the committee had notified the local on May 23rd that $50 should be paid at once and the rest paid before the first of next May.

Delegate Flashner stated that the letter had not been received but that a telegram had been received; that the local had no money in its treasury; that there had been a strike in Boston and the money that had been collected had been paid out.

A motion was made that the delegates of Local No. 12 be seated, with the proviso that the assessment be paid by the first of May,
1915, omitting the immediate payment of $50.
(Seconded and carried.)

"We recommend that the delegates of Local No. 20, Raincoat Makers of New York, be seated on condition that the local pays the assessment, amounting to $1,995, by May 1, 1915. The delegates are as follows: Harry Dubinsky, Sam Kaplan, Philip Kurinsky, A. Rihack, Jacob M. Singer."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Epstein: The committee has received communications from some of the locals that are in arrears with their assessments. According to the International constitution no delegate of a local union in arrears for assessments can be seated. Those locals have asked us to extend the time as they are in financial straits. We knew that Local 12, of Boston, had passed through a strike, that they had great difficulty in controlling their members and in collecting the assessment. Local 20 has passed through a strike and their treasury is empty. Local 10 of New York loaned their money to assist in carrying on their organization work. We think a local that is on strike is entitled to consideration. Other locals with money in their treasuries have not paid the assessment.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

"We recommend that the delegates of Local No. 41, Wrapper and Kimono Workers of New York, be seated on condition that the local pays its assessment, amounting to $612, by May 1, 1915. The delegates are as follows: Israel M. Chatcuff, Sadie Dickstein, Anna Gewittsam, Sarah Spanier."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

"We recommend that the delegate of Local No. 49, Ladies' Waist Makers' Union of Boston, be seated on condition that it pay the balance of its assessment, amounting to $346.50, by May 1, 1915. The delegate is as follows: Miss Tattelbaum."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

"We recommend that the delegates of Local No. 50, Children's Dressmakers' Union of New York, be seated on condition that the local pay the balance of assessment, amounting to $2,548.50, by May 1, 1915. The delegates are as follows: Morris Sirota, Esther Tauber."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

"We recommend that the delegates of Local No. 56, Cloakmakers' Union of Boston, be seated on condition that the local pays the assessment, amounting to $1,505.50, by May 1, 1915. The delegates are as follows: M. Berman, A. Finkelstein, I. Posen, H. Shines."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

"We recommend that the delegates of Local No. 62, White Goods Workers' Union of New York, be seated on condition that the local pays its assessment, amounting to $1,531.00, by January 1, 1915. The delegates are as follows: Ida Horowitz, Gussie Landic, Molly Lifshitz, Ida Pearl, Anna Rock, Eva Smithlive."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

"We recommend that the delegates of Local No. 64, Buttonhole Makers of New York, be seated on condition that the local pays its assessment, amounting to $416, by January 1, 1915. The delegate's name is as follows: David Dessell."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

"We recommend that the delegates of Local No. 65, Ladies' Tailors' Union of Brooklyn, N. Y., be seated on condition that they pay up their assessments, amounting to $34.50, by November 1, 1914. Names of delegates: H. Binder, Ah Slovak.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Local No. 58, Waist and Buttonhole Makers' Union of New York, two delegates—Louis Nigen, W. Podnos. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

We received a protest against Delegate B. Schlesinger of Local No. 1 on the ground that he was not engaged in ladies' garments six months prior to the convention, neither was he a paid officer, which is contrary to Article 3, Section 8, of our Constitution. Brother Schlesinger, who was called upon by the committee, stated that he was in the employ of the Joint Board of New York for the past
six months, but refused to accept remunera-
tion for his work. This statement was obro-
borated by B. Fried of Local No. 1. The ma-
ajority report is that Brother Schlesinger be
seated, the minority report is that he shall
not be seated.

Delegate Wagner moved that the majority
report of the committee be adopted. (Sec-
onded, and carried by unanimous vote.)

The committee recommended that A. Pad-
over, Local No. 1, Cloak and Suit Operators
of New York, be not seated, as he was in
arrears for assessment.

A. Padover was given the floor, and stated
that the reason he was in arrears for more
than three months was because that for a
long time he had been out of work, and was
in arrears for other bills besides those to his
union; that two of his children had died and
he had doctor's bills and other bills to meet.

The question was discussed briefly by Dele-
gate Slupak and Delegate A. Cohen.

The motion to adopt the report of the
committee was lost.

Upon motion of Delegate Weiner, Dele-
gate Padover was seated.

The committee recommended that M. Davis,
Local No. 11, be not seated, as he was in
arrears twenty-one weeks for assessments.

Delegate Prisant: I move the adoption of
the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

M. Davis stated that times were very bad,
that he could not pay other bills and had been
unable to pay his obligations to the organiza-
tion.

Delegate A. Cohen stated that it would be
advisable to find if there were other dele-
gates whose seats were contested on the same
ground as Mr. Davis. He stated he would not
like to see a precedent established in such
cases.

President Rosenberg stated that it would
not establish a precedent; that the matter
was covered by the constitution, but the con-
vention could make exceptions in such cases
as the one under discussion.

Delegate Prisant opposed the seating of
Mr. Davis.

Delegate Metz spoke in favor of the mo-
tion to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Solovioff stated that the consti-
tution should be upheld, that it required that
a member be paid up before he could act as
a delegate, but as three or four other men
had been seated who had been in arrears, he
offered a motion that Mr. Davis be seated
without vote in the convention.

The question was discussed briefly by Dele-
gate Cohen, Delegate Davidson and Delegate
Gertler.

Upon motion debate was closed.
The motion to adopt the report of the com-
mittee was lost.

A motion was made and seconded that
M. Davis be seated as a delegate. (Carried.)

"We received objections against the seat-
ing of Delegate Pavlotsky of Local No. 11,
on the ground that he has been working
against the interest of the organization. The
majority report is that he shall not be seated.
The majority being satisfied from the evidence
produced that the charges against him are
well founded. The minority report is that
while they are satisfied that Pavlotsky is not
a fit and proper person to be represented at
this convention and to take part in its delib-
erations, yet since no objection has been
raised against the legality of his election and
it is only a question of the propriety of him
being a delegate, it considers such an objec-
tion outside of its jurisdiction, and thinks it
proper for the convention itself to deal with
the matter. The minority wishes at the same
time to express its regret at a state of affairs
which make it possible for men of such cali-
ber to be elected by members of our Orga-
nization to represent them at our convention."

Delegate Block: I move the adoption of
the majority report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Metz spoke in favor of the adop-
tion of the report of the committee. He sta-
ted that he objected to the seating of Mr.
Pavlotsky on account of his character; that
some years ago he had organized a dual
union, that when a representative of the New
York office was sent to the meeting of the
dual union to see what was going on he
found Mr. Pavlotsky in the chair. Delegate
Metz stated further that when he worked
in the shop he refused to pay dues and when
the business agent prevented him from work-
ing he came to the offices of the local union
with a number of other persons and broke
the windows.
Delegate Koldofsky: The report was based upon the information the committee received in regard to Brother Pavlotsky. The minority report does not favor seating him. The minority thinks we are not empowered to reject him as a delegate as long as he is elected by his local and is in good standing, but the minority felt he should be rejected as a delegate because of a communication he wrote and an article he wrote for the Socialist Review.

Both articles were read by Delegate Koldofsky. In the articles attacks were made upon the officers and upon the organization generally.

Mr. Pavlotsky was granted the privilege of the floor, and stated that he believed in freedom of speech and freedom of the press; that he was privileged to write whatever he pleaded, and if he was not satisfied with the policy of the organization he had a right to so express himself. He denied the statement of Delegate Metz that he had tried to organize a dual union, denied that he had broken the windows of the union office, and stated that while in the shop he had always behaved as a union man ought to behave. He stated further that the joint board had taken up the charges against him and he had been vindicated.

Delegate Jacobinsky, Local No. 17, stated that he had acted as chairman of the committee appointed by the joint board to investigate the Pavlotsky case. He denied the statement made by Mr. Pavlotsky that the joint board had found the charges against him unfounded; that there was a division in the committee, three of the members supporting Mr. Pavlotsky, the other three being of the opinion that the accusations against him were well founded, but, under the circumstances, to avoid further scandals in the organization, they let the matter go.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Metz and Delegate A. Cohen.

The motion to adopt the majority report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Student desired to be recorded as protesting the action of the convention in not seating Mr. Pavlotsky.

Delegate Epstein continued the report of the committee as follows:

"We received a protest against the seating of Brother Haiman of Local No. 25, on the ground that he was not engaged in the Ladies' Garment Trade six months prior to the Convention, nor was he a paid officer of any local Union. Brother Haiman appeared before the committee and stated that he was an official of the local, but not a paid officer. The majority report is that Brother Haiman be seated."

Delegate Gorenstein: I move to adopt the majority report. (Seconded and carried.)

"A protest was received against the seating of Vice-President Mitchell as delegate of Local No. 50, on the ground that he was not a paid officer of that local prior to his election. The majority report is that Brother Mitchell be seated in accordance with Section 8 of Article 3, which reads as follows: "A paid officer of any local Union or Joint Board, who has been in the employ of the organization for six continuous months or more, shall be eligible as a delegate to the convention, providing he or she is a member of the I. L. G. W. U."

"The opinion of the majority being that a General Officer comes under the provision of this clause, since he is working for every organization. The minority report is that he be not seated, for the above cited clause speaks only of local Unions or Joint Boards, and makes no mention of General Officers of the International Union."

President Rosenberg: That is a negative motion.

Delegate Gorenstein: I move that the minority report be concurred in. (Carried.)

Delegate Tauber, Local No. 50, opposed the minority report and spoke in favor of seating Vice-President Mitchell. She stated that he had a right to be seated as a delegate because he was a member of the local and had been doing work for the local.

Delegate Koldofsky stated that the constitution provided that a paid officer of any local union or joint board who has been in the employ of the organization for six months or more was eligible to election as a delegate. He spoke in favor of seating Vice-President Mitchell.

Delegate Prisant opposed the seating of Vice-President Mitchell, stating that he ran for delegate in Local 9, was defeated, and then ran in Local 50.

Delegate Jesse P. Cohen opposed the seating of Vice-President Mitchell.
Delegate Silberman spoke in favor of seating Vice-President Mitchell as a delegate, stating that a member was qualified to act as an International officer was entitled to a seat as a delegate by a local union for which he had done work.

A motion to close debate was lost.

Delegate Asphis and Delegate Rubin opposed the seating of Vice-President Mitchell.

Delegate Deitch opposed the seating of Vice-President Mitchell on the ground that it would be a violation of the constitution, as he had been working for a number of locals and had not been paid by Local No. 50.

Delegate Copstein and Delegate A. Cohen spoke in favor of seating Vice-President Mitchell. Delegate Cohen stated that the objection to seating Vice-President Mitchell was merely a matter of prejudice.

Upon motion debate was closed by a vote of 61 in the affirmative to 26 in the negative.

Delegate Epstein asked if it was not a rule that the mover of a motion was privileged to discuss it.

Delegate Gorenstein discussed the question briefly. He stated that Vice-President Mitchell was elected illegally because the constitution provided that a delegate must be with a local six months in order to be eligible.

Vice-President Mitchell made a statement in which he denied that he had tried to be elected from two locals. He stated that he had business with Local No. 9 that kept him there until the last day before the ballot went to print; that he did not accept the nomination because it was not a legal nomination; that when the ballots were ready to print the secretary of the local asked the president if his name would go on the ballot and he decided that it would. Vice-President Mitchell stated further that he had informed Local 50 that he might be on the ballot of No. 9, but he did not know. He stated that he had done more than six months work for Local 50, and accepted the nomination.

Delegate Epstein moved that a roll call be had on the motion to adopt the minority report. Delegate Jesse P. Cohen supported the motion of Delegate Epstein.

The chairman asked for a show of hands and declared the motion to adopt the minority report was lost by a vote of 49 in the affirmative to 61 in the negative.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock P.M., Tuesday, June 2nd.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Dyche read the following telegrams:

New York, June 2, 1914.
Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Accept our congratulations on your 12th Convention. We hope you succeed in organizing the entire trade. Long live the International Ladies’ Garment Workers, long live organized labor.
H. Zuckerberg.
Business Manager.

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
Convention of International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
The Theatrical Trade Council, which consists of legitimate actors, chorists, musicians, bill posters, ushers and dressers’ union send greetings. We wish you success. Long live the International Ladies’ Garment Workers, long live organized labor.

New York, N. Y., June 1, 1914.
John A. Dyche, Secretary-Treasurer, Convention I. L. G. W. U.,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.

With success in all your deliberations. Local 9 calls upon all delegates to co-operate for harmony and unity. This is the only way our organization can grow great and powerful. Your representatives being the leading spirits of the locals are to show an example and success will be assured.

Clack and Suit Tailors’ Union, Local 9.
A. Gruen, Sec’y-Treasurer.

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
The Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Local 10 at its regular meeting sends greetings. Best wishes and success. Let harmony be the guiding star in all your doings.
Simon Bloch, Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., June 1, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Cleveland, O.
Greetings: While you are assembled to solve problems which will deliver the garment workers from bondage, know that our hearts are with you. We have you ever in mind and pray that success may attend your efforts.
Chicago Cloak & Suit Cutters, Local 81
John A. Neff, Secretary.
New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
Twelfth Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Extend heartiest congratulations and success in all the enterprises of the I. L. G. W. U.
Sidney Hillman, Chief Clerk Protocol Division and Deputy Clerks.
New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
International Convention,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Hearty greetings to the Twelfth Convention. May your deliberations be crowned with success and bring peace and harmony in the International Union for the benefit of the thousands you represent is the wish of the Children's Dressmakers.
Local Union No. 50.
New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Heartiest congratulations. Hope your deliberations help in building and strengthening the working class movements in this country.
Industrial and Agricultural Co-operative Assn., Inc.
New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers,
Cleveland, O.
Wishing you success in all your undertakings.
Shirt and Boys' Waist and Ironers' Union of Greater New York.

Delegate Epstein renewed his request for a roll call on the minority report to not seat Vice-President Mitchell as a delegate.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Epstein, Delegate J. P. Cohen and President Rosenberg, the statement was made that when the committee offered its report as a whole the matter might be taken up again.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

Your committee recommends that Brother H. Binder, of Local 65, be not seated because he was forty-eight weeks in arrears at the time of the election of delegates.

A motion was made to concur in the report of the committee.

Delegate Binder stated that he was not in arrears because he had neglected the organization, but because the local of which he was secretary and business agent had been in financial difficulties for the past few months and he has been working without salary; that the local owed him eighty or ninety dollars, and whatever money could be secured was paid to the International to keep the rest of the members in good standing.

Delegate Switzky spoke in favor of the report of the committee:

Delegate Hyman spoke in favor of seating Delegate Binder.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost.

Upon motion Delegate Binder was seated.

A protest has been received against M. D. Lapidus as delegate of Local No. 70, on the ground that after his election the local decided to revoke his credential and substitute Brother Gordon in his place, because M. D. Lapidus was not a member of that local. In view of the fact that there are objections against the substitute, Brother Gordon, on
went on with the nomination and election of one delegate. Four candidates were nominated. I was elected. One who was defeated was badly disappointed. Soon after one of the members of the local proposed, in view of the fact that there was a possibility of the local being represented by two delegates instead of one at no greater cost than for one delegate, and in view of the fact that there was such a person present who would accept the nomination to represent the local there was no reason why the local should not send its full representation. This was concurred in by the members with only one dissenting vote. The defeated delegate, finding he would not get a trip to Cleveland, tried in every way to have set aside the election of the delegate whose seat was being contested. He went so far as to try to make a deal with the employer where the uncontested delegate worked that pressure should be brought to bear to prevent him from going to Cleveland. This did not work out and he tried other means. His opportunity came when I left town. At that time I was a recognized member of the local but no letter or message was sent to me that another election was going to be held. I was not informed officially of what Delegate Solovioff stated that the committee had been informed that Mr. Lapidus had been a member of No. 56 up to the 19th of April and had paid dues to the Boston local up to that date; that the credential was given him on the evening of the 14th, when another delegate was also elected; that the second credential had been given to Mr. Lapidus because he said he would go at his own expense as nothing had been done until I asked an explanation of the chairman when I returned. Upon motion of Delegate B. Cohen debate was closed. The motion to concur in the report of the committee to not seat Mr. Lapidus was carried. A motion was made and seconded that Anna Bessin be seated without a vote. Delegate Lebkovits: I rise to a point of order. The chair ruled before adjournment that the delegate would have to be either seated or unseated. not seated and that Anna Bessin be not the ground that he was not a member in good standing at the time he was elected, the committee decided to make further investigations and later report to the convention. Delegate Epstein: There are two delegates on the credential of Local 70, Brother Lapidus was elected. A protest was filed in the local against his election. They sent as a substitute another delegate, Anna Bessin. When this case originally came before the committee we could not take it up because of the absence of the parties concerned. We took it up yesterday and Brother Lapidus and Sister Bessin came before the committee. Brother Lapidus' seat was protested because he was not a member at the time of his election. He had rejoined his local on a transfer from Boston. The date in his book showed he was readmitted to the local on the 27th of April. The election took place on the 11th. A special meeting of the local was called to take up the matter. The committee was satisfied that the local acted according to the constitution. The recommendation of the committee is Brother Lapidus be not seated and that Anna Bessin be not seated on the ground that she has not been a member for two years. A Delegate: Will that deprive the local of representation? President Rosenberg: They have another delegate here. Delegate Epstein: The committee recommended the seating of the delegate without a vote, out of courtesy to the local. Mr. Lapidus: There are two reasons why I should be seated as a delegate. In the first place I was legally elected. There was no opponent when I was elected. The protest and the revoking of my credential was based upon personal motives and jealousy. In the second place, I was deprived of my right as a member of the International, as I was not notified when the second meeting was called and was not given an opportunity to go on the ballot again or justify the previous action. The executive board decided that because of their financial circumstances they could not afford to send two delegates to this convention. This was recommended and the members in the meeting upheld it. They
The point was declared well taken.

Delegate Copstein: I move that Delegate Bessin be seated. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lefkovits stated that she had been informed that the local had not been in existence two years.

President Rosenberg: I understand Sister Bessin was a member of Local 14, and the skirt makers decided to apply for a charter for themselves less than two years ago. She is a member.

The question was discussed by Delegate Shneberg and Delegate Silver.

The motion to seat Delegate Bessin was carried.

Secretary Dyche stated that most of the telegrams he had received had come through the Western Union. He desired the delegates to announce to their locals that the American Federation of Labor did not send telegrams by Western Union but by the Postal Telegraph Co.

We received a protest against the seating of President Rosenberg as delegate of the Joint Board of Boston, on the ground that he was not a paid officer or a member either of the Joint Board or the locals affiliated with the Joint Board of Boston. The majority report is that he be seated as delegate of the Joint Board, the reasons being the same as those stated in the case of V. P. Mitchell.

Delegate Baroff: I move that the majority report be adopted. (Seconded by Delegate Davidson.)

First Vice-President Polakoff in the chair.

The motion to adopt the majority report of the committee was carried by a vote of 101 in the affirmative to 16 in the negative.

Vice-President Polakoff: I therefore declare Brother Rosenberg seated as a delegate.

Delegate Epstein: That completes the report of the Committee on Credentials.

We have also audited the accounts, books and all documents of the General Office relating to the financial transactions of the International Union beginning May 1, 1912, up to and including April 30, 1914, and find the same to be correct.

(Signed) ISADORÉ EPSTEIN,
Chairman.
S. KOLDOFSKY,
Secretary
M. DEITCH,
M. GRISKIN,
A. SILVER,
B. KURLAND,
A. SOLOVIOFF,
Credentials and Finance Committee.

Delegate Grishkin: I move that the report of the committee be adopted as amended. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Braver: You said when the report was to be adopted as a whole we could make up the case of Brother Mitchell.

President Rosenberg: You may.

Delegate Gorenstein: I move that the case of Brother Mitchell be taken up and decided by roll call.

President Rosenberg: You do not need to make a motion to take it up.

Vice-President Polakoff: I move that a roll call be taken on the case of Vice-President Mitchell. (Seconded and carried.)

The roll was called by Secretary Dyche, and resulted in 62 votes being cast in the affirmative and 69 in the negative.

President Rosenberg: I therefore declare Brother Mitchell not a delegate to this convention.

Delegate Fusfeld: Was there a decision given when the first vote was taken?

President Rosenberg: Yes.

Delegate Fusfeld: Was that a final decision?

President Rosenberg: Yes.

Delegate Fusfeld: Is it not necessary to reconsider a vote of that kind?

President Rosenberg: It was not up to me—the delegates decided.

Delegate Tredler: I move that a roll call be taken on the case of Brother Lapidus. I claim he was defeated in the same way that Brother Mitchell was elected.

President Rosenberg: You should not cast
reflection on the honesty of the men who counted the vote.

Delegate Tredler: I do not intend to cast any reflection on the chairman, but I want another division.

President Rosenberg: We will not have another division.

Vice-President Polakoff: I move that we extend a vote of thanks to the Credentials and Finance Committee for their work. (Seconded and carried.)

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Dyche read the following telegrams:

Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Best greetings to the delegates of the 12th convention. We hope your careful deliberations will result in organizing the entire Ladies' Garment Trade of this country.
Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, No. 75.

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
Twelfth Biennial Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers, Union Convention,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Greetings: Let peace, harmony and common sense be the keynote of your deliberations, and let us hope that every act of yours will be for the improvement of conditions of the workers in the trade. You can be assured of the workers' support. May your decisions embody the experience of the conservatives and the idealistic spirit of the radicals. Long live the Internationals.
Children's Cloaks and Reefer Makers' Union, Local No. 17.
George Wishank, Secretary.

Boston, Mass., June 2, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Congratulations for this, your Twelfth Biennial Convention; also luck and success to brothers.
Sigmu Stupniker and Metz.
B. Goldstein, Local No. 56.

Boston, Mass., June 2, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Congratulations, best wishes and success.
Pressers' Local No. 12,
President J. Flashner.

Boston, Mass., June 2, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Best wishes and success to Twelfth Convention; also Brother Ziegman and Sarkowitz.

* Morris Sarkowitz.

Boston, Mass., June 2, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
We beg to extend our greetings to the Twelfth Biennial Convention.
Joint Board of Boston,

Brooklyn, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
Twelfth Convention I. L. G. W. U.,
Germania' Hall, Cleveland, O.
Heartiest congratulations and well wishes to the delegates of the convention. We hope your efforts will bring harmony among all members. Success to our locals and betterment of conditions may all your undertakings be successful.
Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, Local 11,
of Brownsville.
J. Elkin, Secretary-Treasurer.

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
Mr. John A. Dyche,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
The United Neckwear Makers' Union, eleven eight fifteen A. S. of L. of New York send hearty greetings and best wishes to the Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers in session. We hope you will be successful in plans for uplifting conditions of Ladies' Garment Workers in America.
Edmond Gottesman,
Financial Secretary, 151.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

The President announced the appoint of the following committees:
Press Committee—Harry Dubinsky, Local No. 20; H. Kruger, No. 14; A. Cohen, No. 26; B. Witashkin, No. 25; Samuel Martin, No. 10.

Resolutions Committee—Morris Sigman, Local No. 35; Charles Beaver, No. 10; I. Posen, No. 56; Molly Lipshitz, No. 62; Sam Tauber, No. 52; Morris Jacobinsky, No. 17; Morris Davis, No. 11; J. Braslaver, No. 35; Max Amdur, No. 2; I. Etkin, No. 4.

Committee on Rules and Regulations—S. Lefkovits, Local No. 9; M. Ashpis, No. 1; S. Koldofsky, No. 14; Jesse P. Cohen, No. 10; B. Switsky, No. 25; Ch. Morris, No. 81; H. Strausburg, No. 71.

Committee on Appeals and Grievances—Max Cohen, Local No. 7; Jacob Koenko, No. 19; Philip Fest, No. 23; Hyman Binder, No. 65; Jacob Glickman, Joint Board of Toronto; S. Labensohn, Joint Board of Montreal; S. Seidman, No. 25; Morris Weiner, No. 9; A. Babitz, No. 9; A. Silver, No. 25; W. Cohen, No. 11.

Law Committee—Morris Deutsch, Local No. 9; Chas. Nagel, No. 10; H. Silberman, No. 25; Ab. Solovioff, No. 38; Harry Wagner, J. B. of New York; Morris Leader, No. 17; A. Groban, No. 98; S. Polakoff, No. 25; Harry Kleinman, No. 23.

Committee on Officers' Report—A. M. Copestein, Local No. 108; Sam Flashner, No. 12; Elizabeth Rogan, No. 32; B. Cohen, No. 83; Louis Langer, No. 35; John F. Pierce, No. 10; Solomon Metz, No. 1; Sam Glassman, Joint Board of St. Louis; Davis Fusfield, Joint Board of Cincinnati; J. Kimbarofsky, No. 35; A. Cohn, No. 26.

Organization Committee—Benjamin Schlesinger, Local No. 1; Jacob Halpern, No. 9; Eliza Rosenberg, No. 10; P. Shenberg, No. 13; M. Shurr, No. 14; Jacob M. Singer, No. 20; Joseph Abramsky, No. 23; A. Baroff, No. 25; H. Sheines, No. 56; S. Ciccone, No. 35; Esther Tauber, No. 50.

Committee on Labels and Boycotts—Peretz Kottler, Local No. 1; Jos. Portney, No. 25; Salvador Niffo, No. 9; M. Goldofsky, No. 35; I. S. Feit, No. 26; Morris Polen, No. 2; Simon Davidson, No. 53; Leon Tredler, No. 92; Morris Cohen, No. 67; S. Piemanoff, No. 38.

President Rosenberg advised the committees to meet as soon as possible after adjournment, organize and receive the resolutions.

The statement was made that the convention would be held after Wednesday morning at Gesang Verein Hall, 2491 E. 55th St., instead of in Germania Hall.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9 A.M., Wednesday, June 3rd.

**THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION**

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock A.M., Wednesday, June 3rd, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—Nathan Grass, Local 16; Elizabeth Rogan, Local 32; H. DeMartino, M. Zuckerman, Local 35; F. Davidson, Local 54; B. Kurland, Local 73; J. LaPorta, Clara Pienso, Local 72; S. Kaplan, P. Kurinsky, Local 20; D. Dessell, Local 64.

**COMMUNICATIONS.**

Secretary Dyche read the following:

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Convention.

John A. Dyche, Secretary.

Delegates and Fellow Workers:

The Tailors' Industrial Union, formerly the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, sends you greetings and best wishes for a successful Convention. May your deliberations be harmonious and beneficial to the workers in the clothing industry. We are of the opinion that the time has arrived for a closer affiliation of the different clothing trade unions and desire to inform your Convention that our organization, at its last Convention, declared for one union in the clothing industry.

In your wisdom and good judgment, we trust that your Convention will adopt such measures as will help to bring this about as early a date as possible. May we suggest that a committee be selected to work with a like committee of ours and such other organizations may decide to work with us in the future to amalgamate the clothing trades.

Again assuring your organization of our best wishes, we are.

Yours for one, big, powerful and efficient organization in the clothing industry.

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The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

President Rosenberg read a petition signed by a number of delegates asking that the time for presenting resolutions be extended to Friday evening.

President Rosenberg stated the constitution provided that resolutions could be presented only up to the end of the third day of the convention except with the consent of two-thirds of the convention after that date.

Vice-President Polakoff stated that, inasmuch as the first day's session was occupied by speakers and no official business was transacted, Tuesday should be considered the first day of the convention and the delegates allowed to present resolutions on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.

The chairman stated that the suggestion could not be entertained as it would be in conflict with the constitution. He stated further that he was satisfied resolutions presented after that date would receive the consent of two-thirds of the convention to their introduction.

Delegate Singer moved that a committee be appointed to meet Meyer London at the depot and escort him to the hall.

President Rosenberg stated that a committee would be appointed without a motion, and asked that Delegate Groban, Cincinnati; Delegate Sapin, New York; and Delegate Hyman, of New York, serve on the committee.

Delegate Koldofsky, Local No. 14, asked the consent of the convention to read a resolution that would require immediate action.

Upon motion of Delegate Cohen, Local 26, permission was given Delegate Koldofsky to read the resolution.

Delegate Koldofsky read the following resolution:

Cleveland, O., June 2nd, 1914.

WHEREAS the Toronto Locals of the I. L. G. W. U. are now conducting a bitter struggle that has been forced upon them by The Dominion and Exclusive Cloak Company, in introducing of an inside contracting system which has been unknown in the cloak trade of Toronto.

WHEREAS 110 of our members are involved in this strike for the last 13 weeks are under the worst circumstances, persecuted by the police and the Pinkerton detectives with the result that a number of our strikers were sentenced and imprisoned to 2 and 3 months each and many more are pending sentence.

WHEREAS in order to carry on this struggle which means the life or death of the Toronto Locals, their Treasuries have been exhausted, their members are taxed very heavily and they are at present in a critical financial state. Therefore be it

RESOLVED that this convention donate to the Joint Board of Toronto Locals the sum of $1000.00 in order to enable them to continue the justified struggle against the inside contracting system which is the greatest evil in the cloak industry.

(Signed) Jacob Glickman, Joint Board of Toronto; S. Koldofsky, Local 14; S. Hoffman, Local 14; H. Kruger, Local 14; M. Lapidus, Local 70; M. Shur, Local 14; H. Zeligman, Local 70; H. C. Dean, Local 82; B. Cohen, Local 83; L. Tredler, Local 92; W. Heirman, Local 92; S. Labenshon, Joint Board Montreal; K. Simon, Local 61; T. Jacobs, Local 13; J. Kievenko, Local 19; Louis Auerbach, Local 19; P. Sheinberg, Local 13; E. A. Meader, Local 28; Sam Tauber, Local 52.

Delegate Koldofsky: We received the communication this morning from our city, where a strike has been going on for fourteen weeks, stating that more of our strikers have been sent to jail. The strikers do not get strike pay, and if you do not give them immediate assistance they will be very badly off.

Upon motion the resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions, with instructions to bring in a report at 2 o'clock.

A communication from Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union No. 75, Worcester, Massachusetts, requesting the incoming General Board to send an organizer to that locality, was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

President Rosenberg stated that a change would be made in the Committees on Boycotts and Labels; that Delegate Koldofsky did not desire to serve on that committee as he was not very well acquainted with the subjects that would be considered and not very much interested in them. The chairman
substituted Delegate Haiman, of Local No. 25, for Delegate Koldofsky.

Delegate Cohen (J. P.): There is another local very much interested in the advancement of the label that has no representative on that committee, Local No. 10.

President Rosenberg: I am glad to hear that. If that is the case I am going to add to that committee Delegate Gorenstein, of Local 10. Is that satisfactory?

Delegate Cohen: It is.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND REGULATIONS

Delegate Lefkovits, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

To the President and Delegates: Your Committee on Rules and Regulations wishes to recommend that the sessions of our convention be arranged as follows: The morning session to begin at 9:15 and remain in session to 12 o'clock, noon; the afternoon session to be from 2 o'clock to 5:30 P.M. One session on Saturday from 9:15 to 1 P.M.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

2. We also recommend that the convention have the right, upon motion, to call a special night session when found necessary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

A motion was made to amend by providing that a two-thirds majority be necessary to call a night session. (Seconded.)

The recommendation as amended was adopted.

3. We recommend that not less than ten delegates shall have the right to demand that a motion be voted upon by roll call vote. A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

A delegate asked how many locals would have to be represented by the ten delegates.

Delegate Lefkovits: The report says ten delegates. We consider if one local has ten delegates they are as big as ten delegates from ten locals.

Delegate Cohen, Local 25: I move that the recommendation of the committee be amended to provide for ten delegates from at least two different locals. (Seconded.)

Delegate Andur: I move as a substitute that it be three locals. (Seconded.)

The amendment was withdrawn, and the substitute was voted on as an amendment to the original motion, and adopted. The motion as amended was adopted.

4. We recommend that each delegate who desires to speak request the floor by sending his or her name in writing to the President, through the sergeant-at-arms.

Delegate Singer: How will the sergeant-at-arms decide who is to speak first if a number give their names written out on pieces of paper?

A motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost.

5. We recommend that the chairman of every committee appointed by the President shall be entitled to have the floor of the convention for five minutes, in order to sum up why the committee is in favor of or against a certain resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

6. We recommend that if there are majority and minority reports or recommendations on any resolution, one of the majority and one of the minority of the committee shall be entitled to explain their motives, pro or con.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

7. We recommend that when a motion is voted upon by roll call each and every delegate present will positively be bound to answer the roll call, pro or con.

Delegate Lefkovits: One member of our committee wishes to be reported as opposed to this recommendation. This proposition may not be democratic but we want no politics played in the convention, we want every delegate to express his opinion on every motion and resolution. Therefore we recommend that when a motion is voted upon by roll call each and every delegate answer to his name. I wish to state that Brother Ashpis, one of the committee, is against this proposition.

Delegate Copstein: I move the adoption of this rule of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Ashpis, Local No. 1, stated that he was opposed to the recommendation because many resolutions would be presented in regard to matters that some of the delegates knew nothing about, they would not be instructed in regard to them and would not know whether they were good resolutions or not. He stated it would be unjust to compel delegates to vote when they could not do so intelligently on some resolutions.
Delegate Switzky stated that every delegate in the convention would have a chance to find out what was going on, that in the previous session information had been asked for and answers to questions given in both English and Yiddish. She spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Braslavcr, Local 35, stated that every delegate should be allowed to use his own judgment in regard to voting.

Delegate Katz opposed the recommendation of the committee, and stated that he was absolutely against being compelled to do anything, and did not feel that the delegates should be compelled to vote if they did not wish to do so.

President Rosenberg announced that the time had arrived for the committee to proceed to the depot and meet Meyer London and escort him to the hall. Delegate Sapin, Local No. 1, stated that he did not desire to serve on the committee.

President Rosenberg appointed Delegate Singer of Local No. 20 on the vacant place on the committee, and also asked that Delegate Rosenberg, of Cleveland, would accompany the committee.

Discussion was continued on the recommendation of the committee that all delegates be required to vote when the roll was called.

Delegate Wiener spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee, stating that the delegates were intelligent enough to form an opinion on any matter that might come up in the convention.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Lefkovits: We further recommend that only members of our union and friends of delegates be admitted to the convention hall as visitors.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Lefkovits: Our work is not completed. If anybody has any good suggestions to make the committee will consider them.

The partial report of the committee was signed:

S. LEFKOVITS, Chairman,
S. KOLDOSFSKY, Secretary,
J. ASHPIS,
B. SWITSKY,
CH. MORRIS,
H. STRASSBERG, Committee.

Delegate Lefkovits: Jesse P. Cohen was absent from the meeting and did not sign the report.

Delegate Koldofsky, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, reported that a creden-
Makers' Union, Local No. 58, L. Nigen, Delegate, and recommended that Delegate Nigen be seated.

Vice-President Polakoff moved that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in. (Seconded and carried.)

President Rosenberg stated that the following credential had been received from the Socialist Labor Lyceum Committee on the second day of the convention:

"Cleveland, Ohio, June 2, 1914.

"To the Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

"This is to certify that the bears of this credential, S. Yellen and A. Gold, are elected as a committee on behalf of the Socialist Labor Lyceum.

"(Signed) J. SHAFFER, Secretary."

A motion was made and seconded that the committee be given the privilege of the floor, (Carried.)

Delegate Cohen, Local 26: We have passed a motion that none but members and their friends be admitted. I move that members of the Socialist Party be admitted as visitors.

President Rosenberg: They will be admitted, with the exception of those who are not socialists in reality.

Mr. S. Yellen, one of the committee, mentioned in the credential, addressed the convention at length, speaking in Yiddish.

President Rosenberg: The speaker represents the Jewish Socialist branch of this city, and also the Socialist Labor Lyceum. He is here for the purpose of securing help to build a labor lyceum to keep our people out of saloons and such places and give them a chance to become better educated. The speaker asks for a donation to help them build a labor lyceum. Whether the donation will be made out of the treasury or by subscriptions by the delegates is immaterial to him as long as he gets the money. I would request that every delegate who is a friend of the movement subscribe as much as he can. In so far as the convention is concerned, I think the matter will have to be referred to the Committee on Resolutions and they will take it up and bring in a report. The matter will be so referred.

Secretary Dyche read the following telegrams:

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Statler Hotel, Cleveland, O.

Heartiest congratulations to your convention. Wish you the best success.

International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Statler Hotel, Cleveland, O.

Accept our heartiest congratulations and may you meet with success.

Joint Board Furriers' Union of New York.

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.

Convention of I. L. G. W. U.

Statler Hotel, Cleveland, O.

Brothers: I heartily congratulate the delegates of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. L. G. W. U., and hope that collisions and quarrels will be thrown to the ranks of our enemies and spies, and that peace, harmony and justice will pervade our local unions and unity be installed throughout our ranks.

Fraternally yours,

Julius Woof.

COMMUNICATIONS

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.

Heartiest congratulations—and best wishes to all delegates assembled. We hope that your deliberations will bring success to our movement and will lead to the ultimate political and economic freedom of the working class.

Executive Committee Workmans' Circle.

Montreal, Que., June 1, 1914.

Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.

We extend the greatest hope of success to our Twelfth Convention of the International. We do hope this convention will occupy a prominent part in the history of trade unionism and will make us the proudest and strongest organization the world over.

Cloak Cutters' Union, Local 19 of Montreal, Can.

Toronto, Ont., June 2, 1914.

Convention of the International Ladies' Gar-
nent Workers,
Cleveland, Ohio.
Wish you success in your good work and sincerely hope for your endorsement of a general strike in Toronto.

Joint Board.
New York, N. Y., June 3, 1914.
We send to you and the delegates heartiest congratulations.
The Cutters of Weinstein Bros.,
New York.

Boston, Mass., June 2, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Beg to extend my greetings to Twelfth Biennial Convention.

Wm. Shawmut,
Secretary Local No. 12.

Toronto, Ont., June 2, 1913.
Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Cleveland, O.
Accept our heartiest brotherly regards and sincerely hope to receive your brotherly support in our present strike.

M. Yampolsky,
Secretary Local No. 14.

Montreal, Que., June 2, 1914.
The Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Cleveland, O.
We wish you the greatest success and hope that this convention will make the strongest and proudest trade union organization the world over.

Dress Waist Makers,
Local 112, Montreal.

Cincinnati, O., June 2, 1914.
John A. Dyche, General Secretary-Treasurer I. L. G. W. U.,
Cleveland, O.
Congratulations and best wishes for successful work at our Twelfth Convention. Do all you can to stop the misery of injunctions. We hope that where our delegates present our troubles before the convention they will be seriously considered as we are having a stormy time of it for the past year in Cin-

Cincinnati Joint Board,
I. L. G. W. U.

Washington, D. C., June 2, 1914.
Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention.
Cleveland, O.
Tailors' Industrial Union Local 188.
Wish you joy at release of Sigman, Metz and Sturnik. Urge convention to stand by them till completely freed. Hope delegates recognize necessity of united action and pledge for amalgamation of union in clothing industry.

Geraci, Secretary.

Toronto, Ont., June 2, 1914.
Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Cleveland, O.
Heartiest congratulations. Wish you success in the long expected reform of the necessary increase of the per capita for the strike fund.

Kwicn, Chairman Local 92.

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1914.
Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.,
Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.
Heartiest congratulations. We wish you success in your deliberations.

Ladies' Tailors Dressmakers,
Local 65, Brooklyn.

New York N. Y., June 2, 1914.
To the Officers and Delegates of the Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:
The International Painters and Paper Hang-
ers' Union of America send their heartiest congratulations to your Twelfth Convention. We are all proud of your success. The labor movement expects that your decision will be in harmony with truth and conducted logically.

Fraternally yours.
J. Rabinowsky, President,
A. Dreisonoss, General Sec'y.
erations. May your union grow from strength to strength.

Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America.

ARRANGEMENTS
President Rosenberg: The committee invited several speakers to address our convention. Not all of them were able to appear on the first day. A gentleman is here this morning who intended to address the convention on the first day. He will tell us something about the labor movement and about other movements which pertain to the welfare of the workers in general or to the welfare of the poor people. In past years he was a molder by trade and has been closely connected with the movement for years. At one time he was president of the Cleveland Federation of Labor and is now serving as commissioner of the street railway system. He was interested with former Mayor Johnson in reducing the street car fares in this city to three cents. He is devoting all his time to the interest of labor in this and other cities. I therefore feel it an honor and a pleasure to introduce to you as the next speaker our friend Peter Witt of Cleveland.

Mr. Witt expressed the pleasure he felt in being able to appear before the convention, and spoke in part as follows:

I appreciate the work you have before you and the cost to the organization to maintain you here, so I will not take up much of your time. I can also see the needlessness of men trying to tell you why the people who produce the wealth of this world should be organized. Your very presence here adds testimony greater than I can give as to the necessity of organization. Since the time that one man ascended the back of another man the labor problem has been in the world, and he who, as Tolstoy said, is riding upon the back of another will do everything for the one except get off his back.

The struggle has manifested itself in many, many phases during the thousands of years from the time it commenced to the moment we are here now. The labor movement as we understand it today is, of course, a modern institution; it is coincident with the building of cities, and the building of cities as we find them today was caused by two things: one the building of the locomotive and the other the invention of the McCormick reaper. When Cyrus McCormick invented an agricultural implement that enabled one man to produce on a piece of land enough to feed a hundred he liberated from the soil hundreds of thousands of people. Those who were liberated from the soil migrated to the city in order to make things for themselves and for those who remained on the soil.

It often makes me smile to hear a politician say that he or his political party have been instrumental in bettering the conditions of the people. He will point to the carpets we have in the homes of the workers today that were not in the homes of people of wealth fifty or sixty years ago. It is not the politician, but the inventive genius and the aid of the worker that make it possible. That was the beginning of the making of cities as we understand them, and you may read and talk about and discuss "back to the land," but it means nothing. Of course in the end I believe land must be free. Until that time workers will be slaves, there is absolutely no escape from that proposition; but we are never going back to the land; fewer and fewer will be employed, the cities will become greater, and as they grow and become greater, competition will become fiercer and sharper. Then men cannot stand individually and protect their rights as workers.

You know that when labor organizations commence to exercise the power that comes as a result of numbers they are criticized. You hear this criticism especially when labor organizations say there shall be but one apprentice for so many journeymen. It is said that labor organizations are trying to restrict the market. Of course they are; they are trying to do what everybody else is trying to do, restrict the number in the industry they are employed in. If we did not do that we would not be human, for every person tries to secure for himself the greatest possible return with the least expenditure of human exertion. Were it not for that law we would still be on all-fours in the jungles of Africa. It is the desire to get more and give less that has put us on our feet and covered us with clothes. It comes with very poor grace from the people on the other side who say that labor organizations are trying to get a monopoly of work. Do they not own the privileges? Go down to Washington and listen to the manufacturers who say that labor shall not restrict the number of people

When Cyrus McCormick invented an agricultural implement that enabled one man to produce on a piece of land enough to feed a hundred he liberated from the soil hundreds of thousands of people. Those who were liberated from the soil migrated to the city in order to make things for themselves and for those who remained on the soil.
to be given employment as apprentices in a given occupation, and see them hanging around Congress lobbying for prohibitory laws to prevent the importation of articles in competition with the things they make. They object to labor organizing, they are for the open shop, and yet all the power they have is by reason of the organization which they as manufacturers have secured for themselves.

Mr. Witt spoke briefly of conditions that existed during the strike of the Garment Workers in Cleveland and of the attitude of leading citizens, men who took a prominent part in the civic affairs of the city, who could not see that labor had a right to close the shops, but who arrogated to themselves the right to say who should work and who should not work in the shops.

In speaking of the development of the labor movement Mr. Witt said further: Of course at times it seems to us that the thing is slow, but if one only looks back a few years he can see how really wonderful has been the rapid strides of those who work for a living. Why, we have only to go back fifty years to face the horrible situation of one man being allowed to own another in this country of ours. When you think that only fifty years ago it was considered a divine provision that one man should be allowed to own another because he was black, you will realize the progress that has been made. I can go back in my own time to the period when boys ten or eleven and twelve years of age, and girls of like age, were at work. Now in Ohio they cannot be employed until they are sixteen, and they cannot be employed long hours unless they are eighteen. I hope to see the time in the near future when no boy and no girl will be permitted to be employed in any factory or work until the age of eighteen has been reached. The most damnable thing I can think of in this world is the man who employs children, who coins childish laughter into dollars. Who it is that made possible the stopping of this practice? Who made possible all the things that have moved the entire people of this country onward and upward? It has been the people in the labor organizations, the men who worked and organized. With the strength that comes by co-operation they have been able to force unwilling hands the concessions that now plaster the statute books of the United States.

But there is still much to do, for the freedom that shall be enjoyed by the children that are yet to come and ourselves will be greater than the distance between what people three or four generations ago had and what we today are possessed of. There are a great many things people in the labor organizations must do outside of recognizing the fact that they are craftsmen and craftswomen. There is another struggle, for in the last analysis and when the last word is said this thing is true, that as a result of co-operation labor can force the other side to provide good factory conditions. Labor is able through forcing the politician to write the law to keep the child at home, but in the last analysis labor organizations fall flat when it comes to regulating what they shall pay out of the money they receive. After you have secured all that you can possibly secure as journeymen in the craft in which you are employed it becomes absolutely necessary for you to tackle the greatest of evils, and that is the privilege which manifests itself all over the United States which makes millionaires on one hand and paupers on the other, because you cannot have one without the other.

We are told that in the United States there is a thousand dollars for every man, woman and child, and if one man has a million the other 199 must be penniless. That is the only way you can get rich—you cannot do it by working. I tried it. The only way you can get rich is to get a privilege. Get privilege in some form, and the minute you get it you become a millionaire, you can have a yacht, you can have a brown stone house in town and belong to the country club. And we can take our country cousins up there to see and say that those things belong to a self-made man. But we do not show them a self-made man, we are merely exhibiting ourselves as damn fools for permitting it.

Mr. Witt discussed at some length the question of franchises in cities, relating the struggle of former Mayor Tom L. Johnson to secure three-cent fares for the people of the City of Cleveland. He spoke of the early life, the work and the efforts of Mr. Johnson in behalf of the people. He spoke especially of the opposition of the privileged classes to the work of Mr. Johnson. In concluding that
portion of his speech Mr. Witt said: Mr. Johnson was elected Mayor of Cleveland and he proclaimed that there should be no franchises given at a rate of fare higher than three cents. Of course all the people who owned the franchises knew that Tom Johnson was dishonest that the cry for three-cent fares was only a shibboleth to get into office; that nobody could be carried for three cents; that nobody would want to ride for three cents—they would be so ashamed of paying three cents for a ride that they would hide their faces behind newspapers. But we became accustomed to it. There are one hundred million people in the United States and ninety-eight million of them are not aware that we ride for three cents in Cleveland, and in better cars and over better rails than in other cities. But we cannot get this news out. The Associated Press takes great pains every month to inform the public that we are not riding for three cents, but are bankrupt, yet we have a company here whose stock is above par.

We had a great struggle in this city. I haven't time to explain it. In order to appreciate it you would have had to live here. The labor organizations of this city that owed so much to Tom Johnson were not there, but in a great majority of cases the men who carried dinner buckets stood back of Tom Johnson when he made his fight and established the fact that you can run a large city free from graft, and he made Cleveland a better city to live in. The crowd that wears boiled shirts did not lend much assistance. Those engaged in the game of preserving privilege and belonged to the army of the skinners did not have much sympathy with the army of the skinned. But the struggle went on, and last year alone the people of the city of Cleveland, by reason of the reduction in the rate of fare saved $4,600,000. Instead of fattening the bank book of the owners of the Cleveland Street Railway Company, that money remained with the people.

And what is true of railroads is true of gas and electric lights and everything that is a privilege. We are living in an electrical age. In a month from now we are going to have three-cent, electric lights. That is cheaper than coal oil. Is there any reason why we should be using coal oil or gas in this electrical age? There is only one reason and that reason is privilege and monopoly. If you give some people the right to use the streets of any city and charge what they please they will charge all that traffic will bear. But before we get through every cottage in Cleveland will be illuminated with electricity and we are going to sell it to the people cheaper than they can get coal oil at the corner grocery from John Rockefeller.

Who is entitled to the beneficence of electric light more than the people who work? Should not the wife of the man who works for a living have conveniences in her home? Should she be compelled to use a broom when she ought to have a vacuum cleaner propelled by electricity? Should she be compelled to go out to the woodshed and split wood or bring in dirty coal to get the evening meal? Of course not, but she will do it so long as the workers permit some to have the right to the streets that all should enjoy.

After you have accomplished the things you are after as craftsmen, turn your attention to monopoly and privilege. Privilege must be destroyed, for no matter how much you may secure as workers, if you do not control and annihilate privilege it will take all the benefits away from you in charging you more for the things you need. You may get ten dollars a day as garment workers, but your ten dollars will not be worth fifty cents if you allow privilege to rob you.

The great conflict in Mexico is merely a fight for the peons to get back to the land. They may have all the peace meetings they want to at Niagara Falls, but they cannot stop the onward rush of Carranza and Villa, for these men want to put back on the land the men who have been made peons, the slaves of aristocracy. And the contest that is going on there will go on here. President Wilson himself has said, "My passion is that the people of Mexico be restored to the land.” Well if it is good to restore the people of Mexico to the land it ought to be just as good for the people of the United States and of Europe. We must fight until we make it possible that no man will have to work for another one unless he is willing. And when you create economic conditions under which a man may work for another only as he is willing—if he wants to be a slave, let him—but make it possible that no man must work for another, that there must be an avenue open where he can apply his labor, and the fight will never be won until that time comes.
that every man shall enjoy the full product of his own toil.

Upon behalf of the delegates President Rosenberg thanked the speaker for his presence and for his address.

Mr. Meyer London, of New York, reached the hall just prior to adjournment, escorted by the committee appointed to meet him. He was received with continuous applause and cheers. Delegate H. Dubinsky, on behalf of the Raincoat Makers’ Union of New York, No. 20, presented Mr. London with a handsome bouquet. Mr. London later distributed the flowers to the women delegates to the convention.

President Rosenberg welcomed Mr. London to the convention and stated that the delegates expected him to remain to the end of the convention and assist in the work.

Delegate Lefkowitz moved that Brother London be requested to stay during the entire convention. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12:15 the convention was adjourned to 2 P.M. of the same day.

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2 o’clock P.M. Wednesday, June 3rd, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—S. Ninio, Frank Lopes, A. Babits, Local 9; J. P. Cohen, I. S. Feit, Local 26; Elizabeth Rogen, Local 32; Sam Pismanski, Frank Magnaustria, Local 38; S. Davidson, Local 53; M. Cohen, J. Katz, Local 67; P. Pechersky, Local 78; H. Dean, Local 33.

Delegate Metz requested the privilege of the floor to make a statement. He stated that at the close of the morning session when Meyer London appeared in the hall, President Rosenberg stated that he had been unanimously invited to attend the convention and assist in its work for the success of the organization; that the members of one local stated that he had not been unanimously invited to attend the convention and assist in its work for the success of the organization; that the members of one local stated that he had not been unanimously invited to attend the convention; and the delegates of Local No. 1 had protested. Delegate Metz stated that he was not in accord with the delegate who made that assertion; that Local No. 1 was not against Mr. London with the exception perhaps of a few delegates representing the local, but Local No. 1 as a whole was not to be blamed.

Delegate Kottler stated that no one delegate could speak for Local No. 1, but that each delegate should speak for himself.

Delegate Schlesinger: The President stated that the invitation was unanimous with the exception of No. 1. The motion inviting Brother London was made by a delegate from No. 1.

President Rosenberg: I have made the correction.

Delegate Appiah: I think you had better say that he was invited unanimously with the exception of one delegate who voted against it.

Delegate Padover moved that the chairman vacate the chair and that a chairman be elected.

President Rosenberg declared the motion out of order, stating that the constitution provided who should occupy the chair.

Delegate Koldovsky, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, read the following communication from Cloak and Skirt Makers’ Union, Local 11:

“Brooklyn, N.Y., June 2, 1914.

“Mr. J. A. Dych.

“Dear Sir and Brother: This is to certify that the brother, Brother H. Blustein is the substitute delegate in place of Brother V. Pavlowsky, who was objected to.

“Fraternally yours,

“Executive Board of Local 11

“J. Elkin, Secretary-Treasurer.”

The committee recommended the seating of Delegate Blustein. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Sigman, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

The committee held its first meeting after the adjournment of the morning session and appointed Delegate Sigman chairman and Delegate Amour Secretary. We took up for consideration the resolution received from the Toronto Joint Board and the locals affiliated with it. This resolution was read during the morning session and referred to us for action. We called in the delegates from Toronto and they explained the entire situation. They have about 110 men locked out. They have been out for fourteen weeks. The lockout came on account of the activity of the Toronto locals in organizing the cloak and suit industry in order to prepare them for a general strike to improve conditions.

As soon as the employers got knowledge of this activity they made the first move by
locking out 110 workers in two shops. They expected by that action to bring the local union in Toronto to such a condition that they would not be able to come out with general demands. After being out fourteen weeks they have reached a time when they must have the support of this convention. They have demanded that the convention donate $1,000 for the support of the strike. The committee recommends that the convention donate $500 for the support of the strikers. The committee did not comply with the demand of the Toronto local for $1,000 because the general office is not in a position to donate that amount.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

REPORTS OF OFFICERS

President Rosenberg read his annual report, printed copies of which were distributed to the delegates.

Vice-President Polakoff and Vice President Sigman presided during the reading of the report. The President was assisted in reading the long report by Delegates Sam Martin and E. Rosenberg.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:15 A. M., Thursday, June 4th.

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock, A. M., Thursday, June 4th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—No. 9, L. Hyman, H. Schuster, M. Wiener; No. 10, E. Rosenberg; No. 16, Nathan Glass; No. 17, M. Cohen, A Greschhoff, A. Pesin; No. 23, Jos. Abramsky; No. 32, Elizabeth Rogan; No. 38, J. Finkelstein. S. Pismanoff, S. Rattay; No. 49, Marty Tetzlbaum; No. 52, S. Tauber; No. 58, W. Podnos; No 62, Molly Liebshitz, Ida Pearl; No. 81, A. Gewettisman, Sarah Spanier, I. M. Chatcalf; No. 56, Esther Tauber; No. 64, David Dessell; No. 78, J. Perchasky; No. 83, Howard Dean.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Dyche read the following communications:

Chicago, Ill., June 3, 1914.

Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.

Greeting: We wish you success in solving the problems confronting you at this convention. We hope that your duties to our great union will lead you to positive activity and in positive directions.

Ladies' Tailors' Union,
M. Schushter, Secretary Local 71.

New York, N. Y., June 3, 1914.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention.

2491 East 55th St., Cleveland, O.

Accept our fraternal greetings and wishes for big achievements in your important task.

Jewish Socialist Federation of America.
J. B. Salutsky, Secretary.

New York, June 3, 1914.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention.

Cleveland, O.

Mir shiken unser herzliche begrissung zu der convention von die maechtige Yidische arbeiter organisatimcn un wushehen erfolg in euer arbeit.

Central Verband von Bund in America.

New York, N. Y., June 3, 1914.

Convention of I. L. G. W. U.

Gesangs Hall, 2491 E. 55th St. St., Cleveland, O.

Gentlemen: We wish you success in your proceedings.

Buttonhole Makers' Union, Local No. 58, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. I. Rosen, Secretary.


The Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Germania Hall, Cleveland, O.

We wish you success in your efforts for solidarity beneficial to the wage earners of your craft.

Yours,

The United Hebrew Trades of Philadelphia.

San Landon, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., June 3, 1914.

Convention I. L. G. W. U.
President Rosenberg continued with the reading of his report, Vice-President Polakoff in the chair. The President was assisted in reading the report by Delegate Davidson.

At the close of the report the chairman stated that, in accordance with the law the report would be referred to the Committee on Officers' Reports.

A communication from the Joint Board of Cincinnati was read and referred to the Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

Secretary Dyche read his report, printed topics of which had been distributed to the delegates with the other reports of officers. Vice-President Lefkovits presided during a portion of the session, and the secretary was assisted in reading the report by Delegate Davidson, Local No. 10.

At 12 o'clock the session was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 P. M. of the same day.

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock P. M., Thursday, June 4th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Secretary Dyche proceeded with the reading of his report. Delegate Sam Martin assisted the secretary.

At the close of the reading, upon motion of Delegate Martin, moved that the report of the Secretary-Treasurer and the President be referred to the Committee on Officers' Reports. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Sapin, Local No. 1, stated that he desired to discuss some statements in the report of the Secretary.

President Rosenberg stated that the discussion would not be in order until the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports.

COMMUNICATIONS

The Secretary read the following communications:

New York, N. Y., June 4, 1914.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention.
Cleveland, O.

Wish you successful deliberation. May your convention prove a landmark in the emancipation of the working class.
Jewish Branch S. P., Downtown.
New York.

MEMORIAL FOR ABE CAPLAN

In the worship of God Mammon, many crimes are committed. For profit's sake nothing is so cruel in the eyes of Capital. Thousands of workers are crushed and murdered in piling up gold for their masters who regard them as mere beasts of burden. In upholding such principles the Cloak Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia, brought about the cold blooded murder of one of the most zealous workers in Labor's righteous cause, Abe Caplan. His heart was pierced by the bullet of a strike breaker in an attempt by the Association to break the strike. Instead, the workers resumed their battle with the rising cry, which is still alive, "Avenge the death of Abe Caplan!"

This became the motto of the strikers and the spirit of their beloved comrade inspired them with renewed courage to fight for their cause more devotedly.

We, the Joint Board of the Philadelphia Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, acting as an agent in carrying out the restless will of our members, decided to erect a monument in his honor, so as to keep fresh in the minds of Organized Labor and particularly those of Cloak Makers the memory of our martyr, Abe Caplan.

To accomplish this we must raise a sufficient sum of money. But since the hope in this project rests entirely on private contributions and hoping that you as a delegate to the 12th Convention realize the importance of such an edifice. We, The Joint Board of the Philadelphia Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, ask you as a representative of labor to contribute liberally, thereby showing that you understand labor and its cause and full well deserve to represent it.

Fraternally yours,
MAX Sandler,
MORRIS EDELMAN,
WOLF LEVY,
SAM KRAFZOW,
H. BROWNSTEIN,
S. DAVIDSON,
Monument Committee.

P. S.—All contributions to be given to J Halpern, Local 9, and H. Kleinman, Local 23.

President Rosenberg stated that two committees had been awaiting an opportunity to address the convention, and asked the pleasure of the convention in regard to hearing from them. No objection being offered, the committees were given the privilege of the floor.

Mr. Morris Siskin, representing the Jewish Labor World of Chicago, made a brief address in which he asked for support of that paper. He stated that by the time the next convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was held he hoped there would be a daily Jewish Labor World.

Upon motion the request for assistance was referred to the Committee on Resolutions for action.

Two representatives of the Society for the Aid of Russian Revolutionary Refugees, Mr. Deitch and Miss Melamed addressed the convention, speaking in Yiddish. They asked for assistance for the movement they represented.

Delegate Finkelstein moved that the request of the committee be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. (Seconded.)

A motion to amend was offered, that the mover of the original motion prepare a resolution and present it to the committee. The amendment was seconded and carried, and the motion as amended was adopted.

President Rosenberg: Two days ago you decided almost unanimously to invite Comrade London to attend this convention. I now take pleasure in introducing to you our friend and brother and comrade, Meyer London.

The speaker introduced by the chairman was unable to proceed with his address for several minutes, owing to the applause and cheering that greeted his presence upon the platform.

Mr. Meyer London: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Sisters and Brothers: My heart is too full to speak as freely and as fully as I would care to. I am very grateful to you for this demonstration of kind feeling. I am sure it is entirely unnecessary, as no matter what has happened or may happen between me and the Cloak Makers Union or between me and any other union, I belong to them and they are mine. (Applause.) I want to say, brothers, that I have no feeling of anger, no resentment or antipathy towards the few brothers who disagree with my views.

There is only one enemy the laboring class is confronted with; there is only one powerful and dangerous influence the laboring people have to contend with. As the German Marschallée expresses it: "Der Feind, den wir am weisten hassen, ist die Unwissenheit der Massen."

The victory we have to gain is the victory of that portion of the working class which is awake, which is intelligent, which has thrown off the chains of lethargy; that portion of the laboring people which has begun to reason and which asserts its human rights over that element which is still chained, to the past which still licks the dust of centuries gone by, which still closes its eyes to the sun of enlightenment, which is still blinded by the prejudices and by the darkness which centuries of oppression have surrounded it with. It is almost all the time a struggle with ignorance. And no man is worth anything to the labor movement, no man can be looked upon as a factor in the labor movement if he at any time gets angry at the laboring people, angry at the masses, or angry at a union.

We have had moments of chaos, we have had moments of confusion, we have had moments of suffering, we have had leaders and misleaders—we shall have them, we cannot get rid of them—but there would have been no misleaders, there would have been no deceivers if the laboring class were not suffering. If the thousands of workers made a decent living, if conditions were not miserable. Let us at no moment permit ourselves to forget that we have really only one enemy, and that is the enemy who separates the working class from the opportunity to be free, who divorces the producer from the means of production. Let us never forget it.

I hope that this convention will bring the element of unity, I hope you will be courageous enough, I hope you will be manly enough to discuss every question frankly, openly, without malice, with prejudice, as men should.
The coward is the most dangerous man in the labor movement. And while I may disagree with some things which some of the officers have done, let me tell you that I respect a hundred times more the officer who will openly oppose me, provided I know he is one hundred per cent honest, provided I know he speaks his mind and I know that every word he says he believes in. We need honesty in the movement; we need that kind of honesty which is not afraid of anybody, not even of the newspapers. We need the kind of honesty where a man speaks his mind openly. You must have differences of opinion, but those differences of opinion should not divert your attention from the principal issues before you.

I hope that this convention which is held in the city of Cleveland, where in the year 1911 six thousand men waged for twenty-two weeks a bitter and cruel war for the recognition of human rights, will work for unity. In this city, where a few Bourbons of the needle imagine that they are stronger than humanity, stronger than the laws of civilization, stronger than the labor movement, in this city where they had believed that they gave us a death blow, in this city a hundred thousand strong we defy them and will defy them to the end. I wish they had their agents here, I wish they had their emissaries here to see the intelligent way in which our men and women, our sisters and brothers will discuss the serious problems which affect the lives of 100,000 workers—a hundred thousand workers! One hundred local unions from the Atlantic to the Pacific!

We had unions some time ago—they existed on paper. We had agitators who were irritators only. We had a movement that moved backward. We talked about a social revolution and had a 70-hour week! We talked about reorganizing the whole world in a day, and down under our very noses people slaved in the sweat shops! The word "sweat-shop" was inseparable from the word "tailor." Jewish industries were supposed to be sweat-shop industries. The Jew in America! What did the American public think of him? A Jew was either a pedlar or a cloak manufacturer, an Italian was supposed to be a boot-black or a seller of bananas. They looked with contempt upon us and told us we could not organize, that we could not unite; but if a day will ever come when the American historian will analyze and study the contribution of the Jew to American progress and American civilization he will speak of this glorious organization as one of the greatest achievements of the age.

Today, friends and comrades, what do we find? The New York Times, the most conservative type of the bourgeois American paper, the New York Times a short time ago told the American people, told President Wilson that an effort should be made to settle the Colorado strike on the basis of the collective agreement which exists in the needle industries in New York. Professor Seligman, of Columbia, has also suggested that one of the ways of settling the Colorado problem is to adopt a collective agreement of the nature which prevails in New York. Professor Seligman takes a phrase which I—and permit me to use the word "I"—which I used for the first time in 1910 when the bosses said they would not give you a closed shop. I said we did not fight for the closed shop, because there was an open union every worker had a chance to work in the trade; and today Professor Seligman uses the term "open union," which was used by the attorney of the despised Jewish tailors of New York.

We have contributed our share to American progress; we occupy the third place among the international unions of the American Federation of Labor; and while we have our great and serious problems—and I hope you will discuss them with the seriousness they deserve—some of them are so complex so interwoven that we will take them along with the social revolution, and some of us—myself included—after the coming of the social revolution will have to be appointed a committee to settle some of the troubles in the cloak industry. But one thing is certain, we must have unity. I want you to leave this convention when the time arrives for leaving it with more love in your hearts than you came with. There can be no union on paper. Union means something. Are we a union of discordant, confusing, conflicting elements? Are we a union of men and women inspired by the one idea of fighting the fight of the working class? Shall we have a union or disunion?

Let us go back to our constituencies with the conviction that we have cemented, that we have perfected, that we have strengthened
this organization, because serious are our problems, powerful are our enemies, great are the conflicts which await us.

I thank you, brothers, for the kindness you have shown me. I have not for one minute thought of deserting the cloak makers. But when the ship was on fire, having on board a captain who was blind, and sailors who were drunk I thought it a sensible thing to step aside so that I could come at the proper time and lend a helping hand. May my hand rot if I ever refuse to give the best that is in me to the working class of America.

Delegate Martin: I move you that this convention have spread upon its minutes a vote of confidence extended to Counselor London for the efficient work he has done for the Cloak Makers.

The motion was seconded and carried by rising vote.

President Rosenberg announced that the Committee on Arrangements had arranged a banquet for the delegates, to be held in the building in which the convention was being held, at eight P. M.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 o'clock A. M., Friday, June 5th.

FIFTH DAY—FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order at 9:15 o'clock A. M., Friday, June 5th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—No. 1, A. Goldstein; No. 20, S. Caplan; No. 32, Elizabeth Rogan; No. 35, M. Goldofsky; No. 58, L. Nigen; W. Posnof; No. 67, Jay Katz. No. 78, P. Peechersky; No. 83, Howard Dean; No. 98 A. Groban.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Dyche read the following:

Washington, D. C., June 4, 1914.

Mr. John Dyche,
East 55th and Quincy, Cleveland, O.

In my address before convention I unfortunately omitted to urge that convention authorize officers of International Union or a committee to meet with representatives of United Garment Workers and Journeymen Tailors' Union for the purpose of bringing about closer co-operation or amalgamation. Kindly urge the convention in the interests...
Union Label Department of the A. F. of L.
That will bring the matter on the floor and
enable you to discuss it. We know what
the label has done for the organizations
in the label trades. We find from the re-
port of Frank Morrison, Secretary, that
in the last year 500,000 members have been
added to the American Federation of Labor.
This indicates that the working people of
the United States are beginning to under-
stand that as individuals they will not be
able to gain concessions from their em-
ployers; but when they are in an organiza-
tion their wages are increased, they have
more time for mental improvement because
of their shorter working day, and their
standard of living has been improved.

President McAndrew spoke at some
length on the necessity of all organized
workers purchasing articles that bear the
union label. He described the conditions
that exist in the plants of the American
Tobacco Company, where men, women and
children work under the most deplorable
conditions, and described the conditions in
some of the sewing trades where women
work long hours for a mere pittance.

Delegate Leader asked the chair why it
was that delegates were not asked to speak
at the banquet held in the convention hall
the previous evening, but this privilege was
enjoyed by local politicians. The President
stated that the banquet had been arranged by
the cloakmakers' organization of Cleveland,
that Mr. Meyer London had been requested
to act as toastmaster, but had declined, and
that Mr. Louis Katz, who had acted as
toastmaster, had made up his own list of
speakers.

Secretary Koldofsky, Secretary of the
Committee on Credentials, reported as fol-
lowing:
Your committee has received the creden-
tials of Ida LaPorte, of Corset Workers'
Union No. 82, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and
recommend that she be seated.
The committee has also received credentials
for a substitute for Miss Pierson, who is not
able to attend the convention. The Kala-
mazo local requests that Miss Belle Yount be
seated instead.
Delegate Solovioff moved that the two
deleagtes be seated. (Seconded and car-
ried.)
The committee reported that a credential
had been received for Mrs. Mary J. Cohen,
Secretary of the Cloak and Skirt Makers'
Auxiliary to Local No. 67, Toledo, Ohio,
and recommended that she be seated with-
out a vote.

Upon motion, the recommendation of the
committee was adopted, and Mrs. Cohen
seated without a vote.

REPORT OF LABEL AND BOYCOTT
COMMITTEE
Delegate Kottler, Chairman of the Com-
mittee, reported as follows:
The committee has not had anything re-
ferred to it so far. In the special conven-
tion in Yonkers a committee was appointed
to report on the matter of a label on white
goods. Mr. Stone worked with that com-
mittee and we would like to have him ex-
plain his plan.

At the meeting of the Label and Boycott
Committee, held on June 5, 1914, the fol-
lowing resolution was adopted:
WHEREAS, Mr. N. I. Stone, who made
an investigation in the waist and dress in-
dustry for the Wage Scale Board in con-
nection with Local No. 25, has been always-
engaged with Brothers Polakoff, Dyche
and Rosenberg in working out plans for
the white protocol label, and
WHEREAS, Mr. N. I. Stone is in pos-
session of expert knowledge and advice on
that question, and
WHEREAS, His plans and recommenda-
tions would be of great value to our I. L.
G. W. U., therefore be it
RESOLVED, That this 12th Convention
of the I. L. G. W. U. extend an invitation
to Mr. Stone to come and address this
convention and bring his suggestions before
the Delegates and before the Label and
Boycott Committee.

P. KOTTLE,
Chairman,
S. HAIMAN,
Secretary,
A. RIBACK,
M. J. COHEN,
J. PORTNOY,
S. TREDLER,
J. XINFO,
MAX GOLDBEIN.

A motion was made and seconded to
adopt the report of the committee.
Vice-President Amdur stated that if Mr.
Stone had any recommendations to make, they should have been in the hands of the committee that was appointed to investigate the question of a label on white goods.

Delegate Switsky stated that she saw no necessity for bringing Mr. Stone to the convention, that some of the members of the committee who worked with Mr. Stone were present, and if he had any suggestions to make, he should have made them to the delegates who were to attend the convention.

Delegate Baroff stated that it was not necessary to pay the expense of having Mr. Stone come to the convention, as Vice-President Polakoff was familiar with the work of the label committee, and other delegates present were familiar with the work of some of the men who have been working on that committee.

Delegate Silver stated that Mr. Stone had said that although he was in favor of introducing a white goods label to the public he did not have any plan, and suggested that the committee or the Executive Board work out a plan.

Delegate Goldstein stated that he had been informed that Mr. Stone would be glad to appear in the convention and give all the information he possibly could, and suggested that the matter of expense be not considered.

Vice-President Lekovits stated it was not necessary to spend money to have Mr. Stone come to the convention, that Vice-President Polakoff could give all the information possessed by Mr. Stone.

The question was discussed briefly by Chairman Kottler of the Committee and Delegate Ninfo.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost.

Delegate Solovioff stated that the convention had instructed Delegate Finkelstein to prepare a resolution as suggested by the representative of the Society for the Aid of Russian Revolutionary Refugees, that Delegate Finkelstein had done so and the resolution had not been received by the chairman.

The chairman stated that he had not refused to receive the resolution, that the statement was an error and it would be received and referred to the proper committee when presented.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE BOARD

Delegate Kleinman, Seventh Vice-President, read the report of the Executive Board. Printed copies were distributed to the delegates and the report referred to the Committee on Officers' Reports.

Mrs. Mary J. Cohen, seated as fraternal delegate from the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Auxiliary to Local No. 67, was granted the privilege of the floor. Mrs. Cohen explained the work that had been done by the Auxiliary, urged that auxiliaries be established in other cities, and asked that a charter be granted by the International. Mrs. Cohen explained at some length the work that had been done by the Toledo Auxiliary.

Upon motion the request for a charter for the auxiliary was referred to the Committee on Organization.

Mr. Barney Cohen, representing the Jewish Consumptive Relief Committee of Los Angeles, California, was granted the privilege of the floor, and spoke briefly of the work being carried on in Los Angeles to establish a home for consumptives. He stated that a tract of land had been secured near the mountains and some buildings erected, but more money was needed to take care of the large number of afflicted people who came from eastern cities to Southern California for the benefit of their health. He described at some length the character of the institution they hoped to complete.

Upon motion the request for assistance was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Jack Williams, Business Agent for the International Association of Machinists of Cleveland and vicinity, was granted the privilege of the floor. Mr. Williams extended to the convention the fraternal greetings of the machinists, and expressed his personal good wishes for the success of the convention. He stated that his principal purpose in appearing before the convention was to ask that the delegates when they returned to their homes make an effort to have the men who adjust the sewing machinery in their shops become mem-
bers of the International Association of Machinists. He stated that in large shops a number of such men were employed and they were all eligible to membership in the I. A. of M.

President Rosenberg stated that it would be advisable to have a delegate introduce a resolution calling attention of our members in the United States and Canada to the fact that the men who adjust the machines should be members of the International Association of Machinists.

A partial report was made by the committee appointed to solicit funds for the erection of a monument to Abe Caplan, the young man murdered during the Philadelphia strike.

President Rosenberg stated that no other committees had reports ready to present to the convention, and suggested that the convention might adjourn for the day to allow the committees to work.

Delegate Gorenstein moved that the convention adjourn to 9:15 A. M., Saturday, June 6th, in order to give the committees an opportunity to work.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 11:15 A. M. the rules were suspended and the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:15 A. M., Saturday, June 6th.

SIXTH DAY—SATURDAY MORNING SESSION.

Cleveland, Ohio, June 6, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock A. M., Saturday, June 6. President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—No. 10, Max Gorenstein; No. 32, Elizabeth Rogan; No. 50, Morris Sirot; No. 69, Becky Stein.

COMMUNICATIONS

The Secretary read the following telegrams:

New York, June 5, 1914.

International L. G. W. Union, Cleveland, Ohio.

We congratulate you and wish the best of success to the entire working class.

Local 64, I. Engler, Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Vice-President Kleinman, Secretary to the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 100

WHEREAS, There is a strong sentiment among the members of the locals of the Western States that the International should have its headquarters in the West; and

WHEREAS, New York has already been organized, and the services of the general officers are more strongly required in the Western States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 12th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. decides that the headquarters of the International should be removed to either Cleveland or Chicago (leaving the choice of the two cities to the decision of the General Executive Board; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this decision be carried out within six months after the 12th convention.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS, Local 1.
H. WAGNER, J. B. N. Y.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.

Delegate Copstein: I move that the report of the committee be concurred in. (Seconded.)

Delegate Ashpis opposed the recommendation of the committee and spoke in favor of the resolution. Delegate Schuster spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Vice-President Lefkovits in the chair.

RESOLUTION NO. 179

"Sec. 1, Article 3. Strike out the word 'biennially,' and insert 'every three years.'" 

HARRY SCHUSTER, Local 9.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.

Delegate A. Cohen moved that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in. (Seconded and carried.)

RESOLUTION NO. 101

Amendment. No member shall be eligible to run as a delegate to the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union unless he or she has attended most of
the meetings of the local union for the three months prior to the election for delegate.

JOSEPH ABRAMSKY,
Delegate Local 23.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Slogak opposed the recommendation of the committee and favored the resolution, stating that any member who desired to become a delegate could attend the local meetings at least three months prior to the convention.

Delegate Kottler spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Weiner spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried, by a vote of 65 in the affirmative to 22 in the negative.

RESOLUTION NO. 9
WHEREAS the expense incurred to the different locals by sending such great representations to our Conventions is very great, and
WHEREAS the interests of our locals could be as well represented by a smaller number of delegates; and
WHEREAS that this could be spent to great advantage in propagating our ideas, therefore be it
RESOLVED that to the next Convention the representation to our Convention should consist of one delegate from a local of more than 100, but less than a thousand members, and an additional delegate to each additional 2000 members.

S. HAIMAN,
Local No. 25.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.

Delegate Pismannoff: I move to concur in the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Haiman opposed the recommendation of the committee and spoke in favor of the resolution. He stated that locals were growing rapidly and the time would probably arrive when his local would have to send twenty delegates to represent the membership instead of twelve.

Vice-President Kleinman stated that the constitution now provides that no local can send more than twelve delegates.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

WHEREAS, The reports of the officers are of great importance to the delegates, and WHEREAS, In order that the delegates have full knowledge of the contents of the reports, and WHEREAS, The reports are being distributed at the convention to the delegates, a procedure that does not enable the delegates to study the reports; be it therefore RESOLVED, That the officers' reports be sent to delegates two weeks prior to the convention.

M. JACOBINSKY, Local 17,
ABE PESSIN, Local 17
L. LANGER, Local 35.

The committee recommended that the eighth and part of the ninth lines of Article V. Sec. 14 be stricken out, beginning with the words, "The committee shall have their reports," etc., and insert instead the following: • "The reports of the International President, General Secretary-Treasurer, G. E. B. and Accountant of the general office shall be prepared and printed and mailed to the delegates one week prior to the general convention."

A motion was made and seconded in the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Dychc suggested that before the committee made amendments affecting the affairs of the International office they should have consulted the secretary.

He thinks that while it is quite feasible for the Officers' Reports to be ready one week prior to the opening of the Convention, it is quite different, however, with the Report of the Accountant. The accounts of the General Offices closes on the last day of April and it is a physical impossibility to have them ready in less than a month's time.

Delegate Baroff: I move that the word "accountant" be omitted from the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Aspitis stated that they should be sent out more than a week prior to the convention, as delegates from California and other distant places would not get them before the opening of the convention.

The amendment was seconded, and carried, and the recommendation of the committee as
amended was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 180

Article 7, Section 1. Change to read as follows:

The General Executive Board shall have the power to declare a levy of five (5) cents per member per week on all affiliated local unions for a continuous period not exceeding ten (10) weeks in any one year to assist an affiliated local union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

M. DEITCH, Local 9.

The committee recommended the rejection of the amendment, and recommended that the following be added to present Section 1 of Article 7: "Such assessment should be collected from the members by the locals through assessment stamps issued by the I. L. G. W. U.

Vice-President Kleinman: The committee believes five cents is not enough assessment to support a long strike. The question was raised by Local 10 some time ago as to whether the local had a right to advance the assessment from its treasury and not collect it from the members. The present constitution does not say whether that is proper or not. This will provide that the locals must collect from the members. It may be advanced by the locals, but they must collect from the members.

Delegate Switzky stated that locals might advance the money and not be able to collect from the members.

Delegate Slopak spoke in favor of the amendment recommended by the committee.

Delegate A. Cohen stated that locals might become involved in suits in court, injunction cases, etc., and would need the money for immediate use.

Delegate Lefkovits stated that the money should be advanced by the locals for immediate use, but it would have to be collected from the membership later.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Delegate Silver asked for a roll call on the motion. The demand was not supported by ten delegates, and the roll was not called.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 105

Amendment: That every officer business agent, secretary or president has the right to take away the union book from a member when any one of the above officers finds it necessary.

JOSEPH ABRAMSKY,
Delegate Local 23.

The committee ordered the following as a substitute for the resolution:

Insert the following as Section 2 of Article 9: "The membership due-books or cards issued by the locals to the members are to remain the property of the local by whom they are issued, and cannot be sold, exchanged, or given away, and can be revoked by the local union or its authorized officers at any time they deem it necessary."

(M. Deitch, Local 9, S. Polakoff, Local 9.

The committee also recommended that the present sections numbered 2 and 3, Article 9, be changed to Sections 3 and 4.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Slopak opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Seidman spoke in opposition to the resolution. Delegate Dubester opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Epstein raised a point of order that the recommendation of the committee did not provide a legal way for taking a card away from a member.

The point was declared not well taken.

President Rosenberg opposed the provision of the resolution which would allow local officers and business agents to take up the cards, and spoke in favor of the amendment offered by the committee.

Delegate J. P. Cohen and Delegate Deitch spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Ahramsky spoke in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The recommendation offered by the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 181

Article 14, Section 7 to read: Local unions shall not charge initiation fee to members traveling from one locality to another of the same branch of the trade if she or he has been a member of the I. L. G. W. U. for more than two years.

M. DEITCH, Local 9.
Vice-President Keinman: Some time ago the General Executive Board rendered a decision that this clause should only apply to those who had been members for six months. The authors of this amendment think that is not long enough to belong before being transferred. The author of the resolution agreed to have it amended to read: “Add the following to Section 7 of Article 14: Providing he or she has been a member of the I. L. G. W. U. for at least one year, providing the local has been in existence for that time.”

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Solovioff offered as a minority report that the member be permitted to transfer after six months.

Delegate Ashpis moved as a substitute that after a member has been in the organization for six months, in a local outside of the city, he be allowed to transfer without additional initiation, but that a local in the city transferring would have to be a member one year before transferring without additional initiation.

Delegate Silver opposed the majority report. Vice-President Kleinman: The majority report does not prevent a local issuing a transfer to a member who has been in a day or a week, and it does not allow the other local to refuse the transfer if the difference in the initiation is paid.

Delegates Spivak opposed the majority report and favored the minority report. Delegate Student spoke in favor of the majority report. Delegate Switzky spoke in favor of the minority report. She stated that it appeared the locals with high initiation fees did not want any members on transfers, but they wanted the members to join their locals first and pay the high fees.

Delegate Chachkes spoke in favor of the majority report.

Delegate Solovioff spoke in favor of the minority report. Delegate Leader, or the committee, favored the majority report. Delegate Silver and Delegate Martin discussed the question briefly.

Debate was closed by a vote of 58 to 51.

Chairman Lefkovits explained the minority and majority report both in English and Yiddish.

Delegate Lefkovits declared the substitute offered by Delegate Ashpis out of order, because no distinction could be made between New York locals and other locals, as the International organization’s laws were for all locals alike.

More than ten delegates asked for a roll call on the majority report.

Secretary Dyche called the roll, which resulted as follows:

Roll call on majority report of Committee on Amendment to Section 7, Article 14, providing for membership of one year before transferring without payment of difference in initiation fees:

Ayes—Delegates Ashpis, Goldstein, Kottler, Metz, Meyerson, Schlesinger, Sapin, Student, Local No. 1; Caplan, Etkins, Rotkovitz, Local No. 4; Bernstein, Babitz, Deitch, Halpern, Hymen, LaPorta, Lopes, Nifin, Schuster, Buchbinder, Local No. 9; Cohen (J. P.); Beaver, Davidson, Epstein, Martin, Nagel, Pierce, Local No. 10; Levy, Cohen (W.); Huston, Swet, Local No. 11; Cohen (Max), Blumenson, Gerchekoff, Jacobinsky, Leader, Psas, Local 17; Chachkes, Local 21; Abramsky, Comunale, Dubester, Fest, Gransky, Kleinman, Prisant, Singer, Local 23; Polakoff, Silberman, No. 25; Irazaifer, Ciccone, Goldberg, Kimerdorsky, Koslovsky, Langer, De Martino, Siegman, Zuckerman, No. 38; Dickstein, Local No. 41; Davidson, Local No. 53; Edlin, Local No. 78; La Porta (Ida), Yount, Local No. 82; Reznikoff, Local No. 90; Groban, Local No. 98; Rosenberg (A.), Wagner, J. B. members—67.

Nays—Delegates Padover, Rubin, Local No. 1; Amdur, Grishkin, Polen, Local No. 2; Lefkovits, Weiner, Local No. 9; Rosenberg (E.), Local No. 10; Flashner, Local No. 12; Jacobs, Sheinberg, Local No. 13; Hochman, Koldofsky, Kruger, Shor, Local No. 14; Kivenko, Auerbach, Local No. 19; Weisman, Dubinsky, Kurinsky, Riback, Singer, Local No. 20; Slopak, Local No. 23; Barnoff, Block, Haiman, Holtzman, Portnoy, Switzky, Chapiro, Silver, Seidman, Witasliski, Local No. 25; Cohen (A.), Feit, No. 26; Glassman, Meader, Local No. 28; Gelbert, Local No. 31; Finkelstein (J.), Magnavita, Pismanoff, Ratby, Spivak, Solovioff, Local No. 38; Tatelbaum, Local No. 49; Tauber (E.), Local 50; Tauber (S.), Local No. 52; Berman, Finkelstein (A.), Posen, Shein, Local No. 56; Nigen, Local No. 58; Simon, Local No. 61;
Horowitz, Landio, Lifshitz, Pearl, Rock, Smitslive, Local No. 62; Borrowich, Local No. 63; Binder, Slovick, Local No. 65; Cohen (Morris), Katz, Local No. 67; Stein, Local No. 69; Zeigman, Bessin, Local No. 70; Strausberg, Local No. 71; Kurland, Local No. 73; Davidson, Morris, Local No. 81; Cohen (Benj.), Dean, Local No. 83; Hering, Local No. 90; Tredler, Hiors, Local No. 92; Copstein, Local No. 108; Labensohn, Gleckman, Glassman, Sandler, Fusfield, J. B. members.

Vice-President Kleinman: The committee recommends further that the above mentioned section be transferred from Article 14 to Article 17, as Section 5, and that Sections 5, 6, 7, and 8, of Article 17, be changed to Sections 6, 7, and 9. This section deals with transfer and clearance cards and should be placed in Article 17. There are no changes in the other sections, except in the numbers.

Upon motion of Delegate Cohen the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Kurinsky asked permission to introduce a resolution. More than two-thirds of the delegates voted in favor and the resolution was introduced and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Delegate Schlesinger, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

"Cleveland, Ohio, June 6, 1914.
To the Officers and Delegates of the Twelfth Convention:
Your Committee on Organization begs to submit to you the following report on the various resolutions submitted to it for consideration. We have considered Resolutions Nos. 68, 85, 76, 77, 82, 83, 84 together.

RESOLUTION NO. 68
To the Delegates to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention, Cleveland, O.
Dear Brothers:
We, Local 75, G. W. U., are sending to you our best greetings and wishes in your great work to accomplish the organizing of the entire ladies' garment workers' industry, and

WHEREAS, The organizing can be accomplished only in every town where ladies' garments are made a strong local is in existence, as that is the root of inspiration that made us organize and to work for our local, and in order to have our local on the road to progress and make us the power in control of the ladies' garment industry in our city we must have an organizer. The question has been considered at many of our meetings and at our regular meeting held May 25, 1914, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, To bring this matter before you brother delegates in the belief that you will grant our request and decide that an organizer should be sent to us, beginning with the month of August, 1914, and with the aid of the organizer we will organize the entire trade to the satisfaction of the membership of our local and everywhere.

Believing that you will fulfill our wishes, which are to the welfare of our International,
Fraternally yours.
Local 75, I. L. G. W. U.,
Secretary, Philip Franklin.
President, A. Rubin.

RESOLUTION NO. 85
Cleveland, Ohio, June 3, 1914.
WHEREAS, Our local unions from all over the country are constantly and persistently petitioning the general offices for organizers to the extent that the demand is always ahead of the supply, and
WHEREAS, The present situation all over the country makes it necessary for us to increase our energy, augment our forces and special vigilance, and it would also be advisable to improve our organizing system, and
WHEREAS, All this could not be done with the small number of organizers heretofore commissioned; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to commission not less than five male organizers, one for each of the following territories:
The Pacific Coast and extreme Western States.
The Middle Western States.
The Eastern States.
New York City and vicinity, and Canada; and, be it further
RESOLVED, That the incoming G. E. B. commission at the earliest possible time three women organizers to cover the whole ground.

S. HOFFMAN, Local 14.
A. BESSIN, Local 70.
L. TREDLER, Local 92.

RESOLUTION NO. 76
WHEREAS. The manufacturing of ladies' garments has spread to many small towns, and
WHEREAS. In those towns non-union conditions prevail and are inferior to the conditions existing in our organized big cities, and
WHEREAS. The organizing in such towns is too costly if attempted by each individual local, and
WHEREAS. The establishment of joint offices by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for the purpose of organizing those few shops of the different branches would reduce enormous expense which was incurred until now by the different locals; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That the I. L. G. W. U. should establish such offices in every town where ladies' garments are manufactured and that the expense for the same be covered by the I. L. G. W. U.
S. HAIMAN, Local 25.

RESOLUTION NO. 77
WHEREAS. There are established factories in various cities and small towns which produce section work, and these compete with our unions, and it is impossible for the individual locals to organize there, and the I. L. G. W. U. has not done anything yet to organize them; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That the convention of the I. L. G. W. U. decide that the General Executive Board furnish organizers to organize the cities and small places where cloaks, skirts and dresses are produced.
JACOB DUBESTER, Local 23.

RESOLUTION NO. 82
WHEREAS. The circumstances of Local No. 34, Ladies' Tailors of Baltimore, were such that after being in existence for eight years they were compelled to return their charter and amalgamate with the cloak-makers' local No. 4 of Baltimore in order to be a stronger force and be able to fight for better conditions for their members, and
WHEREAS. Local No. 4 in a brotherly way accepted us and are glad to help us along, but are not able financially to do so; therefore, be it
RESOLVED. That a special organizer be assigned immediately for Baltimore, to help them to bring to victory the ladies' tailors of Baltimore.
Hoping that this convention will grant our just demands.
S. ETKIN.
S. CAPLAN.
A. ROTKOWITZ,
Delegates of Local No. 4.

RESOLUTION NO. 84
WHEREAS. The cloak and skirt industry is increasing every day, bigger and bigger, and
WHEREAS. The cloak and skirt industry is growing bigger and bigger not only in Los Angeles but in every big city of the Pacific Coast on account of the small wages paid and the workers of this trade not being entirely organized, and
WHEREAS. The opening of the Panama Canal will bring us thousands of workers and we must be ready to have those workers organized in our unions; therefore, be it
RESOLVED. That the convention of the I. L. G. W. U. give the power to the incoming G. E. B. and order said body to appoint an organizer for the Pacific Coast, with his headquarters in Los Angeles.
S. TAUER, Local 52.

RESOLUTION NO. 83
WHEREAS. The white goods industry is spread over small towns in the state of New Jersey and a few big cities in other states of the Union where the workers are absolutely unorganized, and
WHEREAS. These workers are in constant competition with the members of the White Goods Workers' Union, Local 62, in regard to prices and hours of labor.
and
WHEREAS. This state of affairs is detrimental to the interests and life of Local 62 and also the trade in general; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That the Twelfth Convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board to assign an organizer for this particular trade outside of the city of New York.

GUSSE LANOIO,
EVA SMITHLIVE,
IDA PEARL,
A. RACK,
IDA HOREWITZ,
MOLLY LIFSHITZ.

Delegate Schlesinger: All these resolutions contain requests that the International appoint organizers, men and women, to organize and strengthen the trades under the jurisdiction of the L. L. G. W. U. The Organization Committee is fully in accord with the spirit expressed in all these resolutions and unanimously recommends that the incoming Executive Board should, at its first meeting after the convention, take up the question and see that organizers are sent to whatever part of the country it finds necessary and as far as the finances of the organization will permit.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 86

Cleveland, Ohio, June 3, 1914.

WHEREAS, Past experience has proved in numerous instances that our local unions, in particular those outside New York City, have been and are oftentimes at a disadvantage in securing the most able and proper persons to fill the position of business agents, and

WHEREAS, A number of local unions have had their possible progress impeded by reason of the aforementioned fact, and the lack of proper timely advice and recommendation, and

WHEREAS, The International officers are most of the time in a position by reason of their experience and their closer connection to judge and to recommend as to the proper place; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention decide that it shall be the duty of the International officers to advise, recommend, guide and aid in securing whenever necessity arises in our local unions proper persons to fill a paid office.

S. KOLDENSKY, Local 14,
L. TREDLER, Local 92.

The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution.

Delegate Schlesinger: The committee feels if it is made the duty of the general officers to recommend business agents it will enable them to build up a very strong machine. We therefore recommend its rejection.

Delegate A. Cohen stated that the Committee on Officers’ Reports had a recommendation to the same effect, and opposed the report of the committee.

Delegate Schlesinger stated it was not the intention of the recommendation of the committee to curtail the power of the International officers; that if the recommendation of the committee should be adopted it would not mean that the locals would not have a right to consult the officers as to who would be the best men for business agents, etc.

President Rosenberg: This resolution cannot be voted on either way, for the reason that it conflicts with the constitution, and until the rights of the local unions, their autonomy rights, are defined we cannot act upon it. I suggest that it be returned to the committee, and whenever any plan is worked out to cover local autonomy it can be taken up.

Upon motion the resolution was recommitted to the committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 79

WHEREAS, It has been clearly demonstrated that the General Executive Board failed to propagate the message of trade unionism through educating the members, and

WHEREAS, Educational enterprises are an absolute necessity for the welfare of our organization and to the labor movement at large; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the next incoming General Executive Board shall organize a committee whose sole duty shall be educational work, such as publishing all kinds of books which reach our members, also to organize educational clubs, in our locals, etc.

A. BABITZ,
HARRY SCHUSTER, Local 9.

RESOLUTION NO. 178

WHEREAS, The growth of our Interna-
tional Union is largely impeded, because of said lack of education on the part of our members on trade union principles, ethics and history. And, which in turn is not conducive to supply a sufficient number of men and women qualified for intelligent diplomatic and responsible leadership;

WHEREAS, The administration of trade union affairs tend to become more complicated and difficult, as time and industry progress and it requires a great deal of tact, diplomacy and general intelligence of trade unionism to successfully manipulate the union's affairs for the good of all.

WHEREAS, Recent history of our organization has brought out glaringly the ever conspicuous absence of responsible and intelligent leadership. Inasmuch as outside forces had to be called upon for the manipulating of our affairs, which unfortunately led to a great deal of internal troubles and which in turn again necessitated the calling in of outside forces and influence for its pacification.

WHEREAS, It must be the desire of our members in general and its representatives in particular, to avoid all unnecessary internal conflicts and harmful disputes. And thus use our good time and wisdom in creating healthy legislation, harmonies and sane administration through which we shall finally secure economic freedom for all engaged in our Industry.

WHEREAS, To bring about the desired results it is primarily and absolutely necessary to have an intelligent membership from whom we should be in a position to draw our leaders, Executive and Administrating bodies, and.

WHEREAS, This cannot be expected as long as our members will be compelled to take their Trade Union education spasmodically and unsystematically, therefore.

BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the coming G. E. B. to organize, or cause to be organized, with all due speed and earnestness, a systematic education along lines of the corresponding school system gratis to all of our members who shall desire to avail themselves of it; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming G. E. B. be instructed to organize or cause to be organized debating classes in all cities where Locals of our International Union are in existence with a view to still more extending the possibilities for education of masses.

S. KOLDOFSKY, Local 14
L. TREDLER, Local 92

Delegte Schlesinger, Chairman of the Committee: The committee is fully in accord with the spirit of the resolution. We believe our International Union as well as every labor organization should make every effort to educate its members, but a committee could not very well decide upon a question that needs so much time to make definite plans for. The committee recommends that a committee of five, including the International President and Secretary-Treasurer, be appointed, the committee to have full power to act, to meet immediately after the convention and work out the plans and details.

Delegate Seidman moved as an amendment to the report of the committee that there be seven members on the committee, five in addition to the two general officers. (Seconded.)

Delegate Rosenberg (E.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee

The amendment offered by Delegate Seidman was adopted and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

At 1 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 7:15 a. m. Monday, June 8th.

SEVENTH DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Cleveland, Ohio, June 8, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 9:15 A. M., Monday, June 8th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—Delegates W. Cohen, Sweet, Local 11; Jacobs, Local 13; Jacobinsky, Local 17; Weisman, Local 20; Weinstein, Local 22; Holtzman, Local 23; Rogan, Local 32; Posner, Sheines, Local 56; Posnos, Local 58; Cohen, Local 67; Dean, Local 83.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Sigman, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolutions Nos. 2 and 133, dealing with the same subject matter, were covered in one report, as follows:
RESOLUTION NO. 133
WHEREAS, The Jewish Daily Forward is a Socialist paper standing for the interest of the working class, and
WHEREAS, The Forward has always assisted the organized labor in their struggles, and especially our organization, therefore be it RESOLVED, That a vote of thanks be extended.

JOSEPH ABRAMSKY. Delegate Local No. 23.

RESOLUTION NO. 2
WHEREAS the Jewish Daily Paper, the Forward, of New York has in the past shown its loyal devotion to our cause, and has aided and assisted us in all the battles we have undertaken, and
WHEREAS the Forward is even today the only Jewish daily paper that is ready at any time to help us and is really helping us in all the troubles our Union has at the present moment; therefore be it RESOLVED that the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. expresses its heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the Forward for all the assistance rendered our Union in the past, and all the succor it may render us in the future.

M. J. ASPHIS, SAUL METZ, Delegates of Local No. 1.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolutions.
Delegate Copstein: I move to amend to include the New York Call.
President Rosenberg: That is an entirely different resolution.
Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 3
WHEREAS Comrade Daniel DeLeon, foremost member of the Socialist Labor Party and editor of the Weekly People has passed away, and
WHEREAS in his lifetime he devoted all his energy and time to the upliftment of the working class, and
WHEREAS through the death of the comrade, Daniel DeLeon, the working class of the whole world lost one of its best champions of their cause, therefore be it RESOLVED that this Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, expresses its sincerest and deepest sorrow and sympathy for the family of the deceased comrade and be it further RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be sent to the labor press for publication.

S. PISMANOFF, Local No. 36.
M. SIROTA, ESTHER TAUBER, Local No. 50.
SADIE DICKSTEIN, Local No. 41.
ABE SLOVIK, H. BINDER, Local No. 65.
S. LEFKOVITS, M. WEINER, A. BABITZ, L. HYMAN, Delegates of Local No. 9.
H. KRUGER, Local No. 14.
S. HOFFMAN, P. SHEINBERG, Local No. 12.
I. POSEN, Local No. 56.
MARY TATELBAUM, Local No. 49.
M. COHEN, S. FLASHNER, Local No. 12.
H. SHEINES, Local No. 56.
T. JACOBS, J. KIVENKO, L. AUERBACH, Local No. 19.
SAM TAUBER, Local No. 52.
ERNEST MEADER, Local No. 28.
W. HORN, Local No. 92.
B. COHEN, Local No. 83.
H. C. DEAN, Local No. 83.
S. RATTAY, Local No. 38.
The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 58

WHEREAS, The Freie Arbeiter Stimme, a weekly Jewish newspaper, standing for the interests of the working people, and

WHEREAS, The Freie Arbeiter Stimme always assisted the workers in their struggles, and has given the true side of the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 12th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. recommend to all its members to assist the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, financially as well as morally, by reading the paper which represents the best.

(Signed) MAX GORENSTEIN.
Delegate, Local 10.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected on the ground of the irresponsible attitude taken by the paper in question at the time of the controversy in the Hourwich affair against the local union and the I. L. G. W. U.

Delegate Prisant: I move to adopt the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gorenstein spoke at some length in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried by a vote of 74 in the affirmative to 44 in the negative.

RESOLUTION NO. 59

Toledo, Ohio, May 20, 1914.

To the Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Assembled at Cleveland, Ohio:

WHEREAS, Toledo is the nearest city to Cleveland where cloaks are manufactured, and

WHEREAS, The trade is partly disorganized, and

WHEREAS, Our local has done everything possible to organize the trade, but met with no success; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention hereby assembled instruct the incoming General Executive Board to hold their first G. E. B. meeting at Toledo.

Fraternally yours,

M. BAUM, President.
M. J. COHEN, Secretary. Local No. 67.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The following resolutions, dealing with the same subject matter, are covered in one recommendation of the committee:

RESOLUTION NO. 63

WHEREAS, The Cutters are almost the only week workers in the Ladies’ Garment industry of Greater New York, and

WHEREAS, The last report of the Board of Statistics showed that the average cutter works between 20 and 28 weeks a year, and

WHEREAS, It is absolutely necessary to remedy such a deplorable condition in our craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 12th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. go on record favoring a shortening of the working day by one hour, thus reducing the number of hours to 44 per week; eight hours on the first five days and four hours on Saturday; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the General Executive Board be instructed to carry this resolution into effect.

(Signed) MAX GORENSTEIN.
Delegate, Local 10.

RESOLUTION NO. 59

WHEREAS, The International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union at its Eleventh Convention in Toronto, Canada, decided to commence an agitation for an eight-hour work day in the ladies’ garment industry, and

WHEREAS, In our judgment nothing has been done to carry this decision into effect; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention urge upon the incoming G. E. B. to make prep-
arations for such an agitation with all speed.

P. SCHEINBERG, Local 13,
T. JACOBS, Local 13,
K. SIMON, Local 61,
J. KIVENKO, Local 19,
LOUIS AUERBACH, Local 19,
L. LABENSOHN,
J. B. MONTREAL,
M. SHUR, Local 14,
J. GLICKMAN, Joint Board Toronto,
R. HOFFMAN, Local 14.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolutions in regard to the eight-hour day.

Delegate Solovioff asked why others besides cutters were not mentioned, and stated that the other branches of the trade were entitled to the eight-hour day as well.

President Rosenberg: It means all the week workers. The author of one of the resolutions happened to be a cutter and had the interests of his own trade in mind. The other resolution includes every one.

Upon motion of Delegate Gorenstein, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 67

We recommend that the General Secretary-Treasurer should be instructed by this convention to see to it that all the translations of the constitution in other languages shall be correct and just the copy of the English.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS, Local 1.
MORRIS G. LEADER, Local 17.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Cohen, Local 26: I move that we reject the report of the committee.

President Rosenberg: That is a negative motion. I would like to have an affirmative motion.

Delegate Metz (S.): I move the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded.)

Secretary Dyce stated that matters such as dealt with by the resolution should be called to the attention of the International officers not brought into a convention.

Delegate Ashpis spoke in favor of the resolution. He stated that he had found some difference in the copies of the constitution printed in English and Yiddish.

President Rosenberg stated that the constitution was usually changed in conventions, and Delegate Ashpis had probably compared two different editions of the constitution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 136

To the Twelfth Annual Convention I. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS. The three sergeant-at-arms, Abraham Gechekof, Abr. Kaslofsky and Mr. Berkstein, have taken care of the convention, hall to the extent of arranging the chairs and observing order, be it

RESOLVED, That for their good work the International present them each with a gold button of the International.

M. JACOBINSKY, L. 17,
MAX COHEN, L. 17,
B. GILBERT,
M. DAVIS, L. 11,
M. DEITSCH, L. 9,
MR. COHEN, L. 11.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 80

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is organized, not only for the purpose of obtaining immediate improvements of the conditions of the workers under the present wage system, but also for the complete political and economic emancipation of the entire working class from wage slavery, and

WHEREAS, The women workers, while sharing with the rest of the working class the heavy burden of economic oppression, are deprived of the elementary right of political equality; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twelfth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. again solemnly affirm its determination to fight for the political emancipation of women; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board urges upon all its locals
to aid in every possible way the work of women's emancipation.

MOLLY LIFSHTIZ, Local 62.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 81

WHEREAS, The Workingman's Co-operative Society is established and maintained by working people for the benefit of the working class; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. call upon all members of the I. L. G. W. U. to patronize the products sold by the Workingman's Co-operative Society.

HARRY SCHUSTER, Local 9, A. BABITZ,

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The chairman called for reports of committees. No other committees being ready to report, at 10:30 a.m. the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 2 p.m. of the same day.

SEVENTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock P.M., Monday, June 8, 1914. Absentees—Rogan, Local 32; Posnos, Local 58; Borowitch, Local 63. Secretary Dyche read the following telegram:

"Philadelphia, Pa., June 8, 1914.

Convention I. L. G. W. U. Cleveland, Ohio.

Greetings: We wish you success in all your undertakings.

Ladies' Waist Makers' Union, Local No. 15, Ada Rosenfelt, Secretary.

Delegate Tauber, Local 52, obtained the consent of the convention to the introduction of a resolution, and presented the following:

RESOLUTION NO. 182

WHEREAS, There are a number of delegates at the convention from various locals who came here with very little money and some of them are here at their own expense, and

WHEREAS, These delegates are now left penniless therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention appoint a committee of three to investigate this matter and direct the General Secretary Treasurer to provide them with funds from the Treasury of the International Union so as to enable them to stay in this city until the end of the convention.

SAM TAUBER, Local 52.

Delegate Martin: I move that the resolution be adopted. (Seconded and carried.)

The chairman appointed on the committee provided for in the resolution Vice-President Polakoff, Delegate Cohen, Local 26, and Delegate Gerzhekoff, Local 17.

Delegate Morris Deitch asked permission to resign as a member and as chairman of the Law Committee.

A motion to grant the request of Delegate Deitch was carried by a vote of 47 in the affirmative to 24 in the negative.

Delegate Cohen, Toledo, was appointed to fill the vacancy on the Law Committee.

Delegate Kurinsky read the following protest:

"We, the undersigned delegates of the various local unions of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled at the Twelfth Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, do hereby protest against the action of this convention in regard to resolution No. 58, pertaining to the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. Our protest is based on the indecorum of some delegates during the proceedings on said resolution. Therefore we earnestly urge the convention to reconsider its former decision."

(Signed) T. Jacobs, Local 13; L. Caplan, Local 4; A. Padover, Local 1; P. Kottler, Local 1; A. Student, Local 1; L. Hyman, Local 9; S. Sapin, Local 1; J. Katz, Local 67; L. Lange, Local 35; P. Kurinsky, Local 20; Gussie Landio, Local 62; Harry Schuster, Local 9; S. Chachkes, Local 21; W. Cohen, Local 1; Paul Hering, Local 90; B. Reznikoff, Local 90; L. Auerbach, Local 19; S. Labensohn, J. B. Montreal; J. Kevenko, Local 19; A. Bissin, Local 70; M. Zuckerman, Local 35; Ida Pearl, Local 62; Anna Rock, Local 62; Eva Smitslive, Local 62; L. Weisman, Local 20; Abe Slovik, Local 65; H. Buchbinder, Local 9; Abe Goldstein, Local 1; Max Goren-
President Rosenberg: We voted on the resolution and a majority of the convention decided to reject it. If, after a resolution has been concurred in or not concurred in, a delegate can stand up and get ten signatures through a demand for reconsideration we will never get through the convention. We ought to make it clear we are not going to waste time whether this member wants it or another member wants it.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW
Vice-President Kleinman, for the committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 116.
Amendments.
Article 111.
Sec. 17 (a). A regular convention of the I. L. G. W. U. shall have the right or power to change or to amend this constitution, and any and all additions and amendments to this constitution, adopted at any session of the convention shall not become a law until approved by a majority vote of the general membership. The General Secretary shall submit any and all changes made by the convention to a referendum vote within thirty days after the close of the convention.

Sec. 17 (b). During the interim between conventions any L. U. may propose amendments or additions to the constitution and if three L. U. of two different states second the same, the G. S. shall submit proposition for the vote of the General membership and if approved by a two-thirds majority of the members voting the same shall become a law.

Sec. 18 (c). When a referendum vote is ordered each local union shall call a special meeting and take action thereupon on all questions submitted for a vote, any members present to be counted. The President and Recording Secretary shall carefully record the vote and send the same under their signatures and the seal of the Local Union to the General Secretary.

JOE KATZ, Local No. 67.
M. J. COHEN, Local No. 67.

The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 65
WHEREAS, Canada is a recognized cloak center and should therefore be entitled to a representative on the General Executive Board, and

WHEREAS, Under the present system of choosing vice-presidents it is only a matter of chance whether Canada will permanently or occasionally be represented on the G. E. B.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That from the delegates representing Canadian locals one vice-president shall be elected, who shall always be a resident of Canada.

S. LABENSOHN, J. B., Montreal.
P. SCHEINBERG, Local 13.
T. JACOBS, Local 13.
KARL SIMON, Local 61.
J. KIVENKO, Local 19.
LOUIS AUERBACK, Local 19.
The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution.

Delegate Scheinberg, Local 13, opposed the recommendation of the committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

President Rosenberg: If this resolution is rejected it does not mean that Canada shall not be recognized. The opinion of the committee is that we cannot have as a part of the constitution something that compels each convention to elect a Canadian man.

Vice-President Polakoff spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Koldofsky stated that the Toronto delegates did not sign the resolution.

Delegate Feit spoke in favor of the resolution, and referred to the rapidly growing membership in Canada.

Delegate Labensohn opposed the recommendation of the committee and spoke in favor of the resolution.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried by a vote of 74 in the affirmative to 36 in the negative.

Delegate Singer asked for a roll call on the motion. President Rosenberg stated that the request should have been made before the vote had been taken.

RESOLUTION NO. 150.
Amendment.

Strike out the following words from Article 5, Section 9:

He shall also have the supervision of the editorial department of the official journal of the I. L. G. W. U.

JOSEPH ABRAMSKY,
H. KLEINMAN,
S. GRANOFSKY,
F. SLOPAK,
MAX SINGER,
S. PRIZAMT,
PH. FEST,
J. DUBESTER,
FRANK COMUNALI.
Delegates of Local 23.

The committee recommended that the amendment be adopted. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 149.
Amendment.

Add the following words to Section 11 of Article 5:

And designate the Editor for any such publications.

J. ABRAMSKY,
FISHEL SLOPEK,
PHIL FEST,
SAM GRANOFSKY,
MAX SINGER,
SAM PRIZAMT,
FRANK COMUNALI,
J. DUBESTER,
H. KLEINMAN,
Delegate Local 23.

The committee recommended the adoption of the amendment. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 153.
Amendment.

Section 16 of Article 5:
The G. E. B. shall give 30 days' notice and a hearing before the monthly meeting of the G. E. B. before suspending or expelling any local union of the I. L. G. W. U. which will willfully violate any law or laws of this constitution.

A. SOLOVIOFF, Local 38.

The committee recommended that Section 16 of Article 5 be amended to read as follows:

"The G. E. B. shall have the right to suspend or expel any local union which will deliberately or willfully violate any law or laws of the constitution, after thirty (30) days' notice has been given to them by the G. E. B., and an opportunity to defend themselves before a meeting of the G. E. B."

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 165.
To the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS, There are a great number of female members of our International Union, and

WHEREAS, The average earnings of the female members are far below the average
earnings of the men members of the International Union, therefore be it
RESOLVED, That whenever an assessment will have to be levied upon all the members of the International union for any particular cause or reason, the female members shall be required to pay only one-half the sum of the assessment levied upon the male members.

GUSSIE LANDIO,
EVA SMITHLINE,
IDA PEARL,
A. PECK,
IDA HOROWITZ,
MOLLY LIFSHITZ.

The chairman of the committee stated that the amendment offered was to Article 7, Section 1.

The majority report of the committee was in favor of rejecting the amendment.

The minority report was in favor of accepting the amendment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the minority report.

Delegate Metz spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate Shapiro opposed the minority report. She stated that the assessment would not be much harder to pay than the dues and initiation fees; that no distinction should be made between men and women members, and that a majority of the women in the industry paid more of the assessment than the men had paid, and that some women earned more money than some of the men members.

Delegate Student spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority.

Delegate Landio spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate Leader spoke in favor of the minority report. He argued that women should not pay as high assessments as the men, that their wages were smaller and in the cloak business smaller benefits were paid the women than were paid the men.

President Rosenberg: I would like to ask one question of the mover of the minority report. Is it not a fact that the majority of the women working as finishers earn more money than the men finishers. The fact is 90 per cent of the women finishers are earning more money than the men finishers.

Ten or more delegates demanded a roll call. Secretary Dyche called the roll, which resulted as follows:

President Rosenberg: The minority report is lost.

Ayes—Delegates Aspsis, Goldstein, Kottler, Metz, Padover, Rubin, Schlesinger, Sapin Local No. 1; Caplan, Local No. 4; Ninio, Local 9; Cohen (J. P.), Braver, Davidson (A.), Epstein, Gorenstein, Martin, Nagel, Pierre, Rosenberg, Local No. 10; Cohen (W.), Local 11; Cohen (M.), Flashner, Local 12; Hoffman, Kruger, Local 14; Jacobinsky, Leader, Pessin, Local 17; Kivenko, Auerbach, Local 19; Kaplan, Kurinsky, Singer, Local 20; Weinstein, Local 22; Comunale, Frisman, Local 23; Glassman, Meader, Local 28; De Marzio, Local 35; Finkelstein, Pismanoff, Rattay, Spivak, Solovioff, Local 38; Tetelbaum, Local 49; Sirota, Local 50; Tauber (S.), Local 52; Posen, Local 56; Horowitz, Landio, Lifshitz, Pearl, Rock, Smitslive, Local 62; Zeligman, Local 70; Strassberg, Local 71; Kurland, Local 73; Yount, Local 82; Hering, Local 90; Tredler, Local 92; Copstein, Local 108; Labensohn, J. B., Montreal; Glickman, J. B., Toronto—62.

Nays—Messrs. Myerson, Student, Local 1; Grishkin, Polen, Local 2; Etkin, Rockowitz, Local 4; Gerstein, Babits, Deitch, Halpern, Hyman, Lefkovits, Lopes, Schuster, Weiner, Buchbinder, Local 9; Levy, Davis, Blustein, Local 11; Jacobs, Scheinberg, Local 13; Koldofsky, Shur, Local No. 14; Cohen (Max), Gerchekoff, Local 17; Weisman, Riback, Local 20; Chachkes, Local 21; Abramsky, Dubester, Fest, Granofsky, Kleinman, Slopak, Singer, Local 23; Baroff, Block, Haiman, Holtzman, Portnoy, Switwsky, Shapiro, Polakoff, Silver, Silberman, Seidman, Witzshkin, Local 25; Cohen (A.), Fett, Local 26; Gelbert, Local 31; Braslaver, Ciccone, Goldovsky, Kimberofsky, Kostofsky, Langer, Sigman, Zuckerman, Local 35; Magnavita, Local 38; Dickstein, Local 41; Davidson (S.), Local 53; Berman, Finkelstein (A.), Sheinets, Local 56; Nigen, Local 58; Simon, Local 61; Binder, Slovic, Local 65; Cohen (Maurice), Katz, Local 67; Stein, Local 69; Breslin, Local 70; Edlin, Local 78; Davidson (I.), Morris, Local 81; LaPorta (Ida), Local 82; Cohen (B.), Dean, Local 83; Reznikoff, Local 90; Hiorns, Local 92; Groban, Local 98; Rosenberg, J. B., Boston; Wagner, J. B., New York; Sandler, J. B., Philadelphia—85.
A motion was made and seconded that the majority report be adopted. (Carried.)

RESOLUTION NO. 71

WHEREAS, A member from one local union of the Ladies’ Garment trade is allowed to transfer to another local according to the constitution, but same is not observed by the locals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That such transfers be recognized by all locals, irrespective of how much the local’s initiation fee is, or Article XVI, Section 3, of the Constitution, where it deals with transfer and clearance cards, be eliminated from the constitution.

ESTHER TAUBER,
MORRIS SIROTA,
Delegates Local 50.

The chairman of the committee stated that Section 2 of Article 17 conflicted with Section 3 of Article 16. A majority of the committee recommended that Section 8 of Article 17 be eliminated from the constitution.

A minority of the committee recommended that Section 3 of Article 16 be eliminated. Delegate Lefkovits moved to concur in the majority report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Jacobinsky opposed the motion to adopt the majority report.

Delegate Blumenson opposed the resolution.

Delegate Goldofsky spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate Solovieff spoke in favor of the majority report.

Delegate Leader opposed the resolution.

Delegate Tauber (E.) spoke in favor of the resolution.

A roll call was requested on the motion to adopt the majority report. More than 10 delegates supporting the request. Secretary Dyche called the roll, with the following result:

Roll call on motion to strike out Section 2, of Article 17 of the Constitution:

Ayes—Delegates Padover, Rubin, Local 1; Amdu, Local 2; Lefkovits, Weiner, Local 9; Wiseman, Kurinsky, Local 20; Baroff, Block, Haiman, Holtzman, Portnoy, Switsky, Shapiro, Polakoff, Silver, Silverman, Seidman, Witskin, Local 25; Cohen (A.), Feit, Local 26; Glassman, Local 28; Gelbert, Local 31; Finkelstein (J.), Magnavita, Pismanoff, Rattay, Spivak, Solovieff, Local 38; Dickstein, Local 41; Tatenbaum, Local 49; Sirota, Local 50; Posen, Local 56; Nigen, Local 58; Horowitz, Landio, Lifshitz, Pearl, Rock, Smittle, Local 62; Binder, Slovick, Local 65; Cohen (M. J.), Katz, Local 67; Straussberg, Local 71; Hering, Reznikof, Local 90; Groban, Local 98; Copstein, Local 109; Rosenberg (A.), J. B., Boston—51.

Nays—Delegates Ashpis, Goldstein, Kotlter, Mers, Meyerson, Schlesinger, Sapin, Student, Local 1; Grishkin, Polen, Local 2; Caplan, Etkin, Rotkowitz, Local 4; Bernstein, Babitz, Deitch, Halpern, Hyman, LaPorta (A.). Lopes, Nino, Schuster, Buchhinder, Local 9; Cohen (J. P.), Beaver, Davidson (A.), Epstein, Gorenstein, Martin, Nagel, Pierce, Rosenberg (E.), Local 10; Levy, Cohen (W.), Davis, Blutein, Local 11; Cohen (Morris) Fishiner, Local 12; Jacobs, Scheinberg, Local 13; Hoffman, Koldofsky, Kruger, Shur, Local 14; Cohen (Max), Blumenson, Gerchekoff, Jacobinsky, Leader, Pessin, Local 17; Kivenko, Auerbach, Local 19; Dubinsky, Riback, Singer, Local 20; Chachkes, Local 21; Weinstein, Local 22; Abramsky, Comunale, Dubester, Fest, Granofsky, Kleinman, Prisant, Slopak, Singer, Local 23; Braslaver, Ciccone, Goldofsky, Kimberovsky, Kloslovsky, Langer, DeMartino, Sigman, Zucherman, Local 35; Tauber (S.), Local 52; Berman, Finkelstein (A.), Sheines, Local 56; Simon, Local 61; Stein, Local 69; Zelignman, Bessin, Local 70; Kurland, Local 73; Edlin, Local 78; Davidson (L.), Morris, Local 81; LaPorta (L.), Yount, Local 82; Cohen (B.), Dean, Local 83; Tredler, Hiorns, Local 92; Labensohn, J. B., Montreal; Wagner, J. B., New York; Glickman, J. B., Toronto; Glassman, J. B. St. Louis; Sandler, J. B., Philadelphia—97.

RESOLUTION NO. 177

Art. 17, Sec. 8, 3rd line:
Strike out the word “any” and insert “same branch of.”

M. DEITCH.
Local 9.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

A resolution signed by Morris J. Ashpis and Saul Meta, recommending that the reports of
the President and General Secretary and General Executive Board be sent to delegates two weeks prior to the convention, was read. The committee reported that action had already been taken on the question and no further report was necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 78

WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. is one of the greatest organizations in the U. S. and Canada in the ladies' garment industry, and the I. L. G. W. U. cannot do enough work for her members with the money she gets from the per capita, in order that her members shall get the fruits of their labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the I. L. G. W. U. should raise the per capita tax so that the I. L. G. W. U. will be able to give a striking and sick and death benefit, and also benefit to the members who are out of work for a long time. This will induce the members to take a greater interest in the organization.

J. DUBESTER, Local 23.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred back to the author to present in a proper manner, as there were several amendments proposed and no section or article given to which the amendments apply. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 13

WHEREAS the finances of a local union is a factor to success, and

WHEREAS at the present time the finances of a local is not being controlled by a superior body other than the local finance committee, and

WHEREAS after a general strike in any local of the I. U., the General Office is not in a position to approve the report issued by the officers of the local Union, the result of which is that during strikes, the locals experience hardships in conducting those strikes, since the persons in charge are not known well enough to have the full confidence of the locals to which they may apply for financial assistance, therefore be it

RESOLVED that the incoming General Executive Board by instructed by this 12th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. to establish a uniform system of conducting all finances of all locals and strikes and be it further

RESOLVED that whenever an important strike is to be called in any branch of the I. L. G. W. U. the General Secretary-Treasurer or one of his subordinates shall be given the authority of controlling the funds of the respective strike and shall also be in charge of obtaining funds for same, and be it further

RESOLVED that the General Secretary-Treasurer or one of his subordinates is to control the books of each and every local Union at least once in six months.

I. WEISMAN,
A. RIBACK,
Local No. 20.

The committee reported that, as there were several amendments contained in the resolutions, that they be referred back to the authors for rearrangement.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
ORGANIZATION
Delegate Schlesinger, for the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 97
To the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Convention, Cleveland, O.:
Fellow Delegates:
In our first year of existence we of Local 65 have not been able to meet our expenses, being behind over three hundred dollars. We financed a strike last September and ninety-three shops settled. We feel positive that the bosses will not renew their contract and that it will be necessary for us to call a general strike for the fall season.
Furthermore, we must have sufficient funds to carry on organization work, as the worst condition of disorganized labor now exists in Brooklyn.
We are met here to strengthen the International Union and we therefore expect you to give us financial aid, to enable us to give you a strong organization in Brooklyn.

ABE SLOVIK,
H. BINDER,
P. H. EISNER.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution, and recommended further that the General Executive Board be requested to act upon it at the first meeting after the convention.
The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 69
WHEREAS, The entire trade of misses’ and children’s dresses is not yet organized and the workers in that trade work under bad conditions and for very low wages, consequently they are a hindrance to those who are already organized, and
WHEREAS, There are probably between 10,000 and 12,000 workers in this trade, and as our local is not in a financial position to carry on an extensive organizing campaign; therefore be it
RESOLVED, That the convention empower the G. E. B. to give us all moral and financial assistance possible. They should also appoint a regular organizer to take care and work for Local 50 for a period of at least six months.

A. MITCHELL,
ESTHER TAUBER,
MORRIS SIROTA.
Delegates Local 50.

The committee recommended that the incoming General Executive Board appoint an organizer for six months to transact the business of Local No. 50 with the employers’ association of the children’s dress trade and to do general organizing work in that trade.
Delegate Schlesinger: The committee feels that if the International does not do this immediately it will mean that the union may go out of existence.
The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 95
International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union in Convention Assembled:
WHEREAS, Seventy-five per cent of the pressmen in Boston are working piece work, being compelled so to do by their employers, and
WHEREAS, The employers gain by a net profit of 25 per cent, if not more, from the price they should pay to their men when working by the piece openly, and
WHEREAS, Local 12, of said International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union, at their special meeting held on Saturday, May 23rd, have decided it should be resolved that the pressers in the city of Boston should be allowed to work piece work, or optional—it shall be no compulsion; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That the said local petition and pray that the convention assembled grant their wish, and said resolution be given favorable consideration.

PRESSERS LOCAL 12, I. L. G. W. U.
J. Flashner, President.
Wm. Sawmuth, Secretary.
Delegate Schlesinger: President Rosenberg and Delegate Shcincsinger of Boston, were called upon to explain the situation. The committee recommends that this resolution be tabled, but that the incoming General Executive Board take up the Boston pressers’ situation with the Grievance Board, as per the Boston protocol in the cloak and suit industry.
The resolution says that although the protocol provides for week work the manufactur-
The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.

Delegate Schlesinger: Brother Abramsky, the author of the resolution, is a member of the committee. We discussed the matter and came to the conclusion that the committee would not favor changing the cards. The committee recommends the rejection of the resolution, although we do not object to any joint board establishing weekly or monthly working cards, but we are opposed to changing the union cards.

A motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 89
WHEREAS, The educational side of our organization has been to a certain extent neglected, and

WHEREAS, The great majority of our members do not get the proper education in trade unionism, and

WHEREAS, A trade union movement can not be made a success when the great membership does not get the necessary instructions about trade unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the organization elects a committee of five whose aim should be to find ways and means how to educate our members.

JOSEPH ABRAMSKY,
Delegate Local 23.

The committee reported that the subject matter contained in Resolution 89 had been dealt with in two former resolutions and no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 92
WHEREAS, A considerable number of workers in the ladies' garment trade are thrown out of work as soon as the seasons are over, and are compelled to go about idle for months, and

WHEREAS, The cause of it being the long hours still in existence in the ladies' garment trade, and

WHEREAS, Realizing that the only remedy and solution of decreasing the army of the unemployed is shorter hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union pledge itself to establish the forty-eight hour schedule throughout the ladies' garment trade at the earliest possible opportunity.

H. DUBINSKY,
J. WISEMAN,
A. RIBACK,
J. M. SINGER,
J. KURINSKY.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been covered in a recommendation previously acted upon. The report of the committee was accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 74
Cleveland, Ohio, June 1, 1914.
To the Twelfth Biennial Convention, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:
WHEREAS, There exists in the cloak and suit and dress and waist industries a system of sub-manufacturing and sub-contracting, and

WHEREAS, In such system is recognized an evil that deprives many of our members of an opportunity to earn a living at their calling, and

WHEREAS, Such of our members as are employed in the shops of the sub-manufacturer and sub-contractor are subjected to greatly inferior conditions than the standards that obtain in the "inside shops," and

WHEREAS, The number of our members employed in the "inside shops" is becoming less and less, without corresponding increase in employment, in the shops of the sub-manufacturer and sub-contractor, and

WHEREAS, The members of other branches of the trade are also made to suffer through the ruinous competition that has been brought about by matching the "outside" worker against the "inside" worker; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as condemning the sub-manufacturing and sub-contracting system as harmful to the trade and injurious to the welfare of the workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee of five be appointed to devise ways and means of bringing about an abatement of this evil, and to report with their recommendations to the General Executive Board, who shall in conjunction with a committee of five, be authorized to adopt and put into execution such plans and policies as will best minimize or abolish the evil.

(Signed) ISADORE EPSTEIN,
Delegate,
Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Ass'n, Local 10.

Delegate Schlesinger: The committee recommends that the incoming General Executive Board devise ways and means of bringing about an abatement of this evil, and that it adopt and put into operation such plans and policies as will best serve to minimize or abolish the so-called sub-manufacturing and sub-contracting evil. The committee recommends that the first Resolve be stricken out. There is no sense coming here to condemn, but to take action. The committee finds that the sub-contracting and sub-manufacturing question is a very complicated one.

Delegate Epstein: I have no objection to a committee being appointed, but I believe the members of Local 10 are the chief sufferers from this system of sub-manufacturing. My idea was to have two members of Local 10 on the committee and other members of various branches selected for the balance of the committee. I feel when there is a system that exploits the workers, as this system is doing, we have a right to go on record condemning it. Several years ago, before the sub-contracting and sub-manufacturing existed to such a large extent as it does today, the number of cutters employed was greater. We find the employment of cutters is becoming less and less, and we want something to correct this evil. We find contractors who do the cutting themselves or have boys in the plant to assist them. I believe we are perfectly justified in going on record condemning an evil of this kind.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 72

WHEREAS, The delegates of this 12th Convention are aware of the many moral and material inconveniences experienced in the last four years of active life, and

WHEREAS, Though fruitful we may yet call it an experimental period in which many lessons have been learned by us and we found that unity of action against us is a practice of the manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, Our present means of defense and struggle have proved to be completely inadequate, because our workers are given to understand that harmony is possible to exist between the two antagonistic classes, and

WHEREAS, The partition of a big union like ours into different local unions representing such a craft gives rise to unnecessary local selfishness, which often misleads the aspiration of the workers, and

WHEREAS, Such state of affairs renders the average union member a local militant instead of a class defender, and

WHEREAS, The financial situation also suffers by such a complicated system and by the excessive number of local employees.

Delegate Epstein: I have no objection to a committee being appointed, but I believe the members of Local 10 are the chief sufferers from this system of sub-manufacturing. My idea was to have two members of Local 10 on the committee and other members of various branches selected for the balance of the committee. I feel when there is a system that exploits the workers, as this system is doing, we have a right to go on record condemning it. Several years ago, before the sub-contracting and sub-manufacturing existed to such a large extent as it does today, the number of cutters employed was greater. We find the employment of cutters is becoming less and less, and we want something to correct this evil. We find contractors who do the cutting themselves or have boys in the plant to assist them. I believe we are perfectly justified in going on record condemning an evil of this kind.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.
and other unlimited expenses, for rents, telephone, light, printing, for executive and committee meetings, etc., etc., and

WHEREAS, The power attributed to each local executive board generally attains a conflicting state of affairs with the proper authorities who conduct the every day union business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all the locals of the same industry, in any big center of city, shall amalgamate in, into one body of men and women (industrial local union) who are to elect a proportionate number of representatives by a referendum vote once every year, who are to form a deliberating body, as the present Joint Boards in the various cities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That any subdivision of this industrial local shall be done in regard to nationalities and to craft, and be it further

RESOLVED, That there shall be one financial administration which shall have all power belonging now to each local union and to each Joint Board.

SALVATORE NINFO, Local 9,
ALFRED LA PORTA, Local 9,
A. DI MARTINO, Local 35,
S. CICCON, Local 35,
GRANT LOPES, Local 9,
FRANK COMUNALE, Local 23.

Delegate Schlesinger: The committee recommends the rejection of the resolution on the ground that our International Union is at present organized on industrial lines, and as to revoking the charters of the various locals of one industry and making one local with as many branches as are necessary, the committee does not believe that this would in any way help to make the organization more perfect than it is now, but, on the contrary, it would bring confusion.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Ninfeo opposed the recommendation of the committee and spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 96
To the Officers and Delegates of the 12th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U., Cleveland, O.:

WHEREAS, In the city of Philadelphia there are over ten thousand unorganized ladies' waist, silk dress and children's dress makers, and

WHEREAS, The present conditions of the trade are such that it is impossible any longer to earn a decent living; that while the workers must toil for 56 and more hours per week and stand the most inhuman treatment from their employers and various foremen, the wages aggregate, on the average, five or six dollars per week, and

WHEREAS, Our union is too weak to combat such degrading conditions existing in our trade and it is our firm belief, that, if permitted to continue, they will eventually reflect upon New York and other cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention take such steps as necessary for the uplift of our trade and appoint a special organizer for Philadelphia to stay there until some material improvements are reached.

ANNA LITVACKOFF, President,
ADA ROSENFELT, Secretary.
Waist, Dress and Children Dress Makers' Union, Local 15.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution was covered in their report and the action of the convention on a similar resolution on Saturday.

The report of the committee was accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 155.
WHEREAS, According to the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. a city where there are more than one Local of an industry should form a joint board; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a J. B. be formed in the waist and dress industry of the City of New York consisting of Locals No. 10, 25 and 58.

L. NIEG, Del. Local No. 58.
Delegate Schlesinger: There is a provision in the constitution calling for the organization of a Joint Board. The committee thought it unnecessary to take any further action on this.

The recommendation of the committee was accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 91
WHEREAS, The St. Louis Cloak and Skirt Makers have had a bitter struggle to bring about union conditions, which
ended with a defeat to our organization, and

WHEREAS, The manufacturers are creating a bad sentiment among our people and are endeavoring to discredit the officers and active members, and

WHEREAS, A large number of the people who are working in our trade would be willing to enroll in our union were it not for the methods of the manufacturers in their endeavor to scare them from joining the unions, and

WHEREAS, The active members cannot get work since the strike was given up, and it being impossible for them to remain in St. Louis, and

WHEREAS, If the persons who have been instrumental in holding the ranks together until now should leave St. Louis, it will mean a complete victory for the manufacturers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to appoint an organizer for the St. Louis Cloak and Skirt Makers at as early a date as possible.

Respectfully submitted,
SAMUEL GLASSMAN, Joint Board,
JOE EDLIN, Local 78,
BEN GELBERT, Local 31.

Delegate Schlcsinger: The subject dealt with in this resolution was acted upon by the convention last Saturday. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 87
Cleveland, Ohio, June 3, 1914.

WHEREAS, Toronto and Montreal are fast becoming a prominent factor in the cloak and suit industry inasmuch that thousands of cloak and skirt makers are now employed therein; and although the trade is fast progressing in bulk, it not only fails to bring along with it improved conditions, which could be expected, but proves on the contrary that the working conditions of the thousands of workers tends to become worse and worse as time goes along.

WHEREAS, All the attempts and efforts on the part of the local unions to ameliorate or at least uphold the working conditions up to this time have proved fruitless; the manufacturers not only discriminating against our members on a large scale in every shape or form, but also using organized efforts in introducing the contracting and sub-contracting systems; and,

WHEREAS, It can be positively stated that, unless measures are taken as soon as practicable, our thousands of members and everybody working in the trade will suffer to a very large extent; and

WHEREAS, Representatives from Toronto and Montreal who were in conference in 1913 came to the conclusion that the only and best way to bring about improved conditions and also to equalize the working in the two mentioned cities, is through the medium of a general strike in both cities, which, in the opinion of the conferees would not be of long duration, because there is sufficient ground to believe that the manufacturers will not hesitate too long before they will concede; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention give the full power to the incoming G. E. B. to call and conduct a general strike in Toronto and Montreal just as soon as they will find it practical and possible.

S. LABENSOHN,
Delegates of the Joint Board of Montreal Local
J. GLICKMAN,
Delegates of the Joint Board of Toronto Locals.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hyman opposed the recommendation of the committee, and stated that he favored the Canadian locals making the request directly to the General Executive Board. He stated further that he felt whenever a strike was called it should be done over night and not give the bosses an opportunity to prepare for it.

Delegate Koldofsky stated that the Canadian delegates did not wish the endorsement of a general strike in Canada for the purpose of trying to organize the cloak makers, as the cloak makers of both Toronto and Montreal were organized, and had been organized as long as New York City. He stated further that the manufacturers are combining into one association to oppose the local unions.

Delegate Baroff spoke in favor of the resolution.
The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 93
WHEREAS, The Raincoat Makers' Union, Local No. 20, of New York, have won a general strike in 1913, greatly improving the conditions of the members of the union, and

WHEREAS, The Union has spent a considerable amount of money in organizing shops outside of New York, and

WHEREAS, The raincoat trade has developed and is still developing throughout the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union be instructed at this convention to take into consideration and place an organizer in the field of organizing this growing industry.

H. DUBINSKY,
I. WISEMAN,
A. RIBACK,
J. M. SINGER,
P. KURINSKY.

The committee reported that several resolutions on the subject dealt with by No. 93 had been acted upon in a previous session of the convention, and no further action was necessary.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:15 a.m., Tuesday, June 9th.

EIGHTH DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

Cleveland, Ohio, June 9, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 9:15 o'clock A.M., Tuesday, June 9th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—Delegates Itahiz, Local 9; Blumenson, Local 17.

Secretary Dyche read the following telegram:

"New York, June 6, 1914.
Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention,
Gesang Hall, Cleveland, Ohio.

Heartiest greetings to the mighty Interna-
referred to the incoming Executive Board.
Upon motion of Delegate Gorenstein the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 142

WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. granted a letter to the Waist Dress and Underwear buttonhole Makers of New York as Local No. 58, and
WHEREAS, Through their neglect of it they harmed Local No. 58, since it could not be organized strong and quick enough on account of it. Therefore be it
RESOLVED, That Locals No. 25, 41, 50, 62 have to pay out to Local No. 58 the dues which they collected from the buttonhole makers since the buttonhole makers’ union was organized.

L. NIGEN,
Delegate, Local No. 58.

Delegate Silver: The Committee on Appeals and Grievances recommends that the appeal of the above mentioned locals be rejected, on the ground that Local No. 58 has not participated in the expenses made by Locals 21, 41, 50, 62 until now. We also recommend that the charged locals be instructed by the General Secretary-Treasurer to transfer the Buttonhole Makers to Local No. 58 not later than August 15, 1914.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 184

May 25, 1914.
To the General Executive Board, International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union, 32 Union Square, City.
Greetings: We, the undersigned, both employees of the firm of Ph. Katz, 6 W. 27th Street, for the past six years, have been taken down from the shop May 18th, 1914, according with the decision rendered by the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers’ Unions. We desire to appeal against this decision and would ask your body to take this matter up at the earliest possible moment. We absolutely do not know the nature of the charges as we do not know of any crime committed by us in this shop the punishments for which shall be our removal from our jobs. If something has been complained against us it is probably in the possession of the secretary of the Joint Board, who will present same to you upon your request.

Trusting that you will give this your immediate attention, for we are poor and unable to secure other jobs, we are,
Fraternally yours,
SAM EBNER.
543 E. 13th St., New York City,
D. LEVY.
60 E. 97th St., New York City.
P. S.—We wish to call your attention to the fact that we can bring you several witnesses that will prove to you that we have not committed any crime. Also we can further tell you a petition was signed by our brother employees in our behalf for us to remain working at our jobs.
We therefore pray you to give us a speedy hearing.
Thanking you in anticipation, we beg to remain,
Fraternally yours,
SAM EBNER.
D. LEVY.

CASE NO. 1
FIRM OF PH. KATZ, 6 E. 27TH ST.
Employees
vs.
Nos. 17 and 74
May 11, 1914.
The Grievance Committee has for the last year been having many complaints against the people of the shop. We have been informed that the people paid bribe to the foreman so as to receive more work. After an investigation the complaint was found to be correct and the people agreed not to do so again and pledged themselves to pay $150.00 as a fine, to go to the Philadelphia strikers. However this was not paid.
We also had charges against certain of that shop who assaulted Delegate Weiner, but no action could be taken as it was during the time of the “Hourwich” affair.
Now the Grievance Committee of the Joint Board and a committee of Local No. 1, investigated the charges against some of the people and found Nos. 17 and 74 to be the main instigators of the trouble and it was decided that they leave the place.
Delegate Cohen: The appeal is from Brother Sam Ebner and D. Levy, members of Local 1, against the decision of the Grievance Committee of the Joint Board.
After reading all the evidence produced and hearing all the witnesses we could get the committee is under the impression that the action of Brother Sam Ebner and D. Levy was detrimental to the organization, and we therefore recommend that the decision of the Joint Board be sustained and the appeal of said members rejected.

Delegte Gorenstein moved that the entire matter be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

Delegate Goldofsky spoke in favor of the convention deciding the matter and allowing the people mentioned to return to work.

Delegate Max Cohen, Chairman of the Committee, spoke in favor of adopting the recommendation.

Vice-President Lefkovits spoke in favor of referring to the General Executive Board.

The motion to refer to the General Executive Board was carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Amdur, for the committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 1
WHEREAS all workingmen and labor representatives are striving to force every legitimate body in city and state to enact special laws to protect labor; and
WHEREAS in order to gain that aim it is necessary that the workingmen should assert their political rights and thereby compel the capitalist legislators in Congress to consider the question of labor laws, be it therefore
RESOLVED that the convention of the I. L. G. W. U. call upon all locals to organize naturalization bureaus, and to make every effort to see that all members of the International Union should be citizens.

MORRIS ASHPIT
Delegate of Local No. 1.

RESOLUTION NO. 6
WHEREAS the Colorado miners have been on strike for the past nine months and are engaged in a brave struggle, and
WHEREAS they have endured much suffering by the hands of the police and professional strike breakers, and
WHEREAS these strikers did not have any homes and were obliged to put up in tents which were set on fire by hired murderers and in this way eleven women and children were burned, be it therefore
RESOLVED that we, the delegates of the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U., assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, June, 1914, protest against the stand taken by the Governor of the State of Colorado for sending out the militia thereby placing himself on the side of the capitalists, be it further
RESOLVED that we hereby express our deepest regret for those victims in their struggle between Capital and Labor and henceforth we place ourselves on the side of the strikers, and that this convention determined to donate the sum of $250 from the I. L. G. W. U. treasury, with best wishes for a glorious victory, be it further
RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Labor Press.

A. MITCHELL,
11th Vice Pres.

RESOLUTION NO. 11
WHEREAS the miners of the State of Colorado have been out on strike for a long time, and
WHEREAS the above, strikers have suffered the worst sorts of persecutions from the State Militia of the State of Colorado, and
WHEREAS the State Administration of Colorado has combined with Mr. Rockefeller in the terrorizing of the strikers' region, be it therefore
RESOLVED that the Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union emphatically protest against the outrageous bloodshed of our fellow workers in the State of Colorado, be it further
RESOLVED that the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. pledge its financial and
moral support to those strikers and be it further
RESOLVED that this Convention should call upon all of our affiliated locals to do likewise.

S. HAIMAN,
Local No. 25.

RESOLUTION NO. 99
WHEREAS, For more than seven months the United Mine Workers have been on strike in the coal fields of Colorado, which coal fields are owned and controlled by the Rockefeller interests. During this time gunmen, thugs, criminals and state militiamen have been arresting, torturing and murdering those inoffensive and practically defenseless men, women and children, and

WHEREAS, On April 21, 1914, the Rockefeller mine guards, gunmen, thugs, militiamen and murderers at Ludlow, Colorado, perpetrated one of the most fiendish and dastardly massacres, when they set fire to the tent colony where the wives and children of the miners were sheltered. These brutal and inhuman monsters stood guard, rifle in hand, to shoot down any attempt to escape while the flames and smoke wiped out a score of lives, and

WHEREAS, This brutal warfare on defenseless women and children is the crowning infamy of a most bloodthirsty and uncivilized act, and is the answer of the Rockefeller interests, assisted by the officials and militia of a sovereign state, to the workers, who through their organization, striving to observe the law of the state and nation, are seeking to secure the consideration they are entitled to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this twelfth convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled at Germania Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, condemn the brutal and inhuman action of John Rockefeller, and his son, John D. Jr., in maintaining a condition whereby the murdering and burning of the men, women and children of Colorado is brought about; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we believe it to be the duty of the President of the United States to confiscate the coal mines of Colorado and operate them in the interests of the people, until the Congress enacts legislation providing for the government ownership of natural resources; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the President of the United States that during the time the Federal troops are in Colorado that the safeguarding of the lives and homes of the workers be paramount to the pretenses of the protection of property now so badly assailed by the anarchists and outlaws invading that state; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to the Twelfth Annual Convention, unqualifiedly demand the President of the United States, that the rights of citizens to carry arms as provided for in the constitution be not abridged.

RESOLVED, That we pledge our moral and financial support to the miners of Colorado in the absence of civil government and in every lawful effort they make to elevate their material and moral conditions, we urge them to be steadfast and true to themselves, their wives, children, their homes and their fellow workers.

SALVATORE NINFO, Delegate L. 9,
SERAFINO CICCONE, Local 35,
FRANK LOPES, Local 9,
ALFRED LA PORTA, Local 23,
N. DIMARTINO, Local 35.
The committee recommended the adoption of Resolution No. 6.
The recommendation of the committee was adopted.
Resolution No. 5 was amended by the convention to read as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 5
WHEREAS Messrs. Morris Sigman, Morris Stupnike and Solomon Metz, are now charged with having taken part in a murder case in the Cloakmakers' strike in 1910, and
WHEREAS these three members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are not guilty of any crime, but are active members of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York and for that reason their charge has been a "frame up" by a scab agency, be it therefore

RESOLVED that we, the delegates of the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.
assembled in Cleveland, O., June, 1914, be-
lieve that the charge of the three mentioned
members is a scheme to paralyze the activity
of the Cloakmakers' Union and thereby pre-
vent the workmen from organizing and thus
improving their conditions, we see in this
charge an effort to accuse union officers of
being criminals; and, be it further
RESOLVED that we protest against this
brutal frame-up of the said scab agency, and
against District Attorney Whitman of the
City of New York for condemning union
people on the basis of affidavits made by
scabs and spies, and be it further
RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution
be sent to the Labor Press and we hereby
express our deepest sincerity in the innocence
of our Brothers, Sigman, Metz and Stup-
nik, and, be it further
RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolu-
tion be sent to all labor papers for pub-
lication.

A. MITCHELL.
11th Vice Pres.
The resolution was adopted as amended.

RESOLUTION NO. 10
WHEREAS the locals of our International
Ladies' Garment Workers' Union pay thou-
sands of dollars yearly to different sorts of
printing, which includes papers, leaflets, cir-
culars, etc. and
WHEREAS the establishment of a print-
ing establishment would greatly reduce the
cost of printing and could also help greatly
our poorer locals, which cannot afford very
often to print things because of the high
cost, therefore be it
RESOLVED that our International Union
should introduce such a printing establish-
ment, which should be managed by a joint
committee of the different locals under the
supervision of the G. E. B. and which should
act as a referee in every disagreement which
may arise, and be it further
RESOLVED that a committee of five
should be elected at this Convention who
should work in conjunction with the Joint
Committee of the locals until they work out
the details and put it in operation.

S. HAIMAN.
Local No. 25.

A majority of the committee recommend-
ed that it be referred to the incoming Gen-
eral Executive Board.

Delegate Gorenstein moved the adoption
of the majority report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Haiman opposed the recommenda-
tion of the committee and spoke at length
in favor of the resolution. He stated that
a number of the smaller locals were unable
to have the necessary printing done because
of the enormous cost of having the work
done in private shops; that a committee
could investigate, find the amount of print-
ing done by the locals and the cost of such
printing, and argued that a small invest-
ment in a printing plant would reduce the
cost of printing to all the local unions. He
stated that the author of resolution did not
intend that any local should have its print-
ing done free of cost, but that it would be
done at actual cost.

Delegate Jacobinsky spoke in favor of
referring to the incoming General Execu-
tive Board.

President Rosenberg spoke in favor of
the majority report. He stated his belief
that an organization could not successfully
conduct an establishment of the kind men-
tioned in the resolution, that when the plan
had been tried by other associations it
was found that the cost of printing was
higher than when done in private shops.
He referred to the fact that some years
ago the cloak makers' union of New York
had a printing plant and published a news-
paper, and it was found the cost was 50
per cent greater than if printed by some
individual concern.

The motion to adopt the majority report
of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 61
WHEREAS, Our International Union
practice collective agreements with the
Manufacturers' Association which prevents
strikes, and causes all differences to be set-
tled through arbitration:

WHEREAS, Our past experience has
shown us that in order to win demands re-

garding wages, etc., through arbitration, it
is absolutely necessary to know definitely
the earnings of the working men, and the
number of working weeks during the year;

RESOLVED, That the International ob-
ligates itself to establish a department of
statistics where they should always have
on hand all necessary statistics which the various locals and Joint Board might require with a view of winning their demands through arbitration.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS, Local 1.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution and that it be referred to the incoming General Executive Board.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The following resolution dealing with the question of consolidating the publications of the organization, were considered together and covered in one recommendation:

RESOLUTION NO. 7

WHEREAS, there are thousands of members who are Italians in the I. L. G. W. U., who can't read the two languages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That said Journal be published in English, Yiddish and Italian.

J. FINKELSTEIN, Local 38,
M. SPIVAK,
S. PISMANOFF,
STEPHEN RATTAY,
FRANK MAGNAVITA.

RESOLUTION NO. 66

WHEREAS, Our International Union and some of the locals are publishers of weekly papers and monthly magazines, and

WHEREAS, As each local advocates a different policy, which is not in accordance with the International Union, and

WHEREAS, The press is a great factor in the trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, It is necessary that one policy be pursued in all the locals of our International Union, so as to accomplish better results and achieve greater benefits for our members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Union be publishers of one weekly newspaper under the supervision of a committee of five, appointed by the General Executive Board.

AB. BAROFF, Local 25.

RESOLUTION NO. 12

WHEREAS, Our locals are issuing weekly papers for their members, and

WHEREAS, every paper has its own policy of educating its members, with the result that it creates difficulties, and

WHEREAS, it is a great cost to publish these papers separately, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That instead of issuing separate weekly papers by the Joint Board of New York Local No. 25 and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, shall unite and issue one weekly paper in Yiddish and Italian.

J. ABRAMSKY,
Delegate, Local No. 23.

The committee recommended that a committee be appointed by the convention, to be composed of members of the locals now issuing weekly or monthly papers, to work out a plan to combine all these newspapers, the committee to report to the incoming General Executive Board.
A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Rubin, Local No. 1, opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Lefkovits discussed the question at length. He spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee and urged the delegates to do everything in their power to bring about unity in the organization. He urged them to forget all factional differences and parties and unite to have one publication through which the views and principles of the organization could be placed before the entire membership.

Delegate Slopak opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Silver spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. He stated that if the General Executive Board would have charge of the paper of the organization it would be possible for the members to express through it their views and opinions, and the paper would set forth the policy of the entire organization.

Vice-President Amdur: This committee does not recommend that these papers be combined and edited by the General Executive Board. We recommend that a committee be appointed to work out a plan and report to the General Executive Board.

Delegate Fest opposed the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Granofsky also opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Pismanoff favored the recommendation of the committee. He stated that if a committee should be appointed to investigate the matter they would probably report that the paper be published in at least three languages, English, Italian and Yiddish. He urged the delegates in considering the matter to remember they were not only representing their individual locals but were in a convention to make laws for 100,000 members of the International organization.

Delegate Seidman, Local 25, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. He made a plea for the smaller locals that were not able to publish their own papers. He stated that a paper published by the International would be in the interest of all the members and would help organize them.

Delegate Blumenson favored the report of the committee. Delegate Cohen, of Local No. 11, opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Weiner spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. He stated that controversies had arisen in New York because of the different policies, views and opinions presented through the different papers.

Delegate Hyman opposed the recommendation of the committee. He stated that he was in favor of a journal for all the members, but the locals should be allowed to publish their own papers if they wished to do so. Delegate Kottler also opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Dyche, in speaking in favor of the recommendation of the committee, said in part: I want to ask you if you want a united union or a disunited union, a union with one trade policy or ten trade policies. I contend the trouble with our organization is not due to any particular individual but due to the rotten system under which we are working. I hope there will always be people discontented with the organization, I hope the time will never come when everybody will be contented with all the policies of the organization; but the differences of opinion that exist now, instead of making it progress, is tearing it apart. Are you going to learn from the experience of all other labor unions—not political parties—or are you going to evolve a brand new policy of your own? The mine workers have an organization of more than 400,000, their organization extends from Nova Scotia to the Gulf of Mexico, and they have one paper, they would never be what they are today, if they did not have it. If you are going to have one union you must have one policy. The General Executive Board should be the ablest men you can get. You are the most intelligent and representative people in your trade and your business is to select the best men you can have here. Then trust them with your policy. No other system will work. You will have
the service of the best and most experienced people to guide and direct you. Their policy must be the only policy. The various papers will do you as much harm as though every local had a different constitution. Unity of policy is absolutely essential. You do not read the entire paper, you read what is interesting to you. Let us have one paper and one policy. If you have many papers and many policies you will have trouble, you will have factional fights, and instead of fighting for better conditions you will begin to fight among yourselves and you will not go very far. If your unity is to be a reality you must have one journal.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The pending motion was explained by President Rosenberg in both English and Yiddish. * 

Delegate Tauber asked for a roll call on the motion.

Roll call on question of appointing a committee to work out a plan to combine the various newspapers published in the industry:

Yeas — Delegates Amdur, Grishkon, Polen, Local 2; Etkin, Rotkowitz, Local 4; Babitz, Deitch, Leftkowitz, Ninno, Weiner, Local 9; Epstein, Local 10; Cohen (Morris), Local 12; Jacobs, Local 13; Koldofsky, Kruger, Shur, Local 14; Cohen (Max), Blumenson, Jacobinsky, Leader, Local 17; Riback, Singer, Local 20; Weinstein, Local 22; Abramsky, Comunale, Prisman, Local 23; Baroff, Block, Haiman, Holtzman, Portnoy, Switsky, Polakoff, Silver, Silverman, Siegelman, Local 25; Felt, Local 26; Glassman, Meader, Local 28; Gelbert, Local 31; De Martino, Local 35; Magnavit, Pismanoff, Rattay, Local 38; Dickstein, Local 41; Tatellauem, Local 49; Sirota, Tauber, Local 50; Davidson, Tauber (S.), Local 52; Local 53; Berken, Finkelson (A.), Posen, Siegelman, Local 56; Nigen, Local 58; Simon, Local 61; Horowitz, Landjo, Lifshitz, Pearl, Rock, Shiftslave, Local 62; Borowitch, Local 63; Binder, Slovick, Local 65; Cohen (Morris), Katz, Local 67; Stein, Local 69; Zeligman, Resin, Local 70; Strassburg, Local 71; Kurland, Local 73; Edlin, Local 78; Davidson, Morris, Local 81; La Porta (1.), Yount, Emadi 82; Dean, Local 83; Tredler, Horins, Local 92; Groban, Local 98; A. Rosenberg, J. B. Boston; S. Labensorn, J. B. Montreal;

J. Glickman, J. B. Toronto; M. Sandler, J. B. Philadelphia—84.

Nays—Delegates Ashpis, Goldstein (A.), Kottler, Meyerson, Padover, Rubin, Sapin, Student, Local 1; Caplan, Local 4; Bernstein, Hyman, La Porta (A.), Lopes, Schuster, Buchbinder, Local 9; Cohen (J.), Davidson, Gorenstein, Rosenberg (E.), Local 10; Levy, Cohen (W.), Davis, Bloostein, Sweet, Local 11; Flasher, Local 12; Sheinberg, Local 13; Hoffman, Local 14; Gerstein, Pessin, Local 17; Klein, Auerbach, Local 19; Weisman, Kursinski, Local 20; Chechkes, Local 21; Dubester, Fest, Gronowski, Slopak, Singer, Local 23; Shapiro, Witaszkin, Local 25; Braslaver, Ciccone, Goldovsky, Kotlovsky, Langer, Zuckerman, Local 35; Finkelstein (J.), Local 38; Herling, Reznikoff, Local 90; H. Wagner, J. B. New York—51. 

Not Voting—Delegates Schlesinger, Local 1; Halpern, Local 9; Beaver, Nagel, Pierce, Local 10; Kleinman, Local 23; Kimberman, Sigman, Local 35; Spivak, Solomon, Local 38; Cohen, Local 83; Copstein, Local 108; Fushfeld, J. B. Cincinnati; Glassman, J. B. St. Louis—14.

Most of the members not voting were absent on committee work.

Delegate Martin, Local 10, refused to vote.

RESOLUTION NO. 141.

 Whereas, Local No. 65, Ladies' Tailors and Dressmakers Union of Brooklyn, N. Y., has applied all its energy to organize the entire trade of Brooklyn, and met with no success, and

WHEREAS, This above mentioned trade has a large field for organization, and

WHEREAS, If the said local No. 65 could get more moral and financial support no doubt that the enterprise would meet with success, therefore be it

Resolved, That the convention should go on record to give Local No. 65 as whatever aid it is found necessary.

LOCAL NO. 65.

The committee recommended that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 139

WHEREAS, There was a general strike in 170
the cloak and skirt industry in the city of Philadelphia, for a period of twenty-six (26) weeks, and

WHEREAS, The struggle was one of the most bitter ones in this trade, resulting in hundreds of unjust arrest and fines of our strikers, and

WHEREAS, Even till this day remained 58 cases to be tried in the criminal courts and four cases appealed having convicted our strikers for a period of 1 to 3 years, and

WHEREAS, The present standing of Philadelphia locals are unable to provide for these strikers under the doors of jail, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twelfth Annual Convention appropriate a sufficient sum of money for the assistance of these strikers to be taken out from jail.

M. AMDUR, Local 2.
M. GRISHKIN, Local 2.
M. POLES, Local 2.
SIMON DAVIDSON, Local 53.
BECKIE STEIN, Local 69.
MAX Sandler, J. B. of Philadelphia.

The committee recommended that the subject matter be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 138

WHEREAS, The general strike of cloak and skirt workers in the city of Philadelphia was one of the most heroic struggles in the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Abe Kaplan was murdered in cold blood pierced through his heart with a bullet by the hand of a scab while doing picket duty, and

WHEREAS, Abe Kaplan is a martyr who fell on the battlefield for our right and justified causes. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twelfth Annual Convention shall appropriate a sufficient sum of money for the erection of a monument so as to immortalize our dead hero, Abe Kaplan.

M. ALDEN, Local 2.
M. GRISHKON, Local 2.
M. Polin, L. 2.
BECKIE STEIN, Local 69.
SIMON DAVIDSON, Local 53.
MAX Sandler, J. B. of Philadelphia.

The committee recommended that $200 be donated for the purpose stated in the resolution.

Delegate Nino moved to adopt the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Ashpis opposed the recommendation of the committee.

An amendment was offered that $100 be donated. (Seconded.)

President Rosenberg: We will vote on the motion to donate $200 first.
The motion to donate $200 was lost.
The motion to donate $100 was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 166.

To the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board must look after the work of the locals and also at different times send organizers to organize them, and taking into consideration that the vice-presidents themselves are the organizers, they report to themselves and are responsible to themselves only; therefore excepting the President, First Vice-President and General Secretary when we want organizers we must take same from rank and file and not from the General Executive Board.

M. GOLDOWSKY.
JOE BRASLAYER.
N. DE MARTINO.
MAX ZUCKERMAN.
J. KIMBOROFSKY.
L. LANGER.
A. KOSLOWSKY.
S. CICCONE.

Delegates Local No. 35.

Vice-President Amdur: The committee recommends that the resolution be rejected. We do so on the ground that we do not want to deprive a general officer of his right to be a general organizer if he is an able man.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Ashpis, Local No. 1, and Delegate Goldovsky, opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Pismanoff favored the recommendation of the committee.

The chairman stated that the time for adjournment had arrived and discussion
would be resumed upon reconvening in the afternoon.
At 12:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 P. M. of the same day.

EIGHTH DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock P. M., Tuesday, June 9th, President Polakoff in the chair.
The chairman asked, on behalf of the Relief Committee, that delegates needing assistance present their names and the numbers of their locals to the committee before five o'clock, and the list would then be referred to Secretary Dyche.

Secretary Dyche: I want to call attention to a statement in "Forward," which I want to emphatically deny. The statement says that Secretary Dyche induced President Gompers to agitate for his candidacy. To those of my friends who know me personally I need not say that I never in my life said a single word to President Gompers in regard to my candidacy. There isn't a shadow of truth in the statement. I did not exchange a single word with President Gompers either relative to the politics of this organization or my candidacy. The paper has a right to belittle me. that is the right of any paper, but it has no right to make a statement that is absolutely false.

President Rosenberg in the chair.

Discussion was resumed on the report of the Committee on Resolution No. 166.
Delegate Pressin, Local 17, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Gorenstein: The President refers to this matter in his report. I move as an amendment to the motion that this resolution be laid over until we get a report on the question from the Committee on Officers' Reports.

(Seconded and carried.)

The committee recommended that wherever the General Executive Board signs agreements with employers they do their utmost to install the week system in the pressing trade and advocate this principle among the workers.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 131

To the Twelfth Annual Convention of the T. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. is one of the strongest labor organizations in the country, and has many enemies who are trying to undermine its existence, and
WHEREAS, The facts which lately marked the activity of the enemies of our organization in New York, Philadelphia and other cities has reached such a point that a stop is necessary; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, To found ways and means to create a special fund of $100,000 by levying an assessment of $1.00 per capita, in order to be ready for all emergencies and fight the conspiracy of capitalism against organized labor. On each member.

M. GOLDSWOSKY, L 35,
MAX BRASLAVER, L 35,
MAX ZUCKERMAN,
J. KIMBEROFSKY,
L. LANGER, L 35,
A. KOSLOWSKY, L 35,
S. CICCONOE, L 35,
M. DE MARTINO.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

President Rosenberg: This resolution is merely an expression. When you act on the report of the president you will decide whether to levy an assessment or not.

The report of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 158-A

To the Twelfth Annual Convention, I. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS, The Jewish Consumptives' Relief Association of California is of a very great aid to our community, and
WHEREAS, The working masses are mostly in need of this kind of institution, therefore be it
RESOLVED, That this Convention donate $300.00 to the said Institution, and be it further RESOLVED, That the Twelfth Annual Convention urge its affiliated locals to become members of the above mentioned association.

A. SOLOVIOFF, L 38.

A majority of the committee recommended a donation of $50.00 for the purpose stated in the resolution.

A minority of the committee recommended a donation of $100.00.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the minority report.

Delegate Sam Tauber spoke in favor of the
resolution. He stated that the society was not an organization of wealthy Jewish people; that the appeal came from the working class and he felt the convention ought to donate more than $100.00.

Delegate Braslaver spoke in favor of donating $150.00.

The minority report was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 166-A

WHEREAS, Great revolutionary changes have occurred in the methods of production and distribution of wealth on the part of the workers of America during recent years, and

WHEREAS, The present executive officials of the American Federation of Labor have not, in our judgment, kept pace with these fundamental changes, either economically or politically; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to the A. F. of L. Convention be and are hereby instructed to vote against the present executive officials of the A. F. of L. and vote for Max S. Hayes or some other trade unionist and Socialist of his type for President, as well as other candidates in the Executive Council in harmony with his and our views.

(SIGNED) Alex M. Copstein, Local 108; S. Caplan, Local 4; Sadie Dickstein, Local 41; Morris Polin, Local 2; Simon Davidson, Local 33; Harry Silberman, Local 25; Abe Pessin, Local 17; S. Haiman, Local 25; Morris G. Leader, Local 17; B. Cohen, Local 83; J. Dubester, Local 23; L. Nigen, Local 58; Sam Tavler, Local 22; Max Singer, Local 21; M. Holtzma, Local 25; Max Cohen, Local 17; Peritz Koltler, Local 1.

The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution on the ground that it was not known who would be the next candidates for offices in the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Copstein stated that when he drew up the resolution he did not have in mind the advocacy of any particular candidate, but he believed the present officials of the American Federation of Labor are not keeping pace with the great labor movement and he favored a change in the officers. He stated further that he would offer a substitute for the resolution if the convention would permit him to do so.

A point of order was raised that it would not be proper for the delegate to offer a substitute for his own resolution. The point of order was declared well taken.

Delegate Copstein stated that the resolution was signed by a number of other delegates, and if there was no objection on their part he would withdraw it.

Delegate Simonoff: I offer as an amendment to the resolution that the convention instruct the delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention to vote for a progressive ticket or a Socialist ticket. (Seconded.)

The amendment was lost, and the motion to adopt the report of the committee was declared lost on a viva voce vote.

President Rosenberg: The resolution is adopted.

Delegate Braslaver: I want a show of hands on that.

President Rosenberg: The report of the committee was to reject the resolution.

Delegate Metz moved that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to vote in accordance with the preamble of the constitution. The amendment was not in order as a vote was being taken.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 54 in the affirmative to 26 in the negative.

Delegate Copstein: I have a resolution I wish to introduce instead of the one that has been read.

Delegate Copstein read the following:

RESOLUTION NO. 166-B

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is a progressive labor organization founded upon the express declaration that "the only way to acquire our rights as producers and citizens and to bring about a system of society whereby the workers shall get the full value of their product, is to organize industrially into a class conscious labor union politically represented on the various legislative bodies by representatives of our own party and class."; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and is convinced that the welfare of the organized workers of this country will be best served by an enlightened class conscious progressive and aggressive policy on the part of the administration of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is of the opinion that the past policies of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have in
many instances been timid, conservative, inefficient and inconsistent; that the chief executive officers of the Federation have committed the largest and most powerful body of organized labor in this country to a policy of undignified and unfruitful political lobbying and begging and have attempted to make the Federation an auxiliary to one of the old political parties managed and conducted principally in the interests of the employing classes; that several high officials of the American Federation of Labor have openly and prominently allied themselves with the National Civic Federation, an organization called into life by shrewd capitalists for the purpose of weakening and destroying the militant spirit of the American labor movement and of demoralizing their struggles against the capitalist system; that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has utterly failed to assert the spirit of labor solidarity in the recent outrages perpetrated by the mine owners of that state and has remained practically inactive in view of one of the most critical situations that ever confronted the American labor movement.

RESOLVED, That this convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union emphatically disapproves of the policies and conduct of the officers of the American Federation of Labor above mentioned; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to cast their votes in the convention against the re-election of the present officers of the American Federation of Labor and for the election of such candidates who may be nominated against the present officers by the more progressive and radical delegates in the convention.

ALEXANDER M. COPSTEIN,
Local 108.

President Rosenberg: You have had the same resolution before this convention and it was voted down. I do not see how the same resolution under another cover can be introduced. The resolution is out of order. The committee will proceed.

RESOLUTION NO 165-A
WHEREAS, A class struggle is being waged upon the industrial field— as witness the great strikes in Michigan, Colorado, West Virginia and other States in the Union; and

WHEREAS, The capitalistic class is in possession of the legislative, administrative and judicial powers of government and uses the same against the struggling workers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 12th Convention of I. L. G. W. U., call upon the locals and members of the Ladies' Garment Workers everywhere to co-operate with and support the Socialist movement in its endeavor to wrest the powers of government from the capitalistic class and use those powers to free the working class from tyranny and wage-slavery and obtain for labor the full product of its toil and liberty and justice for all mankind.

ALEX. M. COPSTEIN, Local 108.
SADIE DICKSTEIN, Local 41.
T. CAPLAN, Local 4.
M. Polin, Local 2.
SIMON DAVIDSON, Local 53.
H. SILBERMAN, Local 25.
ODEE PESSIN, Local 17.
MORRIS G. LEADER, Local 17.
J. KIMBEROFSKY, Local 35.
J. DUBESTER, Local 23.
A. GROBAN, Local 98.
L. NIGEN, Local 78.
MAX SINGER, Local 23.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 163-B
WHEREAS, The Chicago "Jewish Labor World" has assisted organized labors in all its struggles;

WHEREAS, The "Jewish Labor World" as a Socialistic paper, devotes all its efforts to uplift the intelligence of our labor masses, and

WHEREAS, The Local Unions of our International owe a great debt to this Socialistic paper for its services rendered in time of need; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 12th convention of the International Garment Workers' Union donate the sum of one hundred dollars to the "Jewish Labor World."

A. SILVER.
Delegate of Local No. 24.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the incoming General Executive Board to take up for action at
their first meeting. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

President Rosenberg: A resolution has been handed in to cover the resolution that has been rejected. It is as follows:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America has expressed itself in its Constitution, in favor of a modern spirit in the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, The membership of said International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is in hearty accord with that spirit, therefore be it

RESOLVED, by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, that we instruct our delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to work and vote in conformity with the principles enunciated in our preamble, and take a stand on all questions in favor of progressive class conscious legislation.

ELMER ROSENBERG. Local 10.
SAM METZ. Local 1.
JAY KATZ, Local 67.

The resolution was adopted as read.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORTS

Delegate Pierce, Local No. 10, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee begs to report that their report was carefully read over, even to the smallest details. We have reviewed the facts of the different strikes and the different controversies that exist between the manufacturers and the unions, and the general condition and welfare of the organization as expressed by President Rosenberg.

We are pleased to note that the waist and dress industry has been placed upon a substantial basis owing to the last agreement signed between the International and the waist and dress manufacturers.

We note at this time in the President's report that, in view of the fact that better conditions, as far as an increase of wages, reduction of the number of working hours and more complete and broader sanitary conditions in our shops would have been brought about by the adoption of the union side of a definite plan, and regret that the General Executive Board has failed to complete such a plan.

Strike in Philadelphia.

In the Philadelphia situation we commend the strikers for the magnificent strike which they carried on against the combined manufacturers of that city. We notice that our old enemies, Morris Bloch and Philip Frankel, of Cleveland, stepped in and aided the manufacturers in their fight against our people. But in spite of all this they heroically fought for twenty-six weeks, and we believe that the respect and good will of this convention should be unanimously expressed and sent to the different locals that helped to make this wonderful fight against the combined manufacturers of Philadelphia and Cleveland.

In view of the fact that one of our brothers, A. Kaplan, lost his life in this great struggle, it is the sense of the Committee on Officers' Reports that a set of resolutions be drawn up, engrossed and presented to the deceased brother's family.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. (Carried.)

Delegate Pierce continued the report of the committee, as follows:

In all our other cities, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston and San Francisco, we note with a great deal of satisfaction that the wave of unionism, as far as our industry is concerned, has apparently reached every nook and corner of this country wherever ladies' garments are made.

We have taken up the question referred to by our President with reference to the situation in New York. While there are many different views and opinions in reference to the late difficulties that existed in the City of New York, especially between the locals connected with the cloak-making branch of our industry, we have not been in a position, nor do we believe that the scope of our Committee entitles us to try individual members for expressions of opinions; and further, we have neither the time or the opportunity to prove the different accusations related. Although we realize the seriousness of casting insinuations against certain individuals of local union, we also realize that if the conditions are absolutely true as far as the President's report states, then our whole International Union is founded upon the wrong principle. We believe that when an individual or a local union commits an offense, either against a brother member, a general officer or the International Ladies Garment Workers as a whole, there are means and methods of vindication for the people of local unions or gen-
eral officers so accused. The cry of fakers, traitors, partners with bosses, reactionaries, etc., will continue as long as labor unions are in existence.

We believe that the man so accused has a place where his rights can be protected, as well as the man who makes these particular statements.

The committee believes that each and every member of the I. L. G. W. U. has a perfect right to explain their views and opinions on every question that they consider of vital importance to their welfare and their trade. We believe that it should be the duty of every general officer and also officers of local unions to use their very best effort to try and bring together in a closer affiliation those who hold difference of opinions, and to endeavor to reach the best solution of the various problems for the welfare of our people in general.

We believe that many of the articles contained in the President's report, such as his references to officials, organ of the Joint Board and the criticisms of the protocol, Local No. 1, have no place in the official report of the General President. We note that this entire report will be read by representatives of manufacturers and manufacturers' associations, and we believe it will tend to show our weakness, rather than show our solidarity.

We have carefully taken up the situation, known as the "Hourwich affair," but in view of the fact that resolutions have been presented to the Resolution Committee which deal with this entire situation, we respectfully refer this entire matter to the Convention, with the following references:

While it is a fact that the discontent was largely, if not principally, due to the fact that the Manufacturers' Association failed to treat with proper respect the demands of the union, and primarily the demands for an impartial chairman, as demanded by the Union, beginning April, 1911, and again insisted upon in January, 1913, and continued up to the time an impartial Chairman was agreed to, we regret the lack of cooperation between the International and the Joint Board of New York. We further regret that the press of both the Joint Board and the International failed to use its influence to create the necessary harmony between both those bodies, and further the fact that the Joint Board was compelled in seeking to allay the existing discontent created by the refusal of the Manufacturers' Association to accede to the reasonable demands of the Union, to retain the services of one who had no experience in trade unions; and the situation thus became more intense.

We further wish to bring to your attention that the refusal of the Manufacturers Association in April, 1911, to the establishment of a rule for an impartial Chairman brought about a great deal of discontent.

We wish to bring to your attention further that the belief of the Committee is that the criticism of the General Officers in regard to the sub-manufacturers' strike situation as against the Officers of the Joint Board who conducted this strike is unjustified. And, while the Committee is of the opinion that the General Executive Board was actuated in its policy in the Hourwich controversy by an earnest desire to do their full duty, it is the judgment of the Committee that the President, General Secretary-Treasurer and members of the General Executive Board did not on all occasions in this controversy use the most tactful measures. Further, in view of the fact that a resolution has been submitted to this Convention with reference to the Hourwich controversy, where delegates will have an opportunity to thoroughly discuss this matter, we respectfully refer this entire matter to the Convention under those resolutions.

**Question of Western Office.**

In the last convention a resolution was adopted to establish a Western office. The committee is of the opinion that the Western branch office should be abolished.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Special Fund for New Locals.**

The committee unanimously concur in the recommendation that we shall have a special fund for new locals.

**Organizing Work.**

With reference to our organizing work (page 32), we took note of the President's recommendation that we raise a per capita tax of one-half cent a week for strikes in new locals. We believe that this matter should be referred to the General Executive Board to create a special fund for this purpose.

President Rosenberg: You have heard the recommendation of the committee in regard
to creating a special fund for financing strikes of newly organized locals. The raising of per capita tax will only apply to members who are six months in the organization. The newly organized people will remain as they were before. This has nothing to do with raising money to finance general strikes. I desire to speak against the recommendation of the committee. Two years ago you decided to refer this matter to the general officers to devise ways and means. How can they devise ways and means to finance strikes unless you provide for it? The International is allowed only to levy an assessment when a strike is on.

Delegate Morris: I move as an amendment that the Executive Board have the power to levy an assessment of one cent or one-half cent.

President Rosenberg: An assessment will not do. You must have a steady income from per capita tax. When you organize a new local of two or three dozen men or women and half a dozen of them are fired as soon as they organize the union you cannot levy an assessment and we cannot take money out of the treasury to finance their strike. The General Executive Board has no power to do it.

Delegate Silver: I move to defer action until the question of an increase in the per capita tax is taken up. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Pierce continued the report of the committee as follows:

**Dissolution of Locals.**

Considerable time was spent by the committee in finding the cause for the dissolution of the nineteen local unions as reported by the General President, and while no definite understanding could be had with reference to this matter we found there was some contention raised on account of the organizers who were appointed or rather on account of the arbitrary power conferred upon our General President, who has the power to appoint special organizers when the General Executive Board is not in session. We therefore recommend that the power be now vested in a committee composed of the President, General Secretary-Treasurer, and First Vice-President.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed at length by President Rosenberg, who denied statements that had been made that the President had used his power in an arbitrary manner and had sent whatever organizer he pleased to certain localities. He stated that locals had asked for certain organizers who could not be sent, either because they were employed elsewhere or they declined to go. He opposed the recommendation that the power to appoint special organizers be taken from the President and conferred upon a committee composed of the President, General Secretary-Treasurer and First Vice-President. He explained the difficulties that might arise if the plan were adopted.

Delegate Scheinberg opposed the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Cohen, Local 26, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Seidman spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Morris spoke in opposition to the report of the committee.

Vice-President Polakoff: I would like to ask a question of the chairman. If I am not mistaken the committee passed upon the label question. The chairman stated that the General Executive Board, including the Secretary and President, did not bring in any report. Is that true?

President Rosenberg: They regret that the General Executive Board was not ready to report to this convention.

Vice-President Polakoff: Did the committee call in any of the officers to find out why they were not present?

Delegate Pierce: No.

Vice-President Polakoff: It is unfair to bring in a report of that kind without calling upon the officers to express an opinion.

Delegate Pierce continued the report of the committee as follows:

**Organization Committee.**

We further recommend that the General Executive Board shall elect a committee of three to be known as an “Organization Committee” to plan a systematic method of organizing for the next two years, at least one man to be from outside of New York, said committee to report to the next convention.

The question was discussed briefly by Secretary Dyche and Delegate Pierce.

Delegate Silver and Delegate Halpern op-
posed the report of the committee. Delegate Metz spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Cohen, Local 26, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Baroff discussed briefly the methods that have been employed by the International in organizing, and referred to the fact that the President's report showed that 19 locals had been dissolved since the last convention.

Delegate Davidson (I.), spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Spivak stated that he did not see any danger in the plan proposed by the committee, and favored it.

Delegate Pismanoff stated that the committee had not brought in any plan to solve the problem, and moved that the subject matter be recommitted to the committee.

Vice President Polakoff spoke in opposition to the recommendation of the committee. He spoke in detail of the manner in which the work of organization had been conducted.

The question was discussed in a general way by Delegate Prisam and Delegate Fusfield.

Delegate Sigman discussed the question at length and spoke of statements he had made to the Committee on Officers' Reports in regard to the method of organizing.

Delegate Copstein spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

President Rosenberg discussed the question at length. He referred to organizing work that had been done and to strikes that had been conducted. He opposed the recommendation of the committee. During the course of his remarks, President Rosenberg gave the name and location and each of the nineteen locals that had been dissolved and the reason why those locals went out of existence. In each case he made it plain that it was not through any fault of the International but usually owing to local conditions.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost by a vote of 44 in the affirmative to 61 in the negative.

Delegate continued the report of the committee, as follows:

*International Relations*

The committee reaffirms the recommendation of the last convention instructing the General Executive Board to affiliate with International Tailors' Secretariat, and this committee recommends that we continue such affiliation, and recommend further that the delegate to the convention of the International Secretariat be elected at our biennial conventions.

Delegate Pierce stated that a minority of the committee recommended that the General Executive Board elect the delegate.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the majority report.

After a brief discussion the motion was carried.

*Uniform Initiation Fee.*

Delegate Pierce: This matter has been referred to the Law Committee, with the opinion that it should be left to the respective locals.

President Rosenberg: Does the committee favor the proposition or not? If the committee does not act upon it and there is no resolution to that effect the whole thing is a farce.

Delegate Copstein: The Committee on Officers' Reports took into consideration all the arguments that were advanced and interrogated the secretaries in regard to the matter. Since the report of the President has a recommendation to establish a uniform initiation fee we wanted to find out whether such a thing can be adopted. After a long discussion we came to the conclusion that if there is a sentiment in favor of the proposition those people in favor of a uniform initiation fee should frame a law and bring it before the committee.

Delegate Pierce: We express the opinion yearly that this thing should be left to the respective locals.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Pessin: I move as an amendment that the committee bring in a report for or against it, in order that the delegates can discuss it. (Seconded.)

Delegate Pierce: The committee has already decided that, in their opinion, the matter of the initiation fee should be left to the respective locals.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by viva voce vote.

A division was asked for; 55 votes were cast in favor of the report of the committee and 40 votes against.

Vice President Polakoff requested a roll call on the question.

The chairman stated that the hour for ad-
NINTH DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order at 9:15 o'clock A. M., Wednesday, June 10th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—None.

Delegate Switsky: When we adjourned a demand had been made for a roll call. We make the demand again this morning.

President Rosenberg: If a roll was desired it should have been asked for before we took a vote.

Secretary Dyche: To my sorrow I have again to call attention to slanders which "The Forward" the last few days have been printing against me. This statement says that the convention found fault with my work as editor of our official journal because I used it for the purpose of attacking the Socialist party and also attacking my personal opponents. You all know such statements to be absolutely false.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

"Delegate Kleinman, for the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 35.
Art. 4. Sec. 2 (New.)
No delegate should be eligible as a candidate for a General Office unless he or she is a member of the I. L. G. W. U. in good standing at least two years prior to the convention.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution when amended by striking out the words "No delegate" and inserting "No member"; and further amend by changing Sections 2, 3 and 4, to Sections 3, 4, and 5.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 16
Amendment to the Constitution. Article III, Sec. 6:
The first paragraph shall be amended to read: "Delegates shall be elected by ballot with the names composed according to the alphabet, at a meeting of the Local Union, immediately after receiving notice from the G. S. T."

ABE MITCHELL.
Vice-President.

The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution. The committee stated that they believed the matter should be left to the locals to adopt their own by-laws.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 15
Amendment to the Constitution. Article III, Sec. 1:
The last paragraph shall be amended to read: "Not less than two cities and not more than three cities shall be proposed and submitted to a vote of the local unions of the I. L. G. W. U. Each local union shall have the same number of votes that it was entitled to at the last convention. A majority will decide."

ABE MITCHELL.
Vice-President.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 34.
Art. 5. Sec. 17 (New).
No officer (paid or unpaid) of the I. L. G. W. U. Local Union, Joint Board, or Dist. Council, etc., shall have the right to become a candidate for office of any capitalist party without the permission of the organization he or she is under jurisdiction.

The acceptance of such a candidacy shall be considered an official resignation as officer of the I. L. G. W. U., Local Union, Joint Board, Dist. Council, etc.

It shall be the duty of the I. L. G. W. U. Local Union, Joint Board, or Dist. Council to accept such a resignation at their first regular meeting.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS, L. 1.
JAY KATZ, L. 67.
SAUL METZ, L. 1.
M. JACOBINSKY, L. 17.

The committee recommended that Section 6 of Article 14, fourth line, be amended to read as follows: "Persons running for or holding office in any of the capitalist parties are likewise barred from membership and from holding any office, paid or unpaid, in the I. L. G. W. U., L. U., Joint Board, or District Council."
Delegate Block: If the local will permit any member to run for such an office will he be allowed to do so?
President Rosenberg: That has been amended.
The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended the adoption of Resolution No. 17 when amended to read:

RESOLUTION NO. 17.
Amendment to the Constitution: Article III, Sec. 8, shall be amended to read: "A paid officers of any Local Union, Joint Board, District Council or I. L. G. W. U., who has been in the employ of the organization continuously for six (6) months or more.
A. MITCHELL, Vice President.
A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.
Delegate Portnoy: I move to strike out the word "paid." (Seconded and carried.)
The recommendation of the committee was adopted as amended.

Vice-President Kleinman: We have several resolutions in regard to the per capita. The committee recommends that any per capita adopted by this convention be inserted in the constitution, and even though there is no change that the amount be inserted in the constitution. The committee believes that a great many of our members do not know the amount paid to the general office and they are entitled to know it. To state the amount is out of the jurisdiction of this committee. The statement was made that the questions would be reported on by the Resolutions Committee, and whatever was adopted would be inserted in the constitution.
The following resolutions, dealing with one subject matter, were covered in one report of the committee:

RESOLUTION NO. 103
WHEREAS, The principal function of organized labor is to educate its members and
WHEREAS, The various papers issued by the International, Joint Board and some locals are local papers, and are to some extent contradictory to one another in their writings and
WHEREAS, Under such conditions prevailing in the International and some of its locals the work of education among its members on the principles of trade unionism is to a certain extent hindered; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That this 12th Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. adopts a resolution that a weekly publication be issued directly from the International office which shall be sent to each and every member belonging to the I. L. G. W. U. for which members shall pay one cent together with their dues; be it also
RESOLVED, That a special press committee, editor and manager be elected by this convention who shall have charge of this publication in conjunction with the General Executive Board.
H. DUBINSKY, I. WISEMAN, A. RIBACK, J. M. SINGER, P. KURINSKY.

RESOLUTION NO. 159.
RESOLVED, That part of Article I, Section 9 which reads, "The General Secretary-Treasurer shall also have the supervision of the Editorial Department of the official journal of the I. L. G. W. U." shall be changed and read as follows: "The General Executive Board shall have the supervision of the editorial and editing department of the official journal of the I. L. G. W. U."
M. AMDUR, Local No. 2.
MAX SANDLER, Joint Board at Phila.
M. POLIN, Local No. 2.
M. GRISHKAM, Local No. 2.
BECKIE STEIN, Local No. 69.
SIMON DAVIDSON, Local No. 53.

RESOLUTION NO. 158
WHEREAS, Article V, Sections 1, 5 and 7 provide for reports and recommendations of the General President and Secretary Treasurer, therefore be it
RESOLVED, That said sections shall be amended to read as follows: That the entire General Executive Board shall bring in one report without reading it, and be it further
RESOLVED, That the General Executive Board shall work out such recommendations as deemed advisable for the betterment of the I. L. G. W. U. and send same out to all affiliated locals imprinted form at least twenty (20) days prior to the opening of the convention.
SIMON DAVIDSON.
Local No. 53.
Vice-President Kleinman: This matter has already been acted upon by the convention. No further action is necessary.

The report of the committee was accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 151.

WHEREAS, We believe that the previous nominations and elections of the officers of the I. L. G. W. U. and members of the General Executive Board have been held too closely together, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the nominations of the President and General Secretary Treasurer and members of the General Executive Board to be elected at this and future conventions be held twenty-four hours previous to the election.

W. C. O. H. E. N., Local 11.

The committee recommended the rejection of the amendment contained in the resolution.

Vice-President Kleinman: A number of the people whose names were signed to this amendment asked that they be withdrawn.

The report of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 167.

To the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.:

Article J, Sec. 22, Order of Business.

WHEREAS, The local delegation who come to the convention, knowing each other as they do and the good work they can do in their individual organizations, and

WHEREAS, The delegation come to the convention with some ideas of their own in obtaining office from the hands of the President;

RESOLVED, That this Twelfth Annual Convention pass a resolution that hereafter all the committees shall be elected by the delegates present and not appointed by the chair.

M. G. O. L. D. O. W. S. K. Y.,
J. O. E. B. R. A. S. L. A. V. E. R.,
N. D. E. M. A. R. T. I. N. O.,
M. A. X. Z. U. C. K. E. R. M. A. N.,
J. K. I. M. B. E. R. O. F. S. K. Y.,
I. L. A. N. G. E. R.,

A. K. O. S. L. O. W. S. K. Y.,
S. C. I. C. C. O. N. E.,
Local No. 35,

The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Portnoy: I move as an amendment that only the chairman of the committee be given the floor.

President Rosenberg: That will have to be a new section. That is not an amendment to the committee's report.

Delegate Goldowsky spoke in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Leader spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 63 in the affirmative to 53 in the negative.

RESOLUTION NO. 185

WHEREAS, Some locals have refused to accept transfers from their respective locals and although these members were in good standing with their locals for a long time they were asked for another initiation fee, and

WHEREAS, Some members have spent many years and months in strikes and suffering for our union, and

WHEREAS, Such actions from these locals are contrary to the principles of rights and justice, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article 14, Section 7, read as follows:

"Local Unions shall not charge the difference of initiation fee from members traveling from one local to another in the same branch of the trade, as from cloaks to cloaks or from a tailor to a tailor, providing such member is in good standing for at least six months. If a transfer is issued from a local of a different branch of the trade, as from waists to cloaks such members will have to be in good standing for one year.

No local affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. shall refuse to accept such transfer providing said member will remain in the same department, for instance, an operator in the operating department, a presser in the pressers' department, etc.

(Signed) J. Portnoy, A. Koslowsky, L. Langer, Local 35; H. Silberman, Local 25; H. Dubinsky, Local 20; Jacob M. Singer, Local 20; S. Koldovsky, Local 14; M. Shur,
Delegate Kleinman: The committee decides the resolution is out of order, because the convention has already decided there can be no transfer from one organization to another.

Delegate Silver moved to reconsider the former action of the convention. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORTS**

Delegate Pierce, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report, as follows:

**Autonomy of Our Locals**

The committee is of the opinion that the granting of power to the International officers to dictate who shall be an officer of the local union is dangerous and should not be granted.

**Uniform Initiation Fee**

The committee is of the opinion that this matter should be left to the respective locals.

**Increased Per Capita Tax**

Delegate Pierce: The Law Committee has just reported on this matter. They have asked that it be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The recommendation of the Committee of Officers' Reports is in favor of an increased per capita tax.

Delegate Block: I move that the report of the committee be adopted. (Seconded by Delegate Gorenstein, and carried.)

**Protocol Agreements**

Delegate Pierce: The committee reports that until some other form of agreement has been presented to us which will better safeguard and protect the interests and welfare of our members we are in favor of the protocol agreement.

Delegate Silver: I move to adopt the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Pierce: The question of the consolidation of the different publications has been taken up by the convention, and we will not take time to read this part of it.

**Injunctions and Court Trials**

Delegate Pierce: We have gone over the question of raising a legal defense fund to protect the interests of our members who have been cast into jail charged with violations of injunctions, etc. The President in his report recommends that an assessment of one dollar be placed upon every member of the union for the purpose of creating a fund for their defense. He has stated in his report that cases that have already been brought may cost $100,000. The committee reports favorably on this and recommends that the convention place an assessment of one dollar on every member in order to establish a legal defense fund.

Delegate Solovioff: Yesterday it was decided to assess the members for the expenses in the case of Sigman, Stupniker, and Metz.

Delegate Pierce: This is a legal defense fund.

President Rosenberg: The resolution that was adopted merely expressed the opinion that an assessment should be levied, but did not say explicitly what the assessment should be. This report says explicitly that an assessment of one dollar be levied on every member of the union to cover the defense of Sigman, Stupniker and Metz and also the boys in Philadelphia.

Delegate Copstein, Chairman of the Committee on Officers' Reports: The committee recommends this assessment, not only for Metz, Stupniker and Sigman, but for every other member who is indicted.

Delegate Silver opposed the recommendation of the committee on the ground that to try to collect such a defense fund would mean the disbanding of some of the locals who would not be able to pay it. He stated that he would favor the increasing of the per capita tax but opposed an assessment.

Delegate Tredler opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Amdur moved as an amendment that the funds be a general defense fund and that the particular men to be defended be not mentioned. (Seconded.)

President Rosenberg: Personally I do not care whether the amendment is adopted or
not, but I believe it will destroy the object we have in view. We all know the cases we now have on hand will cost a great deal of money. If you decide this is to be a general defense fund the General Executive Board will not be allowed to use the greater part of the money in one or two cases, because in six months there may be other cases and we will not have a convention for two years. This is an exceptional case; this money should be used for the persons in trouble.

Delegate Sheinberg stated that the fund should be raised for the entire country, not for the New York cases alone.

Vice-President Amdur: There are men under charges in Cincinnati.

President Rosenberg: They will be included, because the report says those now under charges.

Delegate Pierce: The report of the committee is that the funds be used for everybody connected with the International.

Delegate Portnoy: I move as an amendment that the convention empower the incoming General Executive Board to levy an assessment, and then they cannot act otherwise.

Delegate Chachkes opposed the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Jesse P. Cohen spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Dyche, in discussing the question, said in part: I think if you will analyze the figures in the International office for the last few years you will find that more than a quarter of a million dollars has been spent on strikes. The running of the general office costs something, including printing and general expenses, and up to this time a trifle over one cent of the per capita has been spent for that purpose; the rest of the money, a cent and a half, has gone to strikes. I believe if we have a general defense fund and if we have a per capita for it the International Union would always have money to meet the legal expenses. It is a matter of figures. Under the present circumstances we have constant application for strike benefits or assistance for locals on strike, and we have an empty treasury and are borrowing money from other organizations and from banks and waiting until the assessment comes in. If the per capita tax is regular and we have a special fund to pay out for strikes the International will always have a large treasury.

I believe if you will put our International Union on a sound financial basis there will be no need of putting on special assessments to meet these obligations. I do not want to go on record as not being willing to assist members under charges in criminal proceedings. I believe in case of an emergency such as this our locals will pay, they will give assistance.

Secretary Dyche discussed the question further and spoke of the difficulty of collecting assessments from members who earned small wages, and referred to the thousands of girls in the industry who were earning but five or six dollars a week.

Delegate Sapin spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Spivak opposed the recommendation of the committee and moved as an amendment that the assessment be 50 cents. (Seconded by Delegate Chachkes.)

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Langer and Delegate Landio.

A motion to close debate was carried by a vote of 75 in the affirmative to 19 in the negative.

A roll call was asked on the question.

President Rosenberg: There is an amendment providing for 50 cents. The report of the committee is to put on an assessment of one dollar. We will vote on the motion to make the assessment one dollar first.

Roll call on motion to levy an assessment of one dollar per member for a legal defense fund.

AYES—Delegates Metz, Meyerson, Schlesinger, Local 1; Amdur, Grishkon, Polen, No. 2; Bernstein, Balitz, Hyman, Lefkovits, Nino, Schuster, Weimer, Buchbinder, Local 9; Cohen, Beaver, Davidson, Epstein, Gorenstein, Nagel, Pierce, Rosenberg (E.), Local 10; Levy, Cohen, Davis, Blustein, Sweet, Local 11; Cohen (Morris), Flashner, Local 12; Sheinberg, Local 13; Cohen (Maz), Blumenthal, Gershkooff, Jacobinsky, Leader, Pessin, Local 17; Dubinsky, Local 20; Weinstein, Local 22; Comunale, Dubester, Fest, Gratkowski, Slobak, Singer, Local 23; Baroff, Block, Polaskoff, Seidman, Wittenkin, Local 25; Cohen, Feit, Local 26; Glassman, Meader, Local 28; Gelbert, Local 31; Braslaver, Ciccone, Goldofsky, Kibrakovsky, Konovsky, Langer, DeMartino, Zuckerman, Local 35; Dickstein, Local 41; Tatelbaum, 49; Tauber (S.), Local 52; Davidson, Local 53; Beren, Finkelstein (A.), Posen, Sheines, Local 56; Simon, Local...
President Rosenberg: An assessment of one dollar is levied on every member of the International Union.

Delegate Pierce continued the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports as follows:

Agitation Against Cleveland Manufacturers.

The committee recognizes the necessity of a nationwide agitation being started against Cleveland cloak manufacturers. We believe that something should be done by our incoming General Executive Board to counteract the work of our enemies.

Delegate Gorenstein: I move as an amendment that this be laid over until we have a report from the Label and Boycott Committee.

President Rosenberg: This is merely an expression of opinion.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Composition of General Executive Board.

Delegate Pierce: The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Shall Unions Be Incorporated?

Delegate Pierce: The question of whether or not unions shall be incorporated was brought up in the President's report. It seems that a couple of our unions incorporated and got charters from the state. Section 3, Article 9, page 35, of the constitution, deals with this matter. There is a difference of opinion in the committee as to whether the International can attach their funds as provided for in our laws. The Committee therefore recommends that the matter go to the Law Committee with instructions to bring in some definite resolution.

Upon motion of Delegate Wiener, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Transfers From Organizations Affiliated With International Secretariat.

Delegate Pierce: The committee recommends that transfers be received from members of the International Secretariat who have been members not less than six months. We recommend that the transfers be accepted by our locals in the United States and Canada provided they come under the provisions of the constitution that govern the transferring of members in this country.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by President Rosenberg, Secretary Dyche, Delegate Svitsky, Delegate Morris Deitch, Delegate Pierce, Delegate Metz, Delegate Portnoy, Delegate Landin, Delegate Wiener, Vice President Polaskoff, Delegate Polin, Delegate Cohen (Local 17) and Delegate Shapiro.

A number of the delegates who discussed the question objected to giving privileges to members from European countries that were not given to members in the United States.

Delegate Pierce, for the Committee, explained that such members would have to come under the provisions of the constitution in
the labor movement.

If it is the sentiment of the committee that we have acted in accordance with our constitution and in conformity with trade union ethics, we want to know what punishment those men who have created the entire atmosphere in regard to this affair are going to have. I want to make it clear that this is not a political campaign. I want to know right here whether, after working for the trade union movement for over thirty years, while those people were scabbing in the shops I am to be called by them a traitor. There was a union in the city of New York for about thirty years, and it is only four years since a majority of those members joined the union, although working in the trade.

Delegate Rosenberg, No. 10, asked that the President vacate the chair if he intended to discuss the question.

Vice President Polakoff in the chair.

Delegate Sapin objected to Vice President Polakoff presiding and asked that an impartial chairman be chosen.

A number of delegates asked that the question before the house be explained.

Delegate Cohen, Local 26, arose to a point of order on the debate. He stated that the debate was out of order as the committee had not finished its report.

Delegate Goldofsky moved that the discussion on the Hourwich affair be in executive session. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gorenstein: A point of order. The recommendation of the committee is not properly before the house. We do not know what to discuss. This is out of order.

Vice President Leftkovits raised the point of order that the only motion that could properly come before the convention was a motion to accept the recommendation of the committee.

Vice President Amdur moved that further discussion of the question be deferred until the Committee on Resolutions reported.

Delegate Copstein: As chairman of the Committee on Officers' Reports I desire to say that the committee yesterday recommended that this Hourwich affair be deferred until the Resolutions Committee could report. Our report was accepted. There are resolutions on this subject and they can be discussed at that time. I understand the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report.

Delegate Pierce: I move that immediate regard to transfers as well as the members in the United States.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Pierce: That completes the report of the committee on President Rosenberg's report.

Report of Committee on Secretary's Report.

Delegate Pierce: This entire report covers the situation in New York. There are a few exceptions in the Secretary's report. One is in reference to certain individuals who are criticised for taking certain positions and committing certain actions mentioned by the Secretary-Treasurer. Several members of the General Executive Board were called before the committee and made statements. They desire to be given an opportunity to be heard on the floor in regard to this question. The committee brings in no recommendation in regard to this. We believe our report on the President's report in regard to the New York situation covers this matter.

We therefore respectfully submit our report to you as a whole.

A. M. COPSTEIN, Chairman,
JOHN F. PIERCE, Secretary,
SAM FLASHNER,
B. COHEN,
LOUIS LANGER,
SOLOMON METZ,
SAM GLASSMAN,
DAVID FUSFIELD,
J. KIMBEROFFSKY,
A. COHEN,
Committee on Officers' Reports.

President Rosenberg: The committee makes no report on the Hourwich affair, although that matter was dealt with in the President's report. We would like to know right now whether it is the sentiment of the delegates to this convention that we are traitors that we have betrayed the International Garment Workers' Union, or whether those men who have insinuated and those who came out openly in the press and verbally made those statements are to be censured as the traitors and provocators of the union. It is not our object to have this thing shoved aside and no action taken. We want to know whether or not we are traitors. If we are we have no place on the floor of this convention. If the convention says we are, we are willing to step out of
ly after convening this afternoon the special order of business be the question known as "Hourwich affair," and the situation in New York. (Seconded.)

Delegate Copstein: Inasmuch as the Committee on Officers' Reports did not report on certain questions I move as an amendment that a committee of five be selected to take up those matters the committee did not touch upon and bring in a report.

Chairman Polakoff declared the motion out of order.

The motion offered by Delegate Pierce was carried.

A delegate desired to offer an amendment to the motion to go into executive session.

Delegate Epstein: A point of order on the amendment. A privileged motion cannot be amended.

The point of order was declared well taken.

The motion to discuss the Hourwich affair in executive session was carried.

At 12:20 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 p.m. of the same day.

NINTH DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p.m., Wednesday, June 10th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

The chairman stated that, in accordance with the motion adopted at the close of the morning session, the convention would be in executive session and nobody would be permitted in the hall except delegates.

Vice-President Polakoff moved that representatives of the press be not excluded. (Seconded.)

Delegate Cohen (J. P.) moved as an amendment to the amendment that Moe Lazarus be allowed to remain in the hall.

A request was made by another delegate that Brother Shur be allowed to remain.

In response to a question the chairman stated that Meyer London would be allowed to remain as he was an officer of the International.

The motion to not exclude the representatives of the press, amended to include Messrs. Lazarus and Shur, was carried.

Mr. Meyer London and Delegate Morris Deitch suggested that the convention either be open or be thoroughly executive.

A motion was made to reconsider the action of the convention in deciding to discuss the Hourwich affair in executive session.

The chairman stated that the motion to reconsider would not be in order until some other business had been transacted.

Report of Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

Delegate Silver, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows

RESOLUTION NO. 125
WHEREAS, The extension of basting of garments to the finishers, has brought considerable damage to the tailors, and

WHEREAS, The limitation of work for finishers will certainly eliminate women from price making, and consequently the amount of troubles coming from discrimination of members of price committees, and

WHEREAS, The limitation of work for finishers will greatly diminish the number of idle people among piece-tailors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, To re-establish the basters and limit the work of the finisher to the lining and button-sewing.

N. DI MARTINO, L. 35,
FRANK COMUNALE, L. 23,
SERAFINO CICCONE, L. 35,
A. LA PORTA, L. 9,
FRANK LOPES, L. 9,
F. MAGNAVITA, L. 38,
S. NINFO, L. 9.

Delegate Silver: The committee recommends that this request be rejected, on the ground that it would be encouraging a section system which has been abolished.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 127
To the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS, It has been proven in the last few years that pressers employed in the waist and dress industry and also pressers employed in the children's dress manufacturing has invaded the field of the cloak and reefer pressers, and

WHEREAS, Pressers from Local 25 and from Local 50 many times create disturbances by demanding to be transferred to Local 35
without any payment of difference in the
initiation fee, and
WHEREAS, The continual friction and
collision of jurisdiction is usually caused by
reason of the fact that one shop is not under
the control of Local 35, when for another
is just the opposite; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That all pressers, no matter
if employed in the making of cloaks, suits or
dress, waist or coats, be organized all under
the jurisdiction of Local 35.

M. GOLDOPSY, L. 35,
MORRIS SIGMAN, L. 35,
JOE BRASLAYER, L. 35,
MAX ZUCKERMAN,
J. KIMBOROFSKY,
L. LANGER, L. 35,
A. KOSLOWSKY, L. 35,
S. CICONE, L. 35,
N. DI MARTINO.

Delegate Silver: The delegates from Lo-
cal 25 and Local 35 had a meeting and set-
tled the question between themselves. They
decided that a committee of three from
each local seek ways and means to bring
about an adjustment.

Delegate Copstein: I move to concur in
the report of the committee. (Seconded.)
A delegate asked if such a committee
were appointed would it include Local No.
50.

In answer to an inquiry as to whether the
settlement reached by Locals 25 and 35, if
one were reached, would be submitted to
the General Executive Board, President
Rosenberg stated that it would be the busi-
ess of the General Executive Board to be
with them and draw up the understanding.

Delegate Pierce: I move that the con-
vention order Local 25 and Local 35 to ap-
point a committee as recommended by the
Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

President Rosenberg: They have agreed
to do it.

Delegate Pierce: If they disagree?
President Rosenberg: The General Ex-
cutive Board will take it up anyway and
try to bring about harmony.

The motion to adopt the recommenda-
tion of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 126
To the Convention of the International La-
dies' Garment Workers' Union.
Dear Sirs and Brothers:
On account of the non-acceptance of the
Russian delegate to the J. L. G. W. U. Con-
vention the Russian-Polish branch at a pro-
test meeting held on Friday, May 29th,
1914, adopted the following resolution:
1. Not to appeal to the convention against
the decision of the General Executive Board
distrusting their justice.
2. To recall all the Russian delegates from
the Joint Board, Executive Boards, and Re-
lief Committee of Local No. 35 and not to
send those delegates to the Union until our
delegate to the convention will be recognized.
3. To cease all communications with the
Joint Board and all the Executive Boards
and also refrain from publishing their min-
utes and official communications in our paper.
4. To establish our own defense fund with
dues of five cents from each member of the
Russia-Polish Branch.
5. To demand recognition of the Russian
delegates to the next convention.
6. To recommend to all the Russian and
Polish members of the union not to pay the
fund dues to the Local No. 35 but to the
Branch Relief fund of all the Russian and
Polish members.
7. The edition of the branch's columns of
Novy Mir, should be edited by the branch, not
by the editor of the New Post.
8. To demand from the Joint Board to
recognize one Russian business agent and
9. This resolution should be sent to all
the Executive Boards, Joint Board, Inter-
national, the Convention and President Gom-
pers. and published in the Russkoye Slovo,
Novy Mir, Call, and Robotnik Polski.
Fraternally yours,
B. GREENKO,
Secretary of the
Russian-Polish Branch.

Delegate Silver: The committee does not
understand how this protest letter happened
to be sent to the convention, as they state they
decided not to appeal to this convention. We
therefore recommend that this protest letter
be referred to the Joint Board of the cloak
makers' union.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt
the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Dyche: I think a mistake has
been made in writing the communication.
Brother Greenko asked me what to do about
it and I suggested that he refer the matter to
this convention.

Delegate Gorenstein: I move that this be
referred to the General Executive Board.

President Rosenberg: Some members of the local have a grievance against their local union. Before they have submitted it to Local 35 or to the Joint Board it is not advisable for the General Executive Board to handle it.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 128

WHEREAS, It has been clearly demonstrated that the finishers of Local No. 17 are in competition with the finishers of Local No. 9, and

WHEREAS, It is always considered dangerous for one trade in one locality to be controlled by two different organizations, and

WHEREAS, Local No. 9 is considered the only legitimate organization in New York to control the finishing trade, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all the finishers of Locals No. 17 be transferred to Local No. 9 where they will be better controlled in order to make it possible to diminish the competition.

(Signed) THE DELEGATION, Local 9.

Delegate Silver: The committee called up Locals No. 9 and No. 17, and after hearing what they had to say we have presented a majority and a minority report.

The majority report is to refer the matter to the General Executive Board.

The minority report is to reject the request of Local No. 9, on the ground that they could not prove the finishers of Local No. 17 were competing with the finishers of Local No. 9.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the majority report of the committee.

Delegate Seidman: I move to amend that the minority report of the committee be adopted.

The chairman declared the motion not a proper amendment.

The motion to adopt the majority report was carried.

Vice President Leftowits stated that the time had arrived when the motion to reconsider the action of the convention in deciding to hold an executive session could be taken up.

A motion to reconsider was adopted.

REPORT OF ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Delegate Schlesinger, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We have several resolutions containing demands for organizers. The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 112

WHEREAS, There is a large number of ladies' garment workers in New England, of which Boston is the center, employed in the following branches: cloaks, skirts, waists and dresses, white goods, raincoats, etc., etc., of which the largest number is not organized, and

WHEREAS, The organized cloak and skirt makers of Boston are not in a position to do extensize organizing work; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention place an organizer in New England to organize the ladies' garment workers.

M. COHEN, Local 12,

SAM FLASHNER, Local 12,

MARY TATELBAUM, L. 49.

I. POSEN, Local 56,

N. BERMAN, Local 56,

H. SHEINES, Local 56,

E. FINKELSTEIN, Local 56,

B. KURLAND, Local 73.

RESOLUTION NO. 114

WHEREAS, Local 49, Waist Makers of Boston, have through a bitter strike won protocol conditions with the Boston waist manufacturers in 1913, and

WHEREAS, Through lack of proper organizing work our local is at present in poor condition; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming G. E. B. to place an organizer exclusively for the waist trade of Boston.

(Signed)

MARY TATELBAUM,

Delegate of Local No. 49.

RESOLUTION NO. 117

WHEREAS, There are thousands of ladies' garment workers in New Haven, Conn., unorganized, and

WHEREAS, Local 22 is not in a position to do organizing work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming G. E. B. to place an organizer exclusively for New Haven to organize the ladies' garment workers.

(Signed) O. WINSTEIN, Local 22.

RESOLUTION NO. 119

WHEREAS, The Waist, Dress and Underwear Button-hole Makers' Union, Local 58, I. L. G. W. U., has been organized by its
members who work in shops daytime and give their evenings for the organization, and WHEREAS, Very good results can not be obtained in this way, and

WHEREAS, The members of Local 58 feel that if they had an organizer to give all his time for the union, they could within a short time be financially strong enough to keep a paid officer for all the time and build up the organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the I. L. G. W. U. that the Buttonhole Makers’ Union, Local 58, be granted an organizer for six months, or financial help be given to them for that length of time to choose their own organizer.

L. NIGEN,
Delegate Local 58

RESOLUTION NO. 122

WHEREAS, We believe that a thorough organization of all the branches of the ladies’ garment industry is essential for an improvement of the conditions of the workers, and WHEREAS, The cutting branch of the industry is regarded as the pivot upon which the entire factory revolves, and

WHEREAS, The cutters in the districts outside of New York are not organized to the extent that is necessary for a more thorough control of the industry, and

WHEREAS, There has never been a concerted effort made by the International Union to organize the cutters throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the work of organizing cutters can best be done by workers of that particular craft, and

WHEREAS, There has never been a request of the General Executive Board for organizers for this special work; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a sufficient number of organizers connected with the cutting branch of the trade be assigned by the General Executive Board for the purpose of organizing the cutters throughout the country, and also to assist generally the local organizers in the various cities.

(Signed)

B. COHEN, Local 83,
H. C. DEAN, Local 83,
J. KEVENKO, Local 19,
L. AUERBACH, Local 19,
C. G. MORRIS, Local 81,

I. DAVIDSON, Local 81,
B. KURLAND, Local 73

Delegate Schlesinger: Similar resolutions were acted upon Saturday and referred to the General Executive Board. We recommend that these resolutions be referred in the same manner.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 94

WHEREAS, The raincoat trade has developed into cloth garments, that is to say the rubberized cloth received a setback for the time being, and

WHEREAS, The raincoat manufacturers as well as clothing manufacturers manufacturing both lines, ladies’ and men’s garments, prefer, as above mentioned, garments to be made in shops of organized and unorganized garment workers, and

WHEREAS, The Raincoat Makers’ Union, Local No. 20, have established in the raincoat industry in the city of New York and the vicinity the forty-eight hour week schedule; twenty-seven dollars per week for cutters; twenty-five dollars per week for pressers; twelve dollars the minimum per week for finishers and seventy-five cents per hour for cementers and operators; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the charter of the Raincoat Makers’ Union, Local No. 20, be changed and known as the WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS’ UNION, LOCAL NO. 20, I. L. G. W. U.

H. DUBINSKY,
I. WISEMAN,
A. RIBACK,
J. M. SINGER,
P. KURINSKY.

Delegate Schlesinger: There is a minority and a majority report on this resolution. The resolution is not very clearly drawn. Until recently the membership of that local has been working on raincoats made of rubberized goods. The trade has changed considerably and instead of having rubberized garments they are working on waterproof garments. They therefore request that the name be changed to Waterproof Garment Workers’ Union. After discussing the resolution with delegates of Locals 1, 9 and 20 a majority of the committee recommends that the request be granted.

The minority of the committee recommend-
ed that the matter be referred to the incoming General Executive Board for thorough investigation, and if it is found that conditions are as represented by Local No. 20 the request be granted, the investigation to be made by New York members of the G. E. B. before the 10th of July, 1914.

Delegate Kurinsky, Local No. 20, discussed the question at length, explaining the conditions that existed in the industry, the changes that were occurring in the industry, etc.

Delegate Ashpis and Delegate Wagner spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate Sheinberg spoke in favor of the majority report.

Delegate Dubinsky spoke at length of the condition of the trade and of the manner in which the manufacturers were seeking to take advantage of the changes in the industry.

Delegate Sheinberg spoke in favor of the majority report.

Delegate Baroff stated that he was one of the majority members of the committee, but he would be in favor of referring the matter to the General Executive Board if there was time to act before the 10th of July when the contract of the local with the manufacturers would expire.

Delegate Wiseman, Local 20, spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution. Delegate Singer, Local 20, spoke in favor of the majority report.

Delegate Kottler, Local No. 1, spoke in favor of the minority report.

The question was discussed by President Rosenberg, Delegate Sam Martin and Delegate Schlesinger, Secretary of the Committee.

Upon motion debate was closed.

A roll call on the majority report of the committee was ordered.

Roll Call on Request of Local No. 20 to Change Name on Charter.

AYES—Delegates Rothkowitz, Local 4; LaPorta (A.), Lopes, Local 9; Cohen (J. P.), Davidson, Epstein, Martin, Pierce, Local 10; Levy, Local 11; Cohen, Flashner, Local 12; Jacobs, Sheinberg, Local 13; Hoffman, Kruger, Local 14; Blumensohn, Gerchkoiff, Pesin, Local 17; Weisman, Dubinsky, Kurinsky, Riback, Singer, Local 20; Chackles, Local 21; Weinsein, Local 22; Abramsky, Local 23; Baroff, Block, Holtman, Portnoy, Switsky, Shapiro, Witskin, Local 25; Cohen, Feit, Local 26; Glassman, Meader, Local 28; Ciccone, DeMartino, Local 35; Magnavita, Rattay, Local 38; Dickstein, Local 41; Tatelbaum, Local 49; Sirota, Tauber (E.), Local 50; Tauber (S.), Local 52; Berman, Finkelstein (A.), Posen, Sheines, Local No. 56; Nigen, Local 58; Horowitz, Perl, Rock, Smitive, Local 62; Binder, Slovik, Local 65; Zeligman, Local 70; Kurland, Local 72; Edlin, Local 78; Davidson, Morris, Local 81; Yount, Local 82; Dean, Local 83; Hering, Reznokoff, Local 90; Copstein, Local 108; Abraham Rosenberg, J. B. Boston; S. Labensohn, J. B. Montreal; Sam Glassman, J. B. St. Louis; David Fushfeld. J. B. Cincinnati—71.

NAYS—Delegates Ashpis, Goldstein (A.) Kottler, Mets, Meyerson, Padover, Rubin, Schlesinger, Sapin, Student, Local 1; Polen, Local 2; Captan, Local 4; Bernstein, Baitzitz, Deth, Halpern, Hyman, Nino, Schuster, Weiner, Buchbinder, Local 9; Gorenstein, Rosenberg (E.), Local 10; Cohen (W.), Blustein, Sweet, Local 11; Kivenko, Auerbach, Local 19; Comunale, Duebester, Feist, Granofsky, Slopak, Singer, Local 23; Silver, Seidman, Local 25; Goldosky, Kimberovsky, Koslovsky, Langer, Zuckerman, Local 35; Finkelstein (J.), Pismanoff, Spivak, Local 38; Simon, Local 61; Landio, Local 62; Stein, Local 69; Bessin, Local 70; Harry Wagner, J. B. New York; M. Sandler, J. B. Philadelphia—50.

NOT VOTING—Delegates Amrud, Groshon, Local 2; Etkin, 4; Lefkovits, Local 9; Beaver, Local 10; Nagel, Local 10; Davis, Local 11; Koldofsky, Local 14; Cohen, Jakobinsky, Leader, Local 17; Kleinman, Prisman, Local 23; Haiman, Polakoff, Silberman, Local 25; Gelburt, 31; Sigman, Local 35; Solovieff, Local 38; Davidson, Local 53; Cohen, Katz, Local 67; Strausberg, Local 71; Tredler, Hiorns, Local 92; Groban, Local 98; Glickman, J. B. Toronto—25.

President Rosenberg: The majority report is adopted.

Delegates Schlesinger, for the Organization Committee, continued the report as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 124 WHEREAS, The continual controversy between locals for jurisdiction or other causes, has brought about such a state of things that it is impossible to act harmoniously and pro-
ceed firmly forward for the interest of our members, and

WHEREAS, There is no substantial reason for maintaining the large expenses and the intricate chain of offices and officers, which generate confusion and almost render irresponsible all the officers, and

WHEREAS, It is very hard to follow a well defined policy with the power given at present to the executive boards of the locals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, To unify under the direct responsibility of one General Board the management and the financial administration of all people employed in the making of ladies' garments in the United States and Canada.

A. DI MARTINO, L. 35,
A. LA PORTA, L. 9,
SERAFINO CICCONE, L. 35,
FRANK LOPES, L. 9,
FRANK COMUNALE, L. 23,
F. MAGNAVITA, L. 38,
S. XINFO, L. 9.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 124 be rejected. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 147.

To the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS, The majority of the pressers of the Ladies Garment industry are working week work and experience shows that it is much better for the working men to get a week scale than piece work and quarrel with the manufacturer as to working prices, and

WHEREAS, Much time and patience is lost in arranging prices; be it

RESOLVED, That this Twelfth Annual Convention of Ladies' Garment Workers pass resolutions that everybody employed as a presser in the ladies' garment industry shall work week work; also all the working people in the ladies' garment industry shall work the same way, which shall be weekly.

M. GOLDOWSKY, Local No. 35,
JOS BRASLAEER, Local No. 35,
N. S. MARTINO,
MAX ZUCKERMAN,
J. KIMBEROFSKY,
L. LANGER, Local No. 35,
A. KOSLOWSKY, Local No. 35,
S. CICCONE, Local No. 35,
JOE BRASLAEER, Local No. 35,
J. KIMBEROFSKY.

Delegate Schlesinger: The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution so far as the pressers are concerned. As for week work for all the workers in the trade, the committee recommends that the delegates signing the resolution draw up a separate resolution covering that matter.

The question was discussed by President Rosenberg, Delegate Schlesinger and Delegate Tredler.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Gorenstein moved as an amendment that the resolution be referred to the incoming General Executive Board. (Seconded and carried.)

RESOLUTION NO. 116

WHEREAS, There is an organization in Toledo, composed of the wives, daughters and sisters of the cloak and skirt makers, known as the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, Local 67, and

WHEREAS, This auxiliary has been of great benefit not only to Local 67, but to the labor movement in general, by assisting them morally and financially in time of need; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as urging its locals to organize ladies' auxiliaries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming G. E. B. work out a plan to affiliate all auxiliaries with the I. L. G. W. U.

M. J. COHEN, Local 67,
J. KATZ, Local 67,
A. GROBAN, Local 98.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 120

WHEREAS, The cloak and skirt makers of Philadelphia put forth one of the most heroic struggles in the summer of 1913 for a period of 26 weeks, so as to bring about to the same scale as in New York, and

WHEREAS, The said strike has been lost notwithstanding the front put forth by those men and women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board be empowered to take up the question of reorganizing Philadelphia as soon as they see fit.
MAX Sandler, J. B. Philadelphia,  
Beckie Stein, Local 69,  
N. Polen, Local 2,  
M. Grishkin, Local 2,  
Simon Davidson, Local 53,  
M. Amdur, Local 2,

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 121
WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated that the cloakmakers of the City of New York suffer a great deal of the competition of the state of New Jersey, because most all the shops in the said state are unorganized, and
WHEREAS, The International is the only body to organize the out-of-town shops; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That the next coming General Executive Board should apply all the energy possible to organize all the shops in New Jersey even to resort to a general strike in the state of New Jersey;

MORRIS J. Asperis, Local 1,  
A. Babitz, Local 9,  
R. Bernstein, Local 9,  
M. Weiner, Local 9,  
M. Jacobinsky, Local 12,

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 110
WHEREAS, The general working conditions in the Montreal cloak, suit, skirt, dress, and waist factories are most unsatisfactory to the workers, and
WHEREAS, The French-Canadian workers in the ladies' garment industry, who constitute a large percentage, are a detrimental factor, by reason of being unorganized and difficult to organize, and
WHEREAS, To improve the working conditions, it is primarily necessary to organize the French-Canadian workers in our industry, which requires not only a great deal of energy and hard labor, but also a heavy financial expenditure; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to place a French-speaking organizer in Montreal; and, be it further
RESOLVED, That this convention grant a substantial sum of money to the Montreal Joint Board, wherewith to carry on the necessary organizing work among the French-Canadian ladies' garment workers;

S. Labensohn, J. B. Montreal,  
P. Scheinberg, Local No. 13,  
T. Jacobs, Local No. 13,  
K. Simon, Local No. 61,  
J. Kivenko, Local No. 19,  
Louis Auerbach, Local No. 19,

The committee recommended the adoption of the request contained in the resolution be granted, as a similar resolution had been adopted in a previous session.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 113
WHEREAS, The Joint Board of Boston, Locals 12, 49, 56, 27, 3, have protocol arrangements with the Boston Cloak and Suit Manufacturer's Association, and
WHEREAS, The protocol has been signed by the general officers of the I. L. G. W. U., the association interprets that the general office is the responsible party to the protocol, and
WHEREAS, The Joint Board of Boston is looked upon by the association as a third party; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming G. E. B. to make such arrangements in order to assist the Joint Board of Boston in its dealings with the association of manufacturers with whom we have the protocol arrangements.

(Signed)
B. Kurland, Chairman.  
H. Sheines, Secretary.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 123
WHEREAS, The present charter of Local 21, Newark, gives the local jurisdiction over ladies' tailors, and
WHEREAS, Ladies' tailoring is fast becoming extinct in Newark, and cloak making is taking its place; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That this convention sanction the changing of the charter of Local No. 21 instead of ladies' tailors to read Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union,

Sam Chachles, Delegate.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.
President Rosenberg: The movement to change the charter in Newark is not a new one; in fact, they have had it for the past two years or more. I have been in meetings of the union and tried to find out what they intended to do with the few ladies' tailors in Local No. 21. The object of Local 21 is to eliminate the few ladies' tailors who remain. Those tailors are not in a position to organize a local for themselves. If the convention makes provision for the ladies' tailors members of that union I will be willing to agree to it. If it does not, I am opposed to it. At the time when there was not a single cloak maker a member of the local in Newark the ladies' tailors belonged. They were the original members of Local No. 21.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Chachkes.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 102
WHEREAS, Article 12, Section 3, in the constitution of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union provides that a district council be established in the city where a number of locals of the International are in existence, and
WHEREAS, No such district council is in existence in the city of New York; therefore,

be it RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to enforce the above mentioned clause of our constitution.

H. DUBINSKY,
I. WISEMAN,
A. RIBACK,
J. M. SINGER,
P. KURINSKY,

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 118
WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. granted a charter to the buttonhole makers of waists, dresses and underwear, which were previously under the jurisdiction of Locals 25, 41, 50 and 62, and
WHEREAS, The officers of Local 58 and the G. E. B. requested several times the above mentioned locals to transfer their buttonhole makers and they neglected to do it; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the I. L. G. W. U. that Locals 25, 41, 50 and 62 transfer their buttonhole-makers to local 58 within 60 days after the adjournment of this convention.

L. NIGEN, Delegate Local 58.

Delegate Schlesinger: The convention has already acted favorably on a similar resolution, and no further action is necessary. The following resolutions, dealing with the same subject matter, were covered in one report:

RESOLUTION NO. 98
May 7, 1914.
To the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Cleveland, O.
Fellow Delegates:

The undersigned, representing Local 65, of Brooklyn, have come before you to present the following statement:

You issued a charter to us to organize the "Ladies' Tailor and Dressmakers of Brooklyn." We have been at our work for one year and can safely state that we progressed very slowly, for the following reasons:

When we approach a ladies' tailor and ask him to become a member of our union, we find that he is already enrolled with the cloakmakers. The custom dressmakers are likewise claimed by another union. This places us in such a predicament as to render our work extremely difficult, if not impossible. We therefore ask this convention to give to Local 65 full jurisdiction over the ladies' tailor and custom dressmaker trades in Brooklyn.

We firmly believe that under that condition only can the organization of those branches of the trade be successful (and that without the consent and backing of this body (I. L. G. W. U.) our local has little or no chance of making any headway.

We hope that the members of this convention will give this matter their sincerest consideration, because under the proper conditions a large and powerful union can be formed in Brooklyn. (Signed)

H. BINDER,
ABE SLOVIK,
P. H. EISNER.
RESOLUTION NO. 115
WHEREAS, The Ladies' Tailors and Dressmakers, Local 65, of Brooklyn, have abolished through their last general strike the system of piecework and established Saturday half holiday, and
WHEREAS, Many stores in Brooklyn where members of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union of New York are employed are working by the piece, and Saturday all day, and
WHEREAS, This is doing untold harm to the members of Local 65, therefore, be it RESOLVED, That such stores be transferred to the control of Local 65.
ABE SLOVIK, Delegate L. 65.
H. BINDER.

Delegate Schlesinger: The committee is of the opinion that Local 38 ought to be the only local of ladies' tailors in Greater New York. We therefore recommend that the incoming General Executive Board take up the question of amalgamating these two locals, and also to settle the question of jurisdiction, as requested in Resolution No. 56 and No. 115.

President Rosenberg: Local 38 does not claim jurisdiction over the Brooklyn shops. Local 65 has the charter instead of Local 38. They were formerly part of Local 38. That local found it more expedient to have them divided.

Delegate Schlesinger: We had the delegates of Local 38, Local 9 and Local 65 before the committee.
The question was discussed at length by Delegate Binder.
The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.
The following resolutions, dealing with the same subject matter, were considered together:

RESOLUTION NO. 111
WHEREAS, In the 11th convention held in Toronto, Canada, a resolution was adopted granting jurisdiction of the department stores Local 38 and
WHEREAS, Local 38 has made several attempts to confer with Local No. 9 in reference to this matter, and Local 9 refused to carry out the decision of the past convention; therefore, be it RESOLVED, That Local 38 demands that the various members who are working in the department stores be transferred to Local 38 within 30 days after this convention.

J. FINKELSTEIN, Local 38,
M. SCHWAB,
S. PISMANOFF,
A. SOLOVIOFF,
STEPHEN RATTAY,
FRANK MAGNAVITA.

RESOLUTION NO. 111-A
WHEREAS, The ladies' tailors from Local No. 38 in the city of New York are working on samples also during sample season in shops where cloaks are made, and
WHEREAS, That members of the cloak-makers' union during the ladies' tailoring season are working in the ladies' tailors shops, and
WHEREAS, That the trade in those two locals are very complicated, be it therefore RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to call a conference between those two locals where all those difficulties exist and should be adjusted.
A. SOLOVIOFF.
Local No. 38.
The committee recommended that the entire matter be referred to the General Executive Board and that a delegation of Locals 38 and 9 be heard.
The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 152.
WHEREAS, Many of our members are compelled for different reasons to emigrate from their branch of trade to another branch of our industry, and
WHEREAS, Some locals refused to accept from their respective locals such members although these members were in good standing with their locals for a long time, still they were asked for another initiation fee, and
WHEREAS, Some members are such who spent many years and months in strikes and suffering for our union, and
WHEREAS, Such actions from these locals are contrary to the principles of rights and justice, be it therefore RESOLVED, That no locals affiliated with our I. L. G. W. U. should ask any member for any initiation fee and transfers be accepted by locals from one branch of trade to another, such as from waist to cloaks or white goods providing such member is in good standing for one year in his local. Be it further RESOLVED, That this amendment should not apply to members who transfer from one
local to another in the same branch of trade as from cloaks to cloaks for such member the limit is only six months.

J. PORTENOY, Delegate Local No. 25.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been acted upon by the convention when the Law Committee reported, and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 109

WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. is an organization embracing over 100,000 members in the United States and Canada, banded together for the purpose of improving the conditions of its membership and the working class in general, and

WHEREAS, The standards of life among the people in the cloak and suit industry throughout the United States and Canada are gradually being lowered through the keen competition among the working people employed in the industry as well as among the employers; and

WHEREAS, Through the knowledge of better experience we ascertained that all attempts to remedy these evils by organizing a single center general strike proved fruitless, it being impossible to force the manufacturers of a single center or city to grant decent living conditions to their employees, which was proven in Cleveland, Philadelphia and St. Louis because the largest organized city, viz.. New York City, manufactured the garments for those manufacturers whose shops were out on strike of other cities, and

WHEREAS, In such a case it is impossible for officers of the I. L. G. W. U. to prevent the manufacture of garments for cities where the strike is declared; therefore, be it RESOLVED, That this convention of the I. L. G. W. U. decides on a policy to be adopted in the event of a strike being called, that a general strike in the entire cloak and suit industry, including all of the United States and Canada should be called, and that the incoming General Executive Board should be instructed to submit this resolution to a referendum of the membership.

(Signed) SALVATORE NINFO.
Local No. 9.

SERAFINO CICCONE, Local No. 35,
FRANK COMUNALE, Local No. 23,
N. DI MARTINO, Local No. 35.

FRANK LOPES, Local No. 9,
ALFRED LA PORTA, Local No. 9.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the incoming General Executive Board and that the Board discuss the advisability of acting on the plan contained in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Ninfo discussed the question at some length.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The following resolutions, dealing with the same subject matter, were covered in one report of the committee:

RESOLUTION NO. 107

WHEREAS, At the convention of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union held at Toronto in 1912 a general strike for the purpose of unionizing the house dress and kimono industry was sanctioned and the General Executive Board instructed to carry it out, and

WHEREAS, In January, 1913, subject to this mandate a strike in the above mentioned line was inaugurated and won after a fight of six weeks culminating in the adoption of a protocol agreement and preferential shop system, and

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that in conjunction with the strike in the house dress industry strikes were simultaneously called in the white goods and waist and dress lines the occurrence of which has split the organizing forces at hand and has made it impossible for Local 41 in its so-called general strike to get hold of and organize more than thirty-five per cent of the industry in the city of New York. Owing to these conditions the union on one hand and the small group of manufacturers, who have formed an association, on the other hand were placed in an intolerable condition. The city after the strike still swarmed with factories largely owned by Syrian-Turkish manufacturers who carried on a merciless competition against the unionized section of the trade and smothered them, thus weakening the association, whose members having lost faith in it have begun a campaign of reprisal against the Union which pledged to them equal standards for all after the strike, and
to insure the workers in the house dress line
the ample protection, strength and prestige
of organization and in order to safeguard
against the encroachment of those crafty
manufacturers who, under the guise of house
dresses, are manufacturing regular dresses at
an unfair competition, orders and enacts that
the members of Local 41 enter into Local 25
as a house dress division, subject to its rules
and regulations. This action will at once
infuse life and spirit into the house dress
makers of this city and will simultaneously
solve a vexed problem and put the workers
of the trade on a basis of real equality with
all those engaged in dressmaking under the
protection of Local 25.

RESOLUTION NO. 108
WHEREAS, Owing to these causes, Local
Union No. 41 after having struggled in an
uphill fight for a year and a half finds itself
practically exhausted and beaten by the in-
evitable logic of events which make it abso-
lutely impossible for any union to exist under
a protocol system unless at least seventy-five
per cent of its industry is organized, thus
making possible a strong union and a strong
association capable of carrying out its orders,
therefore be it
RESOLVED, That in order that the word
and spirit of the convention of 1912 be carried
out and a firm footing for organization in the
house dress and kimono line in New York
City be established, that this convention sanc-
tions and orders the incoming General Execu-
tive Board to organize a general strike in the
unorganized shops of the house garment in-
dustry in New York, particularly ar
ding the
Syrian manufacturers, as the only means of
putting the entire industry on an equal basis
and the building up of a strong, permanent
union.

RESOLUTION NO. 108
WHEREAS, It is a well known fact that
the manufacturers in the house dress line
have been for the last few years turning out
a product little if any different from those
manufactured by the makers of the regular
dress line, and
WHEREAS, Local No. 41, finding it more
and more difficult to draw the line of distinc-
tion between the so-called house and street
dress in their factories and their members are
forced to work under interior conditions on
practically the same material as the regular
dressmakers, and
WHEREAS, Owing to this fact Local No.
41 finds it more and more difficult to organize
in factories of this line, as it cannot in truth
offer to its members the protection and strong
support which is given to the dressmakers in
the city of New York by their [illegible] organiza-
tion, and
WHEREAS, The organization of the dress-
makers in New York City known as the
Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 25, is
by dictates of logic and common sense the
natural place for those engaged in the mak-
ing of house dresses, as the trend of the manu-
facture of this line has amply shown; there-
fore, be it
RESOLVED, That this convention in order
TENTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

Cleveland, Ohio, June 11, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 9:15 o'clock A. M., Thursday, June 11th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—None.

Secretary Dyche read the following communication:

New York, June 10, 1914.
Convention I. L. G. W. U.
Cleveland, O.
Delegates: We, the employes of Bernstein and Meyer's shop, 151 W. 26th St., congratulate you delegates to the 12th annual convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We wish you success in accomplishing good results in the trade union movement all over the country.

THE SHOP:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS AND BOYCOTS

Delegate Haiman, for the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 186

To the Officers and Members assembled at the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.
Greetings.
WHEREAS, The Kalamazoo Corset Company of Kalamazoo, Mich., has shown their unfair attitude toward organized labor by absolutely refusing to settle the difference between their employees, who are members of the Kalamazoo Corset Makers' Union, affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. of the American Federation of Labor, who have been on strike in that City for two years, against starvation wages and intolerable conditions, and
WHEREAS, Said company had by court proceedings enjoined members of that organization from picketing peacefully around the factory, and
WHEREAS, Upon said violation of said injunction, a biased judge of the United States Circuit Court has sentenced twelve of the workers to jail from five to twenty days, and
WHEREAS, The injunction is still in effect preventing the workers from conducting the strike in a legitimate and peaceable manner, and
WHEREAS, The Kalamazoo Corset Company are selling their unfair product all over this country and very likely in some of the localities where the delegates of this convention came from, and
WHEREAS, The methods adopted by the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. in sending committees on the road, advertising to the public the need of purchasing corsets made by fair manufacturers, and
WHEREAS, The results obtained by these committees have shown excellent results in that the output of the Kalamazoo Corset Company has greatly diminished, therefore, be it RESOLVED, That the delegates of this the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. go on record as instructing the general executive board to continue their activity along the lines laid down by them and carried into effect up to this time, and be it further
RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the General Executive Board to continue further to finance the committee's work of bringing the Kalamazoo Corset Company to terms.
Fraternally,
KALAMAZOO CORSET WORKERS,
Local No. 82.
Kalamazoo, Mich.
Frank Adams,
President.
Mrs. Anna Clem.
Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 187

WHEREAS, An individual by the name of Morris A. Black, manufacturer of Wooltex Garments, was the first person to introduce the system of engaging spies and the outrageous black list system in the Ladies' Garment Industry, and
WHEREAS, The said Mr. Black was the direct cause of our failure to win the
strike of 1911 in the City of Cleveland, O., which was for the purpose of bettering and equalizing conditions in the Ladies' Garment Workers' Industry, by reason of his arbitrary standing in refusing to arbitrate the disputes involved, in any manner whatsoever, and

WHEREAS, The said Mr. Black was instrumental in bringing about our defeat in the strikes of 1913, in the cases of Philadelphia, Pa., and St. Louis, Mo., through his activity, in sending strike breakers and in rendering assistance to the manufacturers both financially and morally, and

WHEREAS, The said Mr. Black is still endeavoring to disrupt the I. L. G. W. U. through his advice to the manufacturers of Baltimore, Md., Boston, Mass., and Chicago, Ill., to not to treat with the unions, and

WHEREAS, Morris A. Black in his inaugural speech as president of the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland, Ohio, being given the opportunity to express himself on points of great interest to the people of the City of Cleveland, took the occasion not to do as he was expected to and ought to, but did take the time to expressly denounce organized labor in terms equal to those used by his worthy colleagues, General Otis, Kirby and Post; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twelfth Biennial Convention in session at Gesang Verein, Cleveland, Ohio, June, 1914, instruct the incoming G. E. B. to start a country-wide agitation against Black, the arch enemy of organized labor and strike breaker and against his Wooltex Garments, so that the American people will be enlightened, as to the true state of affairs existing in his Wooltex factory, and of the dark deeds of the supposed philanthropist, but truly hypocrite, Morris A. Black, during the Philadelphia and St. Louis strikes.

I. S. FEIT, ... A. COHEN.
Delegate of Local No. 26.

The committee recommended that Resolutions 187 and 186 be referred to the incoming General Executive Board to start an agitation against the manufacturers mentioned as soon as possible.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 171

WHEREAS, The union Label Dept. of the American Federation is formed for the interests of all label crafts; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, affiliate with the Union Label Dept. of the American Federation of Labor.

W. HIorns,
L. TREDLER,
Local 92.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

President Rosenberg: Although the resolution ought to be adopted it should not be adopted in this way, because for the time being we have no label and whatever money is spent will bring no returns. It costs one-half cent per month per member to be affiliated, which would mean four or five hundred dollars every month in dues to the label department from which we cannot expect anything in return. As soon as we have a label, whether a union label or the protocol label, it will be time for this International Union to affiliate with the label department of the American Federation of Labor. For that reason I think it would be proper to refer the resolution to the incoming General Executive Board for action. If they can work out some plan whereby the International will be benefited by affiliation with the label department they can do so. As it is, every cent will be wasted if we affiliate.

Delegate Goldowsky (G.): I move as an amendment that the resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

Secretary Dyche: I have been in correspondence with the secretary of the label department, Thomas Tracey, and he admitted in one of his letters to me that we cannot expect any material benefit from affiliation with that organization, and if we become affiliated it will be purely for principle, and I believe in conducting a labor organization we should combine business and principle. Business without principle is no good, and principle without business in a labor union will not work. We are combined in order to get mutual benefit. Nobody would join
a labor organization who did not expect in time to be benefited by it.

Delegate Gorenstein stated that the Committee on Labels and Boycotts had brought in a recommendation in regard to a union label, which would be reported upon later.

Delegate Cohen, of the Committee, stated that the question of a label had been acted upon and later the committee took up the question of affiliation with the Department. He stated that the resolution in regard to the label should have been reported upon first.

Delegate Martin moved that action be deferred on the resolution in regard to affiliation until the resolutions on the label could be acted upon.

Delegate Ninfo: The report of the committee is that unless a label is adopted the resolution will not be effective.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 106

WHEREAS, The union label on union-made products and the demand for goods bearing said label is one of the most potent if not the most powerful weapons within the hands of members of organized labor, for the betterment of the condition of the wage earners of the land; and

WHEREAS, It becomes the duty of each and every union man to use his purchasing power to advance the interests of fair products by purchasing such products as bear the union label only; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a Blue Union Label which it advertises as a mark of distinction between the union and non-union brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as there is an abundance of union-labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes of all grades and classes on the market in all parts of the country, we consider it the consistent duty of all union men to purchase only such brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes as do bear the union label; be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in convention assembled in the city of Cleveland, will use our utmost endeavor in creating a greater demand for the brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes which bear the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request the members of our respective local unions to carefully observe when making purchases of tobacco, snuff or cigarettes that the purchase made have attached thereto the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, as none is genuine union-made unless the label is there to be seen.

A. ROSENBERG,
J. B., Boston.

Delegate Haiman: The committee recommends that all the delegates and members purchase union-labeled tobacco, cigars, cigarettes and all other union-made goods.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION OF LABEL AND BOYCOTT COMMITTEE

The following resolution was submitted by the committee:

At a meeting of the Label and Boycott Committee, the question of issuing a white label in the waist, dress, cloak and suit industry was taken up, and after hearing many opinions and different views upon this question, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, In order that those manufacturers who have union conditions in their factories should be protected from unfair competition, and

WHEREAS, Our own members would benefit by the issuance of such label, be-
cause the hours of labor would be shortened and an increase would be granted to the workers in accordance with the protocol of the waist and dress makers' union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this committee recommend to the convention that a committee of five be elected to act in conjunction with the General Executive Board, and they shall have the full power to issue such labels upon request of any local or Joint Board of our International Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we further recommend that the following stipulations must be made by this committee in case of issuing labels:

1st: That the label be issued only to manufacturers who operate union shops.

2nd: That we should be in a position and have the right to investigate such shops at any time to ascertain whether union conditions prevail.

3rd: That upon the finding by the union that this agreement is violated, the union shall prefer charges against such manufacturers and the Board shall attend to such charges within three days; that the manufacturers shall comply with the decision, and in case of non-compliance with the decision by any manufacturer the label shall be automatically withdrawn from his shop.

4th: In case of the abrogation of the protocol by either of the two parties concerned, or in case of a strike against any or all manufacturers in those industries, such label shall then be considered the property of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and shall then be withdrawn by the I. L. G. W. U.

5th: In case of granting such label to any group or association of manufacturers it shall be understood that each and every manufacturer who is a member of that group or that association shall have to adopt the label in his shop.

P. KOTTLER, Chairman,

S. HAIMAN, Secretary,
I. S. FEIT,
SALVATORE NINFO,
MAX GORENSTEIN,
J. PORTNOY,
L. TREDLER,
A. RIBACK,
SIMON DAVIDSON,
MORRIS J. COHEN.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution presented by the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Deitch.

Delegate Silver moved that the resolution offered by the committee be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

The question was discussed by Delegate Haiman, Delegate Cohen (J. P.), Secretary Dyche and Vice-President Polakoff.

The motion to refer to the incoming General Executive Board was carried.

Delegate Slovak, Local 65, asked the floor on a question of personal privilege. He explained that at a mass meeting the previous evening, held in the convention hall, to try to organize the Ladies' Garment Workers of Cleveland one of the delegates to the convention, Delegate Prisam, of Local 23, had acted in a manner that tended to break up the meeting and asked that he be excluded from the convention.

President Rosenberg stated that he attended the meeting; that at least 600 people were present and great enthusiasm prevailed; that the meeting had been addressed by Mr. Meyer London and a number of other speakers; that Delegate Prisam desired to address the convention, and when the chairman of the meeting did not recognize him he attempted to force himself upon the platform, and in the disorder that ensued the meeting was practically broken up.

A formal statement of the matter, signed by several delegates, was referred to the Committee on Appeals and Grievances.
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Amdur, for the committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 4

WHEREAS the Cincinnati locals have always striven to bring about a strong organization for better conditions and,
WHEREAS through their well organized body have helped other locals of the I. L. G. W. U. financially and morally during all strikes, which have occurred during its existence, by taxing its members and through voluntary contributions, and
WHEREAS at the present time our local union is confronted with a blanket injunction, the worst known in the history of the labor movement, and
WHEREAS our organizer, President and Joint Board members are now victims of this injunction, and facing imprisonment, and
WHEREAS our treasury is entirely depleted and therefore unable to keep up the fight unless financial assistance will be rendered at once, be it therefore
RESOLVED that we request this Twelfth Convention to assist us financially in our present struggle.

DAVID FUSFIELD,
A. GROBAN,
D. BOROWITZ,
Joint Board of Cincinnati.

The committee recommended that $500 be donated to the Cincinnati local, $100 to be given immediately and $400 subject to the call of the Cincinnati locals when the trials come up.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 57.

WHEREAS Dr. Hourwich together with a number of newspapers of the East Side of New York have for this last few months carried on an agitation against the officers of the International Union, accusing them of treason and of being agents of the Cloak Manufacturers' Association, because at their Quarterly Meeting held on December 20, 1913, they decided to inform the Joint Board, its affiliated locals and its members that "under the clerkship and guidance of Dr. Hourwich, the International Union cannot remain the guarantor for the Protocol" and because of this decision Dr. Hourwich and the said newspapers accused the International officers of having helped the manufacturers in an alleged attempt to dictate to the Union who its representatives shall be, and
WHEREAS, This alleged attempt on the part of said Manufacturers' Association to dictate to the Union who its officers shall be is based upon and attributed to a letter which the said manufacturers' Association sent to the Union, dated Dec. 16th, 1913, to the effect that the said Association will refuse to deal with Dr. Hourwich as Chief Clerk and requested that another person be named in his place, and
WHEREAS, The delegates to this 12th Convention having in mind the said particular letter of December 16, together with all the circumstances and happenings in connection with this case both before and after the receipt of this letter have come to the following conclusion:

FIRST, That neither in the said letter nor in any other communication of the said Association is there a single sentence which by any construction or misinterpretation whatsoever can be said to mean that the said Association has ever tried to dictate to the Union who its officers shall be.
SECOND, From the evidence and statements presented at this convention the delegates are convinced that Dr. Hourwich has for some time prior to the date of the receipt of the said letter done everything in his power to provoke strife, dissension and ill will both inside the organization, between the members and the officers, as well as outside the organization, between the Manufacturers' Association and the Union and that he further tried to induce the Cloak Makers' Union of New York to abrogate the Protocol and, after having utterly failed in his attempts, he assumed an attitude and pursued a policy in his dealings with the manufacturers, calculated to provoke them and compel them to take the initiative to abrogate the Protocol and he purposely and wrongfully misinterpreted the said letter to mean that the Manufacturers' Asso-
The committee offers the following report: After carefully considering Resolution No. 57, and after having given opportunity for the presentation of every conceivable argument for and against the adoption of the resolution, the committee finds that the principal cause of the Hourwich controversy—which has caused so much dissension—has arisen because of the following facts:

In an attempt to solve many serious problems the Joint Board, unfortunately, selected as its chief mediator Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich. Hourwich's total ignorance of trade union methods and tactics; his lack of knowledge of the difficulties which confronted the cloak industry; his inability to compare conditions as they exist now with conditions which prevailed prior to the organization of the industry by the cloak-makers' union; the fact that he considered a union as though it were a political organization; the fact that from the very beginning of his career he tried to create the impression that every one who disagreed with him was a friend of the employers; the raising of false issues, as, for instance, that the Board of Arbitration or the representatives of the union wanted to limit free press, or that the manufacturers wanted to dictate to the union who its representatives should be; the intensifying of hatred between the Joint Board and the International; his constant attacks upon every officer of the union and the raising of false theoretical issues, made it impossible for the officers of the union to co-operate with him, and it became their duty to use every effort to relieve the situation by removing him.

On the basis of the facts as above stated, the committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Copstein moved that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.
Delegate Gorenstein: I move that this resolution be laid over until we get through with the reports of the officers. (Seconded.)

Delegate Martin: I move that the recommendation of the committee be adopted. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gorenstein: There is an amendment.

President Rosenberg: The Committee on Officers’ Reports submitted the entire matter connected with the Hourwich affair to the Resolution Committee. What do you want us to do—stay here three weeks?

Delegate Ashpis, Local No. 1, asked the committee if there is another resolution on that subject and if the committee has any report on it.

President Rosenberg: If there is it will be taken up in its regular order.

Delegate Jesse P. Cohen moved that the time of each speaker be limited to five minutes, as more than forty speakers had sent their names to the chairman with requests for the floor. The motion was not entertained.

Delegate Jacobinsky spoke at length in favor of the adoption of the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Copstein stated that he had asked for the floor after Delegate Jacobinsky, but desired to withdraw his request, as Delegate Jacobinsky had made a statement that covered everything he desired to say on the question.

Delegate Sapin, Local No. 1, spoke in opposition to the resolution.

Delegate Wagner, of the Joint Board of New York, discussed the question.

At 12:45 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 P.M. of the same day.

TENTH DAY—THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 2:30 P.M., Thursday, June 11th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Delegate Braslaver, Local 35, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hyman, Local No. 9, spoke in opposition to the resolution.

Delegate Langer, Local 35, discussed the question in a general way, and made a plea for unity and harmony in the organization.

Delegate Leader spoke at length in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Sheinberg made a brief statement in which he urged that debate on the question cease.

Delegate Gorenstein, Local No. 10, and Delegate Student, Local No. 1, spoke in opposition to the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Slopak discussed the question in a general way.

Delegate Ashpis, Local No. 1, opposed the resolution.

Delegate E. Rosenberg, Local No. 10, discussed the question and pleaded for unity and harmony in the organization.

Delegate Martin, Local No. 10, spoke at length in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

When the hour for adjournment arrived, the rules were suspended and the convention remained in session until 7 P.M.

The question was discussed by Delegate Kottler, No. 1, and Delegate Rubin, Local No. 1. Both delegates defended the action of Local No. 1.

At 7 P.M. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 8 A.M., Friday, June 12th.

ELEVENTH DAY—FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

Cleveland, Ohio, June 12, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 8:30 o’clock A.M., Friday, June 12th, Vice-President Polakoff in the chair.

Absentees—Delegate Granofsky, Local 23; Dickstein, Local 41; Borrowitch, Local 63; Strassberg, Local 71.

A motion was made and carried that two speakers in favor of the recommendation of the Committee on Resolution 57 and two speakers opposed to the resolution be granted the floor, and three members of
the Executive Board, and that debate be then closed.

Vice-President Polakoff recognized Delegate Rubin of Local No. 1. Delegate Rubin stated that he would yield the floor to Delegate Schlesinger of Local 1.

Delegate Schlesinger discussed the question briefly, reviewing some of the causes that led to the contention in New York. The speaker objected to the word "falsify" being used in the resolution. Secretary Dyche stated that he had requested the committee to strike out that word. Delegate Schlesinger moved that the resolution be amended to read:

WHEREAS, Dr. Hourwich together with some irresponsible persons carried on an agitation against the officers of the International Union, accusing them of treason and of being agents of the Cloak Manufacturers' Association, because at their Quarterly Meeting held on December 20, 1913, they decided to inform the Joint Board, its affiliated locals and its members that "under the clerkship and guidance of Dr. Hourwich, the International Union cannot remain the guarantor for the Protocol" and because of this decision Dr. Hourwich and the said persons accused the International officers of having helped the manufacturers in an alleged attempt to dictate to the Union who its representatives shall be, and

WHEREAS, From the evidence and statements presented at this convention the delegates are convinced that Dr. Hourwich has for some time prior to the date of the receipt of the said letter done everything in his power to provoke strife, dissension and ill will both inside the organization, between the members and the officers, as well as outside the organization, between the Manufacturers' Association and the Union and that he further tried to induce the Cloak Makers' Union of New York to abrogate the Protocol and, after having utterly failed in his attempts, he assumed an attitude and pursued a policy in his dealings with the manufacturers, calculated to provoke them and compel them to take the initiative to abrogate the protocol and has raised the fictitious issue that the manufacturers' association tried to dictate to the Union who its representatives shall be and dictate to the Union who its representatives shall be and thereby brought about a condition of affairs which made a conflict between the Union and the Association almost inevitable, and

WHEREAS, It is the judgment of the delegates to this convention that to undertake a fight with employers because of Dr. Hourwich would have been a senseless act of folly and a crime against the interest and welfare of the workers engaged in the cloak trade in particular and against the International Union in general, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Twelfth Convention go on record as expressing their approval of the action of the General Executive Board for having through their efforts succeeded in restraining and preventing the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Unions from entering into an unnecessary, unwarranted and useless fight with the Manufacturers' Protective Association and congratulates the entire membership because the International officers were able to maintain the integrity of the International Union so that it can carry on in the future the work of solidifying the rank and file of our workers and thereby promote their interest under the authority of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Delegate Weiner moved that the resolution be adopted as amended by Delegate Schlesinger. (Seconded.)

Delegate Rubin, Local No. 1, discussed the resolution and the report of the committee.

Mr. Meyer London in the chair.

Delegate Goldstein opposed the resolution.

Delegate Silver was recognized. The chairman stated there was a great deal of demonstration against any more speeches and asked if Delegate Silver would yield the floor. Delegate Silver stated that he would occupy the floor not more than five minutes, and order being restored, spoke in favor of the resolution as amended.

Chairman London stated that it was evident from the expressions of the delegates that no more speeches were wanted from the floor, and that three members of the General Executive Board would discuss the question.

Vice-President Sigman was recognized and discussed the question, reviewing brief-
ly the matters that led up to the trouble in New York. He defended the action of the International officers and members of the Executive Board.

Vice-President Polakoff discussed the question, speaking in favor of the resolution and replying to a number of statements that had been made by previous speakers. He reviewed conditions that existed in the organization in New York for the past two years, and gave in detail an account of occurrences that led up to the dispute between some of the New York locals and the International officials. He vigorously defended the International officers and members of the General Executive Board who were concerned in the dispute.

President Rosenberg discussed the question at some length, defending the action of the International officers and the members of the General Executive Board who were concerned in the Hourwich case. President Rosenberg read extracts from a number of circular letters and newspaper articles, discussed Dr. Hourwich's attitude towards organized labor and his connection with the Joint Board.

At 12 o'clock the rules were suspended to allow President Rosenberg to complete his speech and to have the roll called.

Delegate Schlcsinger: Some of the members do not understand a certain sentence in the resolution, and I want to make it clear. Some of the delegates are under the impression that the irresponsible persons mentioned are members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We are not speaking of people in this organization. If I had been speaking of people in this organization I would have said "irresponsible members."

Roll call on motion to adopt resolution No. 57 as amended:

Ayes—Delegates Metz, Meyerson, Schlesinger, Local 1; Grishkin, Polen, Local 2; Erkin, Roskowitz, Local 4; Bernstein, Bubitz, Deitch, Halpern, LaPorta (A.), Lopes, Ninio, Schuster, Weiner, District 9; Cohen (J. P.), Beaver, Davidson, Epstein, Martin, Nagel, Pierce, Local 10; Levy, Davis, Local 11; Cohen (Morris), Flashner, Local 12; Jacobs, Sheinberg, Local 13; Hoffman, Goldofsky, Shur, Local 14; Cohen (Max), Blumenkorn, Gerchekoff, Jacobinsky, Lead-

er, Pessin, Local 17; Kivenko, Local 19; Weissman, Riback, Singer, Local 20; Chackes, Local 21; Weinstein, Local 22; Abramsky, Comunale, Dubester, Feist, Prisam, Singer (Max), Local 23; Baroff, Block, Portnoy, Switsky, Shapiro, Silver, Silberman, Seidman, Local 25; Meader, Local 28; Gelbert, Local 31; Braslaver, Ciccone, Goldovsky, Kimbrovsky, Kovlovsky, De Martino, Local 35; Pismanoff, Solovioff, Local 38; Dickstein, Local 41; Sirota, Tauber, Local 50; Tauber (Sam), Local 52; Davidson, Local 53; Berman, Finkelstein, Posen, Sheines, Local 56; Nigen, Local 58; Simon, Local 61; Horowitz, Landio, Lifshitz, Pearl, Rock, Smitlife, Local 62; Binder, Slovik, Local 65; Cohen (Morris), Local 67; Stein, Local 69; Bessin, Local 70; Kurland, Local 73; Edlin, Local 78; Davidson, Morris, Local 81; Laporta (L), Yount, Local 82; Cohen (B.), Dean, Local 83; Hering, Reznikoff, Local 90; Tredler, Horns, Local 92; Groban, Local 98; Copstein, Local 108; S. Lahensohn, J. B. Montreal; Sam Glassman, J. B. St. Louis; M. Sandler, J. B. Philadelphia; David Fusfield, J. B. Cincinnati—106.

Nays—Delegates Goldstein (A.), Kottler, Padover, Rubin, Sapin, Student, Local 1; Caplan, Local 4; Hyman, Buchbinder, Local 9; Gorenstein, Rosenberg (E.), Local 10; Cohen (W.), Blustein, Sweet, Local 11; Kruger, Local 14; Auerbach, Local 19; Kursinsky, Local 20; Slopak, Local 23; Haiman, Holtzman, Local 25; Cohen (Albert), Local 26; Glassman, Local 28; Langer, Zuckerman, Local 35; Finkelstein (J.), Magnavita, Local 38; Tatembaum (M.), Local 49; Katz, Local 67; Harry Wagner, J. B. New York—29.

Before the roll was called the chairman stated that none of the Executive Board members or officers would vote on the motion.

Delegate Ashpis, when his name was called, desired to make a statement. The chairman ruled that no statements would be allowed, that the delegates would vote in the affirmative or the negative. Delegate Ashpis persisted that he had a right to make a statement, but the delegation refused to allow him that privilege.

At 1:25 P. M. the convention was adjourned to 3 P. M. of the same day.
ELEVENTH DAY—FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock P. M., Friday, June 12th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—None.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES

The following protest had been presented to the convention during the tenth day's session and referred to the Committee on Appeals and Grievances:

"To the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.:

"We, the undersigned, protest against the actions of S. Prisamt, delegate of Local 23, in breaking up a mass meeting arranged by the Cleveland locals last night. We want the convention to punish him for his action."

(Signed)

ABE PESSIN,

ABE GERCHIJKOFF,

M. ASHPIS."

The committee reported as follows:

"WHEREAS, The aim of the entire membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in selecting Cleveland as the place in which to hold the convention, was to raise a sentiment for organization in the city, and

WHEREAS, The desired sentiment was created at last night's meeting by the different speakers, including Comrade London, and if it were not for the irresponsible action of Brother Prisamt, which caused great disturbance, the meeting would have brought better results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Brother Prisamt be punished for such action by not being given the floor during the remainder of this convention."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Ashpis moved as an amendment that Delegate Prisamt apologize to the convention for his action.

Delegate Abramsky discussed the question briefly. He stated that Delegate Prisamt was excited.

Delegate Meyerson, Local No. 1, spoke briefly in defense of Delegate Prisamt, stating that the chairman of the mass meeting was partly responsible because of his refusal to allow Delegate Prisamt to speak.

Delegate Prisamt, in discussing the question, said that he thinks he is punished enough in having the blame placed upon him for disturbing the meeting.

The amendment offered by Delegate Ashpis was adopted.

Delegate Martin: I move you that Brother Prisamt's statement of the affair shall be recorded as an apology. (Seconded and carried.)

RESOLUTION NO. 140.

WHEREAS, During the General Strike in New York City, during the year 1913 in the Waist and Dress Wrapper and Kimono and White Goods trades, the locals involved had agreed to pay their pro rata share of the expense of the strike, and

WHEREAS, President Rosenberg, acting as Treasurer of the Strike Committee, claimed he did not have any more money and that he would no longer act as Treasurer, and

WHEREAS, Our strikers were still in jail and the strikes of Local No. 41, No. 62 and No. 10 were still in progress, and it was necessary to raise money to pay their fines and take them out of jail, and

WHEREAS, I was compelled to borrow money to enable us to carry on the strike and bring it to a successful end, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention submit to the different locals their pro rata share of the entire expense with instructions to pay the same.

J. F. PIERCE, Local No. 10.

The committee reported that Delegate Pierce, President Rosenberg and Secretary Dychek had been consulted, but the committee did not have sufficient information to comply with the request of Delegate Pierce, and recommended that the request be rejected.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Pierce discussed the question at some length, and urged the adoption of the resolution. He spoke in detail of the conditions that existed during the strikes in question, the agreement made by the locals to pay their pro rata share of the expenses of court costs, fines and bonds
for members who were arrested. He referred to the manner in which the money had been expended, the number of people who had been defended in court cases and the difficulty of obtaining accurate receipts for all such expenditures.

President Rosenberg spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Dyche made a brief statement in regard to the case.

Delegate Singer moved that the matter be referred to the incoming General Executive Board. (Seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORTS

Delegate Copstein, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Officers' Reports desires to make this additional report:

On page 7 of his report President Rosenberg refers to the strike in St. Louis and uses the words "Italian scabs." The committee recommends that this word specifying a particular nationality be stricken from the report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Rosenberg: Before you proceed with the report I desire to ask the privilege of the convention to strike out a few sentences in my report in which names have been mentioned. For instance, I mention Delegate Kottler's name and the names of a few others. I would request this convention to permit them to be stricken out.

Upon motion the request of President Rosenberg was granted.

Delegate Copstein: On page 76 of General Secretary-Treasurer John A. Dyche's report, reference is made to organization on the Pacific Coast. We recommend that the incoming General Executive Board appoint an organizer for the Pacific Coast.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Copstein: In conclusion we desire to express our deep feeling of appreciation and gratitude for the long, able and efficient services rendered to the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the labor movement in general by our General President, A. Rosenberg, and our General Secretary-Treasurer, John A. Dyche, and recommend the adoption of the following:

RESOLVED, That a vote of confidence and thanks be given to our President, General Secretary-Treasurer and the members of the General Executive Board.

(Signed)

ALEX M. COPSTEIN, Chairman,
J. F. PIERCE, Secretary,
BENJ. COHEN, SAMUEL GLASSMAN,
A. COHEN, DAVID G. FUSFIELD,
SOL METZ, S. FLASHNER,
LOUIS LANGER,
Committee on Officers' Reports.

Delegate Copstein: The report is signed by all the members of the committee, with one exception, Delegate Kimberovsky.

Delegate Ashpis desired to know why Delegate Kimberovsky had not signed the report.

Delegate Copstein: I cannot speak for Delegate Kimberovsky. If he were here he would speak for himself. He agreed with the entire committee on everything, but, like some of the delegates who walked out of the hall when the roll was being called, he did not want to be recorded on the proposition.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Gorenstein: The committee has presented a resolution, and it should be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

President Rosenberg: It is not a resolution, it is an expression of the committee at the close of their report.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The report being completed, the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Vice-President Kleinman asked permission to make a brief statement, and took exception to a statement made in the report of the General Secretary-Treasurer relating to himself. Vice-President Kleinman made a brief statement in explanation of the occurrence mentioned by Secretary Dyche.

Upon motion of Vice-President Polakoff the portion of the report referred to was
ordered stricken from the records.
Vice-President Lefkovits stated that he would like to have stricken from the report of the Secretary the portion in regard to vice-presidents who are also members of the joint boards of New York. No action was taken upon the request.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW
Vice-President Kleinman, for the committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 18
Amendment to the Constitution. Article III, Sec 22, shall be stricken out.
“No. 2, ‘appointment of Committee on Credentials,’ and from No. 7 the same section, shall be struck out the word ‘Finance’ because this is a contradiction to another clause, Section 14, Article V.
A. MITCHELL,
Vice-President.
The committee recommended that the amendment contained in the resolution be accepted, and the numbers of the sections of the order of business changed accordingly.
On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 21
Amendment to the Constitution. Article VI, Sec. 2, shall be amended:
“If at any time the convention or General Executive Board shall deem it necessary to raise the per capita tax, the question may be submitted to a vote to the Local Unions. Each local union shall have the same number of votes it was entitled to at the last convention. A majority vote to approve as final.”
A. MITCHELL,
Vice-President.
The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 23
Amendment to the Constitution. Article VIII. A new clause. Section 8 B.
“If a member from the I. L. G. W. U. brings a charge against an officer of a Local Union, Joint Board, District Council or against any member from the I. L. G. W. U. he shall be held responsible, if the outcome shows that the charge is false. Said member shall be put to trial for perjury to the same body that tried the accused member. The body shall have the right to fine the accuser according to the damages he caused to the other member.”
A. MITCHELL,
Vice-President.
The committee recommended that the resolution be accepted.
Delegate Ashpis, Local No. 1, opposed the recommendation of the committee.
Delegate Martin: I rise to a point of order on this entire proceeding. The International constitution covers the question of charges to be preferred against general officers. This pertains to charges in the locals and is a matter for the locals to handle.
Chairman London stated that the point of order was well taken.
The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 24
Sec. I, Art. V, should be changed to read as follows:
“The G. P. shall attend to disputes between employers and employees,” etc. The words “shall preside over all meetings of the national convention” to be stricken out.
MORRIS RUBIN,
Local No. 1.
The committee recommended the rejection of the amendment contained in the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 25
Section 3, Article III, to be changed to read as follows:
“At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair, call the convention to order and preside during all the sessions until the report of the Credential Committee is accepted. All the rest of the sessions to be presided over by a chairman who shall be chosen by the delegates at every previous session.”
The words “its sessions” to be stricken out.
MORRIS RUBIN,
Local No. 1.
The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.
Delegate Martin moved to concur in the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded.)

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Delegate Silver: We have just accepted a resolution covering this ground. For that reason there is no need of further action.

The chairman declared the point of order well taken.

RESOLUTION NO. 28

WHEREAS, The Credentials Committee, the way it functionates now, in accordance with Section 14 of Article V does not seem to bring the results desired at the time of adoption of the new method of appointing the said committee; and,

WHEREAS, The meeting of the said committee involves the general office in a big expense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Credentials Committee be appointed at the opening of the convention, and that the present provision which covers the appointment of said committee be eliminated from our constitution.

A. SILVER.
Delegate Local 25.

RESOLUTION NO. 29

WHEREAS, The duty of the Finance Committee is to examine the books, and accounts of the General Office and go into the details of every income and expense; and

WHEREAS, The accumulation of an enormous number of income and expenditure receipts for the period of two years makes it impossible for the committee to faithfully carry out its mission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a standing committee of three be elected at this convention, which shall meet every six months in the office of the International and examine the books and accounts of the office; that the above mentioned committee shall submit its report with all recommendations they deem proper to the General Executive Board.

At the end of their term the committee should have their final meeting and prepare a report for the next convention.

A. SILVER.
Delegate Local 25.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 33.

Amendment Art. 14, Sec. 8 (New.)

That the entrance fee in the local unions of the International should not exceed the sum of Fifteen ($15.00) Dollars for men and Ten ($10.00) for women.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS, L. I.

The committee recommended that the amendment be accepted, with the following added: "new members against whom there are no complaints or charges."

Upon motion of Delegate Weiner, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

President Rosenberg: This makes a maximum fee of not more than $15.

RESOLUTION NO. 36.

Art. 3, Sec. 3. (To be Amended).

The representation at the convention of Local Unions who are in existence since the month of January prior to the convention, shall be had on the following basis:

MORRIS J. ASHPIS.

The committee recommended that Section 5 of Article 3, be amended to read: "All local unions affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. for at least three months prior to the holding of the convention shall be notified by the G. S. T. sixty days," etc.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 37.

Amendment to the Constitution. (Art. 12. Sec. 4.

WHEREAS, Among the members comprising our International Union there are people of various nationalities, speaking different languages, in consequence of which the locals are forced to organize special branches for the respective nationalities in order to be able to carry on the organization work in the trade successfully;

WHEREAS, Our experience in the past has shown the great necessity for such branches to have representation in the joint board, latter being the center of the general work;

WHEREAS, According to our constitution the Joint Board should comprise of representatives of locals only, and such representation as proposed would be illegal;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the constitution should be amended with the following paragraph:
The Joint Board of every city should have the right to decide with a majority vote to admit special representatives from branches of a certain nationality or language, if they should find it necessary. The majority of the Joint Board voting for admitting such representatives should also define the rights of such representatives at the Joint Board.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS, L. 1.

Vice President Kleinman: The committee recommends the rejection of the amendment, on the ground that it is up to the locals sending delegates to joint boards to see that all nationalities are represented.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Ashpis, Local No. 1, opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Wiener spoke in favor of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was lost.

The original resolution was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 38.

Cleveland, O., May 29, 1914.

WHEREAS, All strikes conducted by our International Union required and entailed large financial expenditures, caused great hardship to the workers and their families;

WHEREAS, It has been a practice by the locals affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. to call strikes without sufficient and reasonable cause;

WHEREAS, In many instances irresponsible people forced strikes without the knowledge and sanction of the I. L. G. W. U.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, By the Twelfth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. in session at Acme-Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, June, 1914 that the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. be amended in so far that in event of any disputes which may arise between a member of this Union and his or her employer or when a local may feel justified in presenting any new demands to their employer the General President must first be notified of said action; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That when the General President is duly notified of said action, that he go there in person or send a representative of the G. E. B. who should fully investigate the ground for the complaint and dispute and report back to the G. E. B. for consideration and the G. E. B. must unanimously consent to the calling of a strike, if such be necessary.

I. S. FEIT,
A. COHEN,
Delegates Local No. 26.

Vice President Kleinman: In view of the fact that an increased per capita tax may be adopted in this convention, and a new set of rules will have to be adopted covering the calling of strikes, the committee believes it to be inadvisable to take action on this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 40.

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board consisting of a General President, and a General Secretary-Treasurer and thirteen Vice-Presidents, where there are two or three members of one local where to some extent they could be controlled by their various locals and it could be an injury to the welfare of our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the General President and the General Secretary-Treasurer and the thirteen Vice-Presidents be elected by fifteen different locals.

J. FINKELSTEIN,
M. SPIVAK,
S. PISMANOFF,
A. SOLOVIOFF,
STEPHEN RATTAY,
FRANK MAGNAVITA.

Local 38.

A majority of the committee recommended the rejection of the resolution.

A minority of the committee favored the resolution, but to apply to vice presidents only.

Vice President Kleinman: This resolution provides that only one member of a local can be a member of the General Executive Board. The majority report is to reject it. The minority report is that it apply only to the thirteen vice presidents and not to the General President and Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Solovioff spoke in favor of the minority report. He stated it was necessary for the convention to decide to do away with struggles such as had occurred in the past; that there were plenty of locals in New York, from which competent men
could be selected to serve on the General Executive Board, but only one could be selected from each local.

Delegate Epstein: If this becomes law will it be operative in this convention or in the next one?

President Rosenberg: Not in this one.

Delegate Portnoy spoke in favor of the majority report.

Vice President Lefkowitz in discussing the question, said in part: We must elect men who understand they are not local representatives. Local 9 wanted to bring in a recommendation to this convention that every local select its own man and send him to the General Executive Board. I opposed that and told them that when a man is elected to an international office he does not represent the local, but must represent the whole organization. I recommend that you vote for the majority report and select the best men you can find anywhere.

Delegate Cohen, Local 67, in discussing the question, said in part: I don't see any reason why one or two locals should control the Executive Board. The trouble we are having today is because the big locals want too much. When the Joint Board in New York asked the New York Vice Presidents to resign during the Hourwich controversy they said: "We were elected by the convention and we are not responsible to the Joint Board. We don't know who will be elected two years from now. I do not see why New York, with about twenty locals, cannot find seven men out of seven different locals to be on the Board. We have 108 locals represented in this convention. I think we can elect fifteen men out of fifteen different locals who can represent the entire industry of the United States. It is very important for the delegates from the locals outside of New York to vote for the minority report and not let two or three or four locals control the Board.

The majority report was declared carried on a viva voce vote.

A division was asked for. The vote was counted and the chairman announced that 56 votes were cast in the affirmative to 37 in the negative.

RESOLUTION NO. 41.

Art. 6, Sec. 2.

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the I. L. G. W. U. held in Toronto, Canada, it was decided to raise the per capita tax to eight (8c) cents, which was not submitted to a referendum vote; and

WHEREAS, At the special convention of the I. L. G. W. U. held in May, 1913, at Yonkers, N. Y., a five (5c) cent per capita tax was submitted by the General Officers, which was adopted by the convention, but when sent to a referendum vote it failed to be concurred in; and

WHEREAS, In order to successfully direct and finance strikes and accomplish things such as other International Unions have to regulate the per capita tax, to support any of the Unions affiliated, may need and not have to go begging for support in such time of trouble, our General Officers will in that respect he only figure heads; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, that the delegates have full power to regulate the per capita tax of the I. L. G. W. U. without referendum vote.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL GLASSMAN, J. B., St. Louis.
JOE EDELIN, Local 78.
B. GELBERT, Local 31.
C. G. MORRIS, Local 81, Chicago.
I. DAVIDSON, Local 81.
H. STRASSBERG, Local 71.

The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution.

Delegate Schuster moved to concur in the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Cohen (A.) spoke in favor of the resolution.

Delegate Shapiro opposed voting on the question of per capita tax in the convention and urged that the matter be referred to the people.

Delegate Davidson, Local 81, spoke in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 43

WHEREAS the resolution of a capitalistic system has been divided mainly into two economic classes—a relatively small class of capitalists who own tools; great machines they do not make and cannot use—and a great body composed of millions of workers who did make these tools and who do use them,
whose very lives depend upon them yet who do not own them; and these millions of wage earners, the producers of wealth are forced into the labor market in competition with each other, disposing of their labor and power, with the capitalist class in consideration of just enough of what they produce to keep them in working order. and

WHEREAS the working people as a class are exploited of the greatest, yet of what their labor produces so that whole upon the moment they can produce in great abundance; upon the other they can consume but that share of the product that their meager wage will buy, and every now and then it follows that they produced more than can be consumed at the present system, they are displaced by the very products of their own labor, the mills and shops, their mines and quarries in which they are employed are closed down, the tools are locked up, and they are locked out, and they find themselves idle and helpless in the shadow of the abundance their labor has created. and

WHEREAS there is no hope for them in this system so they begin to realize this fact and they are beginning to organize; they are no longer relying upon some one else. They are making up their minds to depend upon themselves and organize for their own emancipation, and

WHEREAS it is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism, and the only way to accomplish that mission is by organizing strong, powerful unions, dividing them into two classes and making the employers feel that they are a class of their own, and to carry out the principle of not harmonizing and compromising with the employers, and

WHEREAS drawing up agreements and protocols between employees and employers has in many instances shown as a fact that it has always been the basis of the identity of interests of the capitalists and wage earners, and it spends only its time and devotes its energy to harmonizing these two classes, and it is a vain and hopeless task when these interests can be even temporarily harmonized. It is always in the interests of the capitalists’ class and of the members of the union, and

WHEREAS knowing the fact as a member of the I. L. G. W. U. that the protocol which was signed up in 1910 and those signed up afterwards by the Waist Makers’ and Children’s Dress Makers, etc., with the employees was only to harmonize with the bosses, to establish peace and not giving the workers a chance to require more when the opportunity showed itself. It has given the bosses the best privileges and has made them a partner in the union business, and on the other hand has made the worker not more than a machine to obey both sides—the official and the union, and taking into consideration that the chaos that occurred recently in the Cloak Makers’ Union was due to the Protocol. Taking all these things in consideration, and also that this is opposite to the principles of the working class, and particularly to the members of the I. L. G. W. U., therefore be it

RESOLVED that the 12th biennial convention of the I. L. G. W. U. adopts a resolution that the Protocol and any other agreement should be done away with and should be unconstitutional. and be it also

RESOLVED that the following amendment be added to the preamble “That the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machines of production and abolish the wage system.”

PHILIP KURINSKY.

The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Kurinsky stated that he desired to discuss the resolution but the question was put before he had an opportunity to do so. The chairman asked if the delegates were willing to have Delegate Kurinsky defend his resolution. The delegates objected to Delegate Kurinsky discussing the motion.

RESOLUTION NO. 45

WHEREAS, friendly and brotherly relations between the General Executive Board and the general membership are essential to the growth and welfare of the organization; and

WHEREAS, such relations can only exist and be maintained if the General Executive
Board should receive the full support and enjoy the confidence of the members; and

WHEREAS, the old Executive Board did not succeed in gaining the confidence of our members, and could therefore not exercise the proper authority necessary in order to carry on the work successfully; and such a state of affairs is therefore due to the fact that the membership did not have sufficient ground to be convinced of the sincerity and earnestness of the present Executive Board; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the next General Executive Board shall hereafter be composed of such people who are not paid officers of the union, and particularly of such people who are not paid organizers of the International, and furthermore, they should not be able to designate their own work and functions; be it further

RESOLVED, that in order to enable such members of the board to meet without due loss of time, that the meetings of the board should be changed as follows: The Board should meet three times during the year, namely: During the week of Christmas and New Year (that time being the dull season), beginning of May, also the beginning of September, when they will finish the routine of work.

The N. Y. members as well as those out of town whose fare does not exceed the amount of five dollars (return) should have a meeting every month and attend such work as the general meeting of the board may refer to them for completion. The Chairman and Secretary of the board, both paid officers of the board, should not have any right to vote, however, they have the right to discuss all questions, and all other forms of consultation.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS,
SAMUEL SAPIN,
MORRIS RUBIN,
A. STUDENT,
A. PADOVER,
B. MEYERSON,
. P. KOTTLER, L. 1.

The committee recommended the rejection of the resolution.

Delegate Cohen, Local 55: I move to concur in the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Gorenstein: A point of order.

We adopted a recommendation on the general question, and this is out of order.

The point of order was declared not well taken.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 51
Art. 6, Sec. 4. to be amended to read: "The financial secretary of a local union, joint board or district council shall immediately," etc.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS,
Local Union No. 1.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.

A motion was made, and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Ashpis, Local 1, spoke in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was lost by a vote of 42 in the affirmative to 47 in the negative.

A motion to adopt Resolution No. 51 was carried by a vote of 47 in the affirmative to 27 in the negative.

At 6 o'clock Delegate Pierce moved that the convention remain in session until the completion of the report of the Law Committee. (Seconded and carried.)

RESOLUTION NO. 52
Art. 8 Section 1, to read "the I. L. G. W. U. finds" after the word "provided" in line 5 of the section.

(This is in order to define who is the body decides upon sufficient consequence of violation.)

MORRIS J. ASHPIS,
Local Union No. 1.

The committee reported that the amendment was unnecessary, and the following section covered the matter.

The report of the committee was accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 53
Art. 9 Sec. 9, to be amended as follows:
Line 5 should read: "and shall be tried by a committee selected from the Joint Board or District Council and approved by all the local unions belonging to. In case there is no Joint Board or District Council they should be tried by the Executive Boards (jointly)
stipulated as follows:

1. There shall be no time contracts with individual shop employees, except foremen, designers and pattern graders. No deposit shall be exacted from any employee, and any deposit now held shall be returned.

2. No employee shall be discharged for his or her activity in the Union. A member of the Union illegally discharged shall be refunded for loss of time. The manufacturers will discipline any member thereof proven guilty of unfair discrimination among his employees. Both the manufacturers and the Union agree that they will discipline any of their members who are guilty of a violation of this agreement.

3. The manufacturers will establish a regular weekly pay day, and they will pay for labor in cash, and each piece worker will be paid on the regular pay day for all work delivered as soon as the work is inspected and approved, which shall be within a reasonable time.

4. All sub-contracting within shops shall be abolished. No team work or so-called "corporation system" shall be allowed. Each member must work directly for and be paid by the employer.

5. The following schedule of the standard minimum weekly scale of wages shall be observed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Weekly Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cutters</td>
<td>24 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimmers</td>
<td>18 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coat Pressers</td>
<td>20 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coat Under-Pres.</td>
<td>19 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skirt Pressers</td>
<td>22 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skirt Under-Pres.</td>
<td>17 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Coat-Makers</td>
<td>24 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Skirt-Makers</td>
<td>22 per week</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cutters and pressers shall work on time basis only. No week worker shall be discharged before the end of the week during which he is employed, excepting only during the first six working days of his employment.

All operators and finishers of cloaks and skirts shall be paid at the piece rate only.

During the dull season, when there is not sufficient work to employ all workers full time, all work in the factory shall be equally distributed among all hands in the various branches of the above locals, respectively, as far as practical.

6. As to piece work, the price to be paid shall be as agreed upon by the committee of the employees in each shop and their employers.

The chairman of said Price Committee shall act as representative of the employees in their dealings with the employer. No employer working by the piece shall be expected to work on any garment until the price for such work shall have been agreed upon.

7. The weekly hours of labor shall consist of fifty (50) in six (6) working days during the nine (9) months commencing September 1st in each year. Nine (9) hours on all days except Saturday, which shall consist of five (5) hours only. During the remaining three (3) months: namely, June, July and August, weekly hours shall consist of forty-nine (49) in six (6) work days; to-wit: nine (9) hours on all days except Saturday, and four on that day.

8. No overtime shall be permitted on Saturday.

9. For overtime work all week workers shall receive one and one-half (1 1/2) the usual pay during the present season, and be paid on no less than that basis thereafter.

10. The Union representative of a duly elected committee, accompanied by a representative appointed by the Manufacturers' Association, shall be allowed to visit shops at all reasonable times to ascertain whether Union conditions are observed.

11. Each member of the manufacturers is to maintain a Union shop; a "Union shop" being understood to refer to a shop where Union standards as to working conditions, hours of labor and rates of wages as herein stipulated prevail, and where, when hiring help, Union men are preferred, it being recognized that since there are differences in degrees of skill among those employed in the trade, employers shall have freedom of selection as between one Union man and another, and shall not be confined to any list nor bound to follow any prescribed order whatever.

12. The manufacturers declare their belief in the Union, and that all who desire its benefits should share in its burdens.

13. The parties hereto establish a Joint Board of Sanitary Control, to consist of three members composed of one nominee of the manufacturers, one nominee of the Unions and one nominee who will represent the public. Said board is empowered to establish standards of sanitary conditions to which the manufacturers and the Unions shall be committed, and the manufacturers and Unions obligate themselves to maintain such standards to the best of their ability and to the full extent of their power.

14. The parties hereto establish a Board
of Arbitration, to consist of three members, composed of one nominee of the manufacturers, one nominee of the Unions and one representative of the public, this last representative to be selected by the manufacturers and the Unions jointly.

15. To such board shall be submitted any differences hereafter arising between the parties hereto or between any of the members of the manufacturers and any of the members of the Unions, and a decision of such Board of Arbitration shall be accepted as final and conclusive between the parties of such controversy.

16. In the event of any dispute arising between the manufacturers and the Unions, or between any members of the manufacturers and any members of the Unions, the parties to this Protocol agree that there shall be no strike or lockout concerning such matters in controversy until full opportunity shall have been given for the submission of such matters to said Board of Arbitration, and in the event of a determination of said controversy by said Board of Arbitration, only in the event of a failure to accede to the determination of said Board.

17. The parties hereby establish a Committee on Grievances, consisting of six members, composed as follows: Three (3) to be named by the manufacturers and three (3) by the Unions. To said committee shall be submitted all grievances arising in connection with the relations between the manufacturers and their employees. The decisions of such committee or majority thereof shall be final. If there is a tie vote in said committee, the question at issue may be appealed to the Board of Arbitration.

18. In the event of any vacancy in the aforesaid boards or in the aforesaid committees by reason of death, resignation or disability of any of the members thereof, such vacancy shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment.

19. Upon application in writing by either the manufacturers or the Unions, future conferences may be called to discuss any matters which may be declared necessary for the benefit of the parties hereto.

By JULIUS PRICE, President.
I. A. ABRAMSON, Vice-President.

Counter signed by Executive Committee:
Maxwell B. Copelof, Chairman,
Joseph Rudy, David H. Glickman,
George Moscovits.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION,
By ABRAHAM ROSENBERG, President.
ABRAHAM MITCHELL, Vice-President.

Those manufacturers who did not belong to the Association signed individual agreements, providing for an eight hour day (this having been originally the demand of the locals in Boston) and double pay for overtime. It, however, soon became evident that these conditions were burdensome to the independent manufacturers who conducted business on a small scale. It did not take long before they broke the agreements and locked out the employees. The Boston locals, though well organized, could not prevail against them . . .

While the movement among the cloakmakers and waistmakers was in progress the dormant and inactive Ladies' Tailors, Local No. 36, awoke from their stuper. Several mass-meetings were held and nearly 500 ladies’ tailors, embracing the entire trade in Boston, joined the Union. After a strike lasting ten days the employers signed a collective agreement providing for an eight hour day, recognition of the Union and other improved conditions. . .

The strike of the Boston waistmakers was by no means an easy task. This proved a stubborn and serious straggle. The police displayed their usual merciless activity and made arrests right and left. We succeeded in arranging a conference with the manufacturers, but it took us ten days to confer with them before we finally reached an understanding. In some of the waist shops there were a number of scabs; this made it difficult to arrive at a settlement. However, after striking for four weeks the manufacturers signed an agreement.

Although this agreement is essentially the same as the agreement in the Cloak Trade, yet it has brought no satisfaction to the workers. The employees of this trade are girls who had no experience in strikes. They imagined that when a strike is settled the factories are turned
to the convention, providing he or she is a member of the I. L. G. W. U.

A. SILVER,
Delegate Local 25.

RESOLUTION NO. 30
WHEREAS, Section 2 of Article 16 of our Constitution states that any member of the I. L. G. W. U. has a right to transfer from one local to another, but it does not specify the limit of time when a member could be issued a transfer; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That Section No. 2 of Article 16, be amended as follows: That a member being six months in any local union of the I. L. G. W. U. should be entitled to a transfer at any time.

J. FINKELSTEIN,
M. SPIVAK,
S. PISMANOFF,
A. SOLOVIOFF,
STEPHEN RATTAY,
FRANK MAGNAVITA.
Local 38.

RESOLUTION NO. 39.
WHEREAS, The editor of the Ladies' Garment Workers is a paid officer of the I. L. G. W. U.; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That no International officer shall be an editor of said Journal. Be it further
RESOLVED, That a committee of five be elected at the convention as Board of Directors.

J. FINKELSTEIN,
M. SPIVAK,
S. PISMANOFF,
A. SOLOVIOFF,
STEPHEN RATTAY,
FRANK MAGNAVITA.
Local 38.

The report of the committee, that the subject matter of the above resolutions had been dealt with and no further action was necessary, was accepted.

President Rosenberg: The following amendment was submitted after the time for introducing resolutions had expired. If there are no objections I will read it:

RESOLUTION NO. 188.
Amendment to Constitution, Article 3, Sec. 1.

"The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union shall meet biennially in general convention on the first Monday in May at 9 a.m."

The amendment is to strike out the words "First Monday in June" and substitute the words "first Monday in May."

A. M. COPSTEIN,
Local 108.

Upon motion the amendment offered by Delegate Copstein was rejected.

Several delegates, signers of the following resolution, asked that permission be given to introduce it and refer it to the proper committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 189.
WHEREAS, it is unfair for trade unions to practice the methods of the employing class, whose main object and purpose is to employ their workers by giving them small nominal sums for compensation of their labor, making very little difference to them what their capacity is in department in which they may be, and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of a trade union to fight for higher wages and everything connected for the benefit of better conditions, and

WHEREAS, In the past history of our union, we have been paying our General Officers, known as General President and Secretary, a small salary which is hardly in accord with their responsibilities and important work imposed upon them, be it therefore
RESOLVED, That this Convention decide that the salary of the President shall be $3,000.00 a year.

(Signed)
SAUL METZ,
J. HALPERN,
DAVID FUSFELD,
A. GROBAN,
S. PRISAM,
M. GOLDSKY.

The request was not granted, less than
two-thirds of the delegates being willing to have the resolution introduced. The Italian delegates asked permission to introduce a resolution. The nature of the resolution was stated, and no objection was offered to its introduction. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

At 7:20 p.m. the convention was adjourned to 8 a.m., Saturday, June 13th.

TWELFTH DAY—SATURDAY MORNING SESSION

Cleveland, Ohio, June 13, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a.m., Saturday, June 13th, President Rosenberg in the chair.

Absentees—None.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Amdur, for the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 73

WHEREAS, The dress trade is controlled by various local unions of the I. L. G. W. U., and

WHEREAS, Every local has an individual scale of wages for their members, which makes it difficult for the members of the local union which demands a higher scale to secure positions, because the manufacturers claim that employers having work made by the people of the other locals can produce the same work at much cheaper prices, and

WHEREAS, This brings about an open competition between one union man and another; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the newly elected General Executive Board that they take this matter up at their first meeting, and appoint a committee to take the necessary steps to establish one scale of wages for all members in the dress trade.

MAX SINGER.
SAM PRISANT.
JOSEPH ABRAMSky.
SAM GRANOFSKY.
PHILIP FEST.
J. DUBESTER.
H. KLEIMAN.
I. SLOPEK,
Delegates Local 23.

The committee recommended that the resolution be accepted. Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 60

WHEREAS, The division of labor is gradually demolishing its craft lines which once divided the men's from the ladies' garment workers; and

WHEREAS, The bosses have often interlocking interests in both ladies' and men's clothing industry; and

WHEREAS, The struggle we have had during the last four years has shown to us the necessity of a closer unity in our efforts against our common exploiters; and

WHEREAS, The four organizations now existing in the clothing industry, divided as they are at present, causes waste of money, misunderstanding and lack of solidarity; and

WHEREAS, At the Toronto convention we referred to the G. E. B. the question of amalgamating with the United Garment Workers of America, and the Journeymen Tailors' Union now known as the 'Tailors' Industrial Union, and therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we favor the amalgamation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with the United Garment Workers of America, the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, now known as the Tailors' Industrial Union, and with the International Fur Workers' Union; and be it further,

RESOLVED, That the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instructs the incoming G. E. B. to meet with representatives of all the above named organizations willing to amalgamate and jointly make plans for the amalgamation of the above named International Unions: and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the plan which will be suggested by the General Executive Board be submitted for approval to the referendum vote of our members not later than March 31, 1915.

SALVATORE NINFO. Local 9.
FRANK COMUNALE. Local 23.
ALFRED LA PORTE. Local 9.
SERAFINO CICcone, Local 25.
N. DE MARTINO, Local 35.
FRANK MAGNAVITA. Local 38.
E. LOPES. Local 9.
E. A. MEADER. Local 28.
A. S. GLASMAN, Local 28.
The committee recommended that the resolution be accepted. Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 90

WHEREAS, The St. Louis Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union had a bitter struggle for six months, which ended with a loss to our unions, and

WHEREAS, For four weeks before the strike was given up we did not receive a sufficient sum to pay the regular strike benefits; and

WHEREAS, The prospects of a settlement was in our favor, we borrowed money, and did not pay some bills that were due, in order to pay strike benefits, and

WHEREAS, When the strike was ended we were in debt for Nine Hundred ($900.00) Dollars, and

WHEREAS, We cannot raise that sum, under the present conditions, from our membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That by the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, the said amount of money be paid to the St. Louis Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

Submitted,
SAMUEL GLASSMAN, Joint Board,
JOE EDLIN, Local 78,
BEN GILBERT, Local 31.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the incoming General Executive Board. Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 135

WHEREAS, Brother Herman Grossman, an active member of Local No. 1, I. L. G. W. U. has been an active member in the labor movement for over twenty-five years and also one of the founders of the I. L. G. W. U. during which time he has contributed very excellent work, and

WHEREAS, Brother Grossman being the first General President of the I. L. G. W. U. when he received no compensation but at the same time devoted all of his time and energy to all organizing work and strikes of all the locals connected with the I. L. G. W. U., and

WHEREAS, During the strike of the Ladies' Waist Makers' Union, Brother Grossman worked unceasingly day and night until victory was achieved, and

WHEREAS, Brother Grossman's health at the present time is very bad and being advised by his physician to leave the country in order to regain his health, but unable to do so on account of lack of funds; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention donate to Brother Grossman the sum of $300, so as to enable him to obey the order of his physician and leave for the country to regain his health so that he can again resume his good work.

S. PALAKOFF, L. 25,
B. SCHLESINGER, L. 1,
B. WITASHKIN, L. 25,
A. ROSENBERG,
J. B. BOHAN.

The committee recommended that the resolution be accepted. Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 75

WHEREAS, There are tens of thousands of unorganized ladies' garment workers throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, In order to effect an improvement of conditions in the various branches of the ladies' garment industries it is necessary to have all the workers in such industries thoroughly organized, and

WHEREAS, Whenever a strike is called in any branch of the ladies' garment industries in any particular city, the workers are subject to a prolonged strike which results in starvation and misery on the part of the strikers, and at the same time the work of the striking firms is shipped to other cities and is made up there, very frequently by organized members of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union deliberate upon the advisability of declaring a general strike throughout all the branches of the ladies' garment workers throughout the country.

S. SEIDMAN, Local 25.

The committee recommended that the incoming General Executive Board advocate a general strike throughout the country.
The recommendation of the committee was concurred in. The committee considered Resolutions Nos. 104, 134 and 160 in one report. The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 104
Cleveland, O., May 29, 1914.
The Cleveland Skirt and Cloak Makers, in session at a regular meeting Friday evening May 29th, adopted the following resolution:
WHEREAS, Our experience in the past, Cleveland, Philadelphia and St. Louis strikers proved beyond doubt that our losses were due to the fact that our International offices had to go begging to various locals for money.
WHEREAS, Our appeals in the Labor Press asking for donations toward our strike benefit funds had a demoralizing influence over the strikers and encouraged the employers;
WHEREAS, History shows that success and progress made by other International Unions was due to the fact that their treasury was in good, sound financial condition;
WHEREAS, Our present per capita of 2 1/2 cents to the I. L. G. W. U. is not sufficient to pay strike benefits and conduct strikes to a successful conclusion; therefore, be it
RESOLVED To empower the Twelfth Biennial Convention in meeting in session in Cleveland, Ohio, June, 1914, to raise the per capita to 5 cents a member per week.
The CLEVELAND CLOAK & SKIRT MAKERS, LOCAL 26.
A. Cohen, D. Solomon, Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 134
To the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.:
WHEREAS, For the past two years there has been lots of trouble in the organization and the manufacturers took advantage of same to the extent of opening shops in the outlying districts and obtaining cheap labor, and
WHEREAS, The International has not sufficient funds to send organizers to the various places to organize them properly; be it
RESOLVED, That this Twelfth Annual Convention pass resolutions increasing the per capita tax from two and one-half cents to five cents per week.
M. GOLDOFSKY, L. 35.
L. LANGER, L. 35.
A. KOSLOWSKY, L. 35.
S. CICCOME, L. 35.
W. DE MARTINO.

RESOLUTION NO. 160.
WHEREAS, The purpose of the I. L. G. W. U. is to organize, conduct and settle strikes and lockouts in all the branches of the Ladies' Garment Industry throughout the United States and Canada, and
WHEREAS, The present per capita tax of 2 1/2 cents paid to the I. L. G. W. U. is insufficient to cover the expenses incurred for such tremendous work, therefore be it
Resolved, That the per capita tax be increased to 5 cents in order that the G. E. M. may be able to continue with its propositions.
M. AMDUR, Local No. 2.
M. GRISHKAM, Local No. 2.
M. POLEN, Local No. 2.
BECKIE STEIN, Local No. 69.
SIMON DAVIDSON, Local No. 53.
MAX Sandler, Joint Board, Phila.
Vice-President Amdur: The committee recommends that the resolutions be referred to the incoming General Executive Board; that the per capita tax be raised to five cents, and also recommends that the Board be instructed to work out a plan as to how strikes should be conducted, how general strikes should be called, and that these plans and the recommendation to raise the per capita tax be sent to all the locals.
Upon motion, duly made and seconded, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 70
WHEREAS; Since the settlement of strikes in New York City are made by protocol agreements, and as there are at present five such agreements of the International with manufacturers' associations of various lines of trade in the ladies' garment industry, and
WHEREAS, There are some manufacturers belonging to an association not in their particular line of trade, and consequently some inconvenience and misunderstandings arise out of cases in such shops; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That the convention shall instruct and empower the incoming G. E. B. to use all influence in the associations so they should not admit as members in their associations manufacturers who manufacture a different line of trade. They
should also transfer such members as they may have at present to their respective associations in their own line.

ESTHER TAUBER,  
MORRIS SIROTA,  
Delegates Local 50.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that the resolutions be rejected. Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 190

WHEREAS, Two members of the working class, Richard Ford and Herman Suhr, have recently been sentenced to imprisonment for life in the California state penitentiary, on account of their connection as leaders of a strike last summer in the hop fields near Wheatland, where a district attorney and deputy sheriff and two strikers were killed; and

WHEREAS, The evidence shows clearly that the sheriff's posse started the riot and were responsible for the deaths and that Ford and Suhr have simply been made the victims of a desire for vengeance on the part of the hop owners and the authorities of that section; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 12th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. goes on record as protesting in the name of 100,000 workers against the conviction and sentence of Ford and Suhr for their only "crime" of trying to organize workers to improve the miserable conditions in the hop fields of California; be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention pledges moral and financial support to the defense of Ford and Suhr in their efforts to secure a new trial and the freedom they deserve.

(Signed) P. Kurinsky, Local 20; P. Hering, Local 90; A. Babitz, I. Wiseman; A. Slovik, Local 65; Sam Tauber, Local 52; L. Auerbach, Local 19; S. Labensohn, J. B. Montreal; H. Kruger, Local 14; M. Davis, H. Blustein; J. Dubester, Local 23; J. Levy, Max Singer, F. Slopak, Sam Granovsky, S. Frisamit, Local 23; Bessie Switzer, A. Baroff, H. Silberman, S. Haiman, M. Holtzman, J. Block, S. Shapiro, S. Seidman, Local 25; I. Sweet, Local 11; I. Epstein, Local 10; S. Ciccone, Local 35; A. LaPorta, Local 9; L. Jacobinsky, Local 17; P. Kottler, Local 1; D. Borrowitz, Local 63; A. Goldstein, A. Padover, M. Rubin, Local 1; J. F. Pierce, Samuel Maitin, C. Beaver, "C. Nagel J. P. Cohen, Local 10; Belle Yount, Ida LaPorta, Local 82; S. Hoffman, Local 14; J. Kivenko, Local 19;
B. Kurland, Local 73; H. Sheines, Local 56; A. Rotkowitz, Local 4; B. Reznikoff, Local 90; A. Groban, Local 98; M. Goldowsky, Local 35; A. Gelbert, Local 31; I. David-son, Local 81; Morris Sirota, Local 50; M. Polin, Local 2; Alex Student, Local 1; C. G. Morris, Local 81; B. Stein, Local 89; H. Binder, Local 65; M. Sandler, J. B. Philadelphia; H. Dubinsky, J. M. Singer, Sadie Dickstein, Local 41; M. Zuckerman; A. Riback; Local 20; L. Langer; Jay Katz, Local 67; M. J. Cohen; A. S. Glasman, Local 28; Joe Braslaver, Local 35; Ernest Meader, Local 28; Sam Flashner, Local 12; N. Berman, Local 56; B. Cohen, Local 83; W. Hirons, Local 92; H. Zeitigman, Local 70; W. Cohen, Local 11; K. Simon, Local 61; P. Schienberg, Local 13; T. Jacobs, Local 13.

Vice-President Amdor: The committee recommends that the sum of $50 be donated in this case.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Kurinsky briefly discussed the resolution and moved an amendment that the sum of $200.00 be donated. (Seconded.)

Delegate Tauber, Local 52, spoke briefly, in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Seidman moved that the sum of $100 be donated.

Delegate Kurinsky's amendment was lost. The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 145.

WHEREAS, That our I. L. G. W. U. struggles day after day on the economical field against the capitalistic class.

WHEREAS, That the S. P. struggled during the year on the political field for the working class, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of I. L. G. W. U. should appoint two members of the I. L. G. W. U. to actively support the Socialist Party.

JACOB DUBESTER, Local No. 23.

Vice-President Amdor: The committee recommends that the resolution be rejected, as there is more than one Socialist Party—the S. L. P., and other parties—and the convention can go on record as supporting only one party.

Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

REPORT OF ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Delegate Schlesinger, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 42.

WHEREAS, At the last I. L. G. W. U. convention held at Toronto, Canada, it was decided to establish a branch from the General Office for the Western States, and

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board appointed Bro. Palacoff as Manager for the Western States, an office was opened in Chicago. For six (6) months his presence made a notable success, especially for Chicago and St. Louis that were demoralized since the year 1911, and

WHEREAS, The Western cities are suffering in not having a General Officer from New York to represent the I. L. G. W. U. in the Western cities, namely, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, the result is a drawback to thoroughly organizing those cities, and

WHEREAS, The field for organizing the Ladies' Garment Workers in said cities is very large, and

WHEREAS, There are other cities in the West where ladies' garments are manufactured, namely Kansas City, Missouri, Omaha, Nebraska, Indianapolis, Indiana, Louisville, Kentucky, for lack of agitation for union conditions, are yet unorganized, and

WHEREAS, There are a large number of women who work in the Cloak and Skirt industry, especially the Gentiles, who, until they are organized will always be an obstacle to establishing union conditions in the ladies' garment trade in those cities, be it

RESOLVED by the Twelfth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U., assembled in Cleveland, O., that a branch office be established in Chicago, Illinois, for the next two years; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a Manager and three organizers, consisting of two women and one man; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Manager's salary be not less than Twenty-five ($25.00) Dollars and not more than Thirty-five ($35.00) Dollars per week; and, be it further

RESOLVED, In order to keep up this office
the I. L. G. W. U. allow for expense not less than Two Hundred ($200.00) Dollars and not more than Two Hundred Fifty ($250.00) Dollars per week.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL GLASSMAN, J. B. St. Louis.
JOE EDLIN, Local 78.
B. GELBERT, Local 31.
C. G. MORRIS, Local 81, Chicago.
I. DAVIDSON, Local 81.
H. STRASSBERG, Local 71.

Delegate Schlesinger: This subject matter of this resolution is covered by resolutions already adopted. We recommend that the resolution be referred to the incoming General Executive Board.

Upon motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Schlesinger: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed,

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
Chairman.

JACOB HALPERN, Local No. 9,
ELMER ROSENBERG, Local 10,
P. SCHEINBERG, Local 13,
M. SHUR, Local 14,
JACOB M. SINGER, Local 20,
JACOB ABRAMSKY, Local 23,
A. BAROFF, Local 25,
H. SHEINES, Local 56,
S. CICCONE, Local 35,
ESTHER TAUBER, Local 50.

Committee on Organization.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW
Vice-President Mitchell in the chair.
Vice-President Kleinman, for the Committee, reported as follows:

REFERENDUM RESOLUTIONS
The following resolutions dealing with the question of referendum, were covered in one report:

RESOLUTION NO. 22
Amendment to the Constitution. Article VIII. A new section marked "Sec. 7-A."
"Every local or locals that think that the entire G. E. B. has committed an act calculated to impair the dignity of the organization, or they have violated the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U., shall have the right to bring charges against the G. E. B. to an honorable court of seven prominent labor leaders connected with the trade union movement, which shall be composed as follows: Three to be appointed by each party to the controversy and those six shall elect a seventh one. The decision from such court shall be binding until the next convention.

A. MITCHELL, Vice-President.

RESOLUTION NO. 31
WHEREAS, Section No. 2 of Article 4, of the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. provides that all the general officers shall be elected at the convention; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That said Sec. 2 of Art. 4, be amended to read that all the general officers be elected by a referendum of the I. L. G. W. U. members.

J. FINKELSTEIN,
M. SPIVAK,
S. PISMANOFF,
A. SOLOVIOFF,
STEPHEN RATTAY,
FRANK MAGNAVITA.
Local 38.

RESOLUTION NO. 32
Cleveland, Ohio, May 29, 1914.
The Cleveland Cloak & Skirt Makers' Union No. 26, I. L. G. W. U., assembled at a regular meeting May 29, 1914, at Spero's Hall, adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The present progressive age which stands for the principle of initiative and referendum and the recall;

WHEREAS, Our present Constitution does not provide for the recalling of officers or members of the G. E. B. in the event of their dishonesty, disloyalty or otherwise misusing the power on the part of the G. E. B. against the best interest of the rank and file of the I. L. G. W. U.;

WHEREAS, The present provisions in the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. Article ??, Section ??, in reference to charges preferred against members of the G. E. B. for violating the constitution and laws of the I. L. G. W. U. does not provide sufficient guarantee for the proper disciplining and removal of said officers, therefore be it

Resolved, That Article VIII, Section 1, of the Constitution of The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union be amended and hereby is amended by this Twelfth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. in session in Acme Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, June, 1914, to read as follows:

That when a local in good standing of the I. L. G. W. U. prefers charges in writing against a member of the G. E. B. charging him...
with violating the constitution and laws of the I. L. G. W. U.; with being incapable of fully discharging his duties; with unfaithfulness and disloyalty to the I. L. G. W. U.; with being dishonest or with having committed any other act unbecoming an officer; and when such local, together with four other locals of other cities, in good standing of the I. L. G. W. U. endorse in writing a petition calling for the recall of such member;

That the said charges, together with the endorsed petition, be forwarded to the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. L. G. W. U.

That the General Secretary-Treasurer upon receipt of the charges and endorsed petition shall send to the officer so charged a copy of the charges, and shall publish in two issues of all the official labor papers a copy of such charges and endorsed petition.

That the General Secretary-Treasurer immediately, after publication of such charges and the endorsed petition, shall have printed blank form petitions, with a copy, verbatim, of the charges and endorsed petition printed thereon, and he shall send such printed blank form petitions to the Secretaries of the various locals, in good standing, affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U., to be distributed, by the various secretaries, among the membership, in good standing of such locals, to be signed or for a refusal to sign;

That within four weeks after receipt of such blank form petition, by the Secretaries of the various locals, in good standing, affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. these Secretaries, herein mentioned, shall return all of the petitions received by them, whether signed or not, together with a verification by the local executive boards as to the genuineness of the signatures, and the good standing of the members so signing;

That upon the receipt of the returned petition by the General Secretary-Treasurer, he shall immediately call a special meeting of the G. E. B. at which meeting he shall turn over all the petitions so received, and the G. E. B. in session at such a meeting shall count the signatures so received;

That if the result of such an election shall show that a majority of the total membership, in good standing of the I. L. G. W. U., are in favor of such a recall of the officer, such officer shall be notified of the result, and that he be summarily dismissed, without delay and his office be declared vacant.

And a member of the G. E. B. next in rank to the dismissed officer shall fill the vacancy.

The Cleveland Cloak & Skirt Makers' Union,

No. 26, I. L. G. W. U.

ALBERT COHEN.
President.

D. SOLOMON.
Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 44

WHEREAS on the last convention held in Toronto, Canada, in 1912, through the inexperience of the delegates, the question pertaining to the referendum was not dealt with, and

WHEREAS the failure of carrying this through has caused much trouble to the membership of our International Union owing to the recent ultimatum that was given out during the Hurwich affair by the president and General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. L. G. W. U.—the withdrawal of the protocol—and they could not be accused by the members on account of these officers having been elected by the convention, and

WHEREAS this is only a democratic measure and should long have been in existence in our Union which is composed of workers and sustained by them, therefore be it

RESOLVED that this 12th biennial convention of the I. L. G. W. U. adopts a resolution that the President and the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. L. G. W. U. be elected by the referendum of the whole membership of the I. L. G. W. U. and that same officers be liable to the membership for their actions.

P. KURINSKY,
I. WISEMAN.

RESOLUTION NO. 46

WHEREAS the present form of election of officers, President and General Secretary from the I. L. G. W. U. is not at all democratic, for it reserves the right of the individual member to cast his vote direct for the candidates he considers best; and taking into consideration that the members are under
the impression that officers elected by the convention are not at all responsible to the members of the locals, only to the convention; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, that candidates for President and General Secretary of the I. L. G. W. U. should be nominated at the convention, and elected through a referendum vote from all the members of the I. L. G. W. U.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS, SAMUEL SAPIN, MORRIS RUBIN, A. STUDENT, A. GOLDSTEIN, A. PADOVER, B. MEYERSON, P. KOTTLER.

RESOLUTION NO. 148.
WHEREAS, There exists a general tendency to democratize as far as possible all election institutions, and
WHEREAS, The members of our organization have no opportunity to express their rights as to vote for general officers, therefore be it
RESOLVED, That the president and general secretary-treasurer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union shall be elected by a referendum vote of all the members of the respective locals.
Delegates of Local No. 23.
F. SLOPAK, JOS. AMBRAMSKY, MAX SINGER, SAM GRANOWSKY, SAM PRISAMT, J. DUBESTER, PH. FEST.

RESOLUTION NO. 154.
WHEREAS, The constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. contains no rule that provides for the impeachment and conviction of the whole G. E. B. in the event the whole G. E. B. does not act in accordance with the constitution or the spirit of the I. L. G. W. U. or for any unjust act either to the entire membership of the I. L. G. W. U. in general or to a part of the membership, and the General Secretary Treasurer is obliged to call together said court within 10 days, and that the decision of the said court shall be forwarded to the Locals for the approval according to Article 8 of Section 6 in our Constitution.
We also recommend that Article 8, Section 8, should become Section 9, etc. M. RUBIN, S. SAPIN, Z. MYERSON, P. KOTTLER, Local No. 1.

MORRIS J. ASPHIS, A. GOLDSTEIN, ALEX PADOVER, ALEX STUDENT.

RESOLUTION NO. 156.
Amendments. Article 111.
Sec. 17 (a). A regular convention of the I. L. G. W. U. shall have the right or power to change or to amend this constitution, and any and all additions and amendments to this constitution, adopted at any session of the convention shall not become a law until approved by a majority vote of the general membership. The General Secretary shall submit any and all changes made by the convention to a referendum vote within thirty days after the close of the convention.
Sec. 17 (b). During the interim between conventions any L. U. may propose amendments or additions to the constitution and if three L. U. of two different states second the same, the G. S. shall submit proposition for the vote of the General membership and if approved by a two-thirds majority of the members-voting the same shall become a law.

Sec. 18 (c). When a referendum vote is ordered each local union shall call a special meeting and take action thereupon on all questions submitted for a vote, any members present to be counted. The President and Recording Secretary shall carefully record the vote and send the same under their signatures and the seal of the Local Union to the General Secretary.

JOE KATZ, Local No. 67.
M. J. COHEN, Local No. 67.

RESOLUTION NO. 157.

Article IV.

Sec. 3 (a). All officers shall be elected through a roll call and it shall require a majority of all votes cast to constitute an election. The vote of each delegate shall be printed in the convention proceedings.

Sec. 3 (b). Any subordinate local in good standing of the I. L. G. W. U. shall have the privilege of proposing the recall of one or more general officers through the referendum by submitting to the G. S. a proposition naming the officer or officers whose recall is desired, giving specific reasons for the issuance of such recall and accompanying the same with the endorsement under seal of five locals, not more than two of which shall be from any one state or territory. All circulars sent out by a local union for recall, endorsements shall be returnable from the local unions receiving them, to the local issuing them within 45 days.

Sec. 3 (c). The G. S. must issue a vote when ordered within two weeks and vote of Local Unions to be counted must be received within thirty days from date of issue of any referendum vote.

M. J. COHEN, Local No. 67.
J. KATZ, Local No. 67.

RESOLUTION NO. 161.

WHEREAS, There is a constant clamor among the workers of the Ladies' Garment Industry for direct representation of its officials in order to be responsible to the rank and file, and

WHEREAS, The delegates elected to the American Federation of Labor are just as important officers as the G. E. B., therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the American Federation of Labor shall be elected by a referendum vote of all affiliated locals of the I. L. G. W. U.

M. AMDUR, Local No. 2.
M. GRISHMAN, Local No. 2.
M. POLIN, Local No. 2.
BECKIE STEIN, Local No. 69.
SIMON DAVIDSON, Local No. 53.
MAX SANDLER, Joint Board, Phila.
Referred to Law Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 163

WHEREAS, That our General Officers are elected by the Delegates at the convention for the term of two years, and they cannot be recalled until the next convention, and

WHEREAS, That being elected for two years by the convention, they are responsible to no one except to the convention, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That from now on and further, our officers shall be elected and recalled by a referendum by all the membership of the I. L. G. W. U. and not by the convention.

I. ETKIN,
I. CAPLAN,
A. ROTKOWITZ.

RESOLUTION NO. 169.

Amendment.

Article IV, Section 11:
Strike out the word “elected” after the words “shall be” and insert the word “nominated.”

Article IV, Section 111:
Strike out the word “ballot be by” and insert the word “referendum.”

M. SHUR, Local 14.

Vice-President Kleinman: The committee recommends the following: That this convention go on record favoring the election and recall of officers by referendum. In view of the fact that the adoption of this recommendation requires careful study, the preparation of a set of rules and by-laws governing said election, and a reconstruction of a large part of the constitution, we, your committee, recommend that the incoming General Executive Board work out a set of rules and by-laws governing the election and recall of officers by referendum, and submit such rules and by-laws to the next convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

Delegate Ashpis, Local No. 1, made a
brief statement in opposition to the recommendation of the Committee.
Delegate Seidman, Local 25, moved to concur in the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

RESOLUTION NO. 47
RESOLVED, that the convention see that the contradiction of Art. 14, Sec. 5, and Art. 17, Sec. 8, shall be corrected.

MORRIS J. ASHPIS,
Local Union No. 1,
The committee reported that they found no contradiction in these sections. The report of the committee was concurred in.

Vice-President Zlotchin in the chair.
Vice-President Kleinman: The subject of the incorporation of local unions was referred to this Committee, and the committee desire to report as follows: That a new section be added to Article 9, to be known as Section 3, and which shall read as follows:

"No local union affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. shall be permitted to incorporate under the laws of any state or territory of the United States, or under the laws of the Dominion of Canada or one of the provinces thereof without the consent of the G. E. B. The incorporation of a local shall be considered the dissolution of the local and the G. E. B. may take charter as provided in Section 11."

Upon motion, the report of the committee was concurred in.

Vice-President Kleinman: That completes the report of the Law Committee, which is signed:
HARRY KLEINMAN, Local 23,
M. J. COHEN, Local 67,
CHARLES NAGEL, Local 10,
H. SILBERMAN, Local 25,
AB. SOLOVIOFF, Local 38,
MORRIS LEADER, Local 17,
IDA LA PORTA, Local 82,
A. GROBAN, Local 9.
S. POLACKOFF, Local 9.

Committee on Law.
A motion was made that the report of the committee be accepted as a whole, and the Law Committee discharged, with the thanks of the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES
Delegate Cohen, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 130
WHEREAS, Local 65, Ladies’ Tailors and Dressmakers’ Union of Brooklyn, New York, which has been recently organized for the purpose of assuming jurisdiction of the ladies’ tailoring and tailor dressmaking in the city of Brooklyn, and
WHEREAS, In Brooklyn, which is a part of Brooklyn, ladies’ tailored dressmaking is controlled by Local 25 and the conditions differentiate very much, and
WHEREAS, It is a known fact that one trade in one town to be controlled by two different organizations creates competition, and
WHEREAS, Local 65 is the only local to assume jurisdiction of ladies’ tailoring and dressmaking; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That all the members of Local 25 who work in the ladies’ tailors and dressmaking stores in all parts of Brooklyn be transferred to Local 65 and Local 25 shall relinquish their jurisdiction over such stores.

(Signed) ABE SLOVIK,
Delegate Local 65.

The chairman of the committee announced the completion of their report.
(Signed)
MAX COHEN, Chairman, Local 17,
A. SILVER, Secretary, Local 25,
A. BABITZ, Local 9,
W. COHEN, Local 11,
J. KIVENKO, Local 19,
S. LABENSOHN,
J. GLICKMAN, J. B. TORONTO.
H. BINDER, Local 65,
S. SEIDMAN, Local 25.
Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS
Delegate Tauber, Local 52, reported as follows, for the committee:

RESOLUTION NO. 191
Chairman and Delegates of the 12th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U:
Considering the titanic struggle in which the work-people of Italy are engaged for a larger piece of bread and a bit of social justice:
And considering the brutality and violence with which the Italian government is trying to silence the just protest of our unfortunate brothers of Italy;
And considering the heroic attitude of the
Italian people of our class who are boldly facing death and misery to secure social justice;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,
That this Convention goes on record with a vote of sympathy for those who in Italy are fighting the cause of humanity.

A. LA PORTA,
P. LOPES,
L. CICCONE.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 192
WHEREAS, It is well known that the Siberian exiles are suffering in Siberia through the Russian cruelty and tyranny for the stand and the fight they made for human rights, and
WHEREAS, It is also known to us that they have no financial support; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That the Twelfth convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union grant the request of the Siberian Red Cross Society and donate $150, and, be it further
RESOLVED, That we request the delegates of this convention, after their return to their homes, to agitate for a yearly donation to said exiled society.

J. FINKELSTEIN, Local 38.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions announced the completion of their report.

(Signed)
MORRIS SIGMAN, Local 35, Chairman,
MAX AMDUR, Local No. 2, Secretary.
CHARLES BEAVER, Local 10,
I. POSEN, Local 56,
MOLLIE LIFSHITZ, Local 62,
SAM TAUBER, Local 52,
MORRIS JACOBINSKY, Local 17,
MORRIS DAVIS, Local 11,
J. BRASLAYER, Local 35,
I. ETKIN, Local 4.

Committee on Resolutions.
Vice-President Polakoff, for the Special Committee on Relief, reported that the names of those needing assistance had been referred to the Secretary, and stated there were a number of delegates who wished help to return home.

A motion was made and carried that the Relief Committee also assist those who needed assistance to return to their homes.

Vice-President Polakoff: There is another matter I would like to call to your attention. I am going to offer a resolution.

In the month of August the International Socialist convention will be held in Europe. Comrade London has been elected a delegate to that convention by the Workmen's Circle. I therefore suggest that this convention give a credential to Comrade London and request him to represent our International at the next International Socialist Congress.

Delegate Langer: I move that the credential be given to Comrade London. (Seconded and carried.)

Mr. Meyer London: Comrades, I suppose we are all very good Socialists and radicals whenever the question of reforming the world comes up. I have never had an opportunity in any of our conventions to present my views of the problems which confront us. It has always been my lot to contribute to the enthusiasm of the crowd when they have enough enthusiasm without me.

A member of the Board of Arbitration asked me, "How is it possible for you to be working so hard for the protocol, the protocol is going to abolish the socialist movement?" And the very same question has been asked by many of our friends. One of our delegates from Seattle asked me something of the same sort.

What do the socialists aim at? The socialists aim at the complete abolition of wage slavery. How can it be abolished? Only if a change will take place in the minds, in the habits of thought of the people. You cannot revolutionize the world by legislation; you cannot change the world by law-making. Laws have no value as long as they contradict the sentiments, the customs and methods of thinking of the great masses. In order to change the methods of thinking people must fight; in order to fight they must be organized. An organization means a union; there can be no organization and no union without self-control, without self-discipline.

There is a difference between the discipline imposed by tyrants and the discipline imposed by democracy. The discipline of a tyrant and an oppressor comes as an external force, backed by physical power;
the discipline of a democracy comes from the minds of an intelligent people. It is the duty of the socialist to fight to the last drop of his blood against any discipline which is the result of oppression. It is at the same time his duty to aid in enforcing that discipline which represents the intelligent expression of the thinking elements. It is because of this that the socialist movement has produced men who support the work of unions.

There is enough discontent. The question is how can it be intelligently shaped, how can it be intelligently guided. And I say that every man, every leader who fails to guide the discontent intelligently is a traitor to the cause of labor.

Our work is the work of education. I watched your convention with a great deal of pleasure. I was pleased to see the intelligence with which you discussed questions. But you have committed the same mistake that has been committed by hundreds of thousands of people. People speak of George Washington as the father of the American Revolution and the father of the American republic. School book after school book keeps on repeating the story that George Washington was the father of the American revolution. What does the historian tell us? That after blood was shed at Bunker Hill, after American rebels were shot down by British soldiers, George Washington still considered himself a loyal subject of George III. Individuals receive praise which they do not deserve, and receive blame which they do not deserve. The crowd always wants some person to make a victim of.

If history is generous in giving praise, it is still more generous in giving blame. Now let us come down to facts. You have discussed a number of things; you have discussed a certain individual all the time. Ridiculous! Why didn't you discuss the basic struggle in the cloak industry? Why didn't the representatives of 100,000 men come down to the rock bottom of the trouble in the industry in New York? We are supposed to have revolutionary unions, radical unions, progressive unions.

The fact is that we are twenty-five years ahead of other unions in some points and fifteen and twenty-five years behind them in other things. We are ahead of them in progressive thought and behind them in the process of organization.

What is a union? A union means unity on the two subjects of wages and hours—the two principal demands. You fight for the same hours, you fight for the same wages in order to avoid competition between one union man and another, but as long as a crazy piece work system exists where the tenth floor of the same union factory will compete with the ninth floor, where the same union men in the same organization will compete with their brothers on the floor above or the floor below, you will never have peace in the cloak industry, never. This is the real problem and this is the real trouble. It isn't a question of men, it isn't a question of individuals.

Suppose the best men govern your unions, how can you stop the shop on the eighth floor from competing with the shop on the ninth floor unless you have the same standard of prices, either week work or on the piece work basis? Where does the union come in? That is why all sorts of crazy schemes are advocated.

Some unions that have piece work tried to solve this problem. Some English and American unions fixed a maximum. Some unions provided that piece workers in certain crafts could not earn more than $3.50 a day. That may seem stupid. As long as the present lack of system will continue in the settling of prices it will be impossible for any man to relieve the situation. Do not concentrate your attention on persons. When you go back take up this problem of the piece worker, take up the problem of standard prices. Let us see if these piece workers will change to week work or establish a definite standard of piece prices. I know if you do that some three or four thousand men among the piece workers will be compelled to earn a little less. You can never establish a standard in the industry without to some extent lowering the wages of those on the top; but you will raise immensely the wages of all the others. This is a problem you will have to face; it is a serious situation, this situation that makes it possible for union men to compete with other union men. When we come together in our assemblies let us tackle our serious and our real problems. It would have been much better if this convention, instead of discussing for a day and a half a certain individual, would have used the
time to discuss the real serious problem that lies at the bottom of the discontent of the cloakmaker.

In the main we have made progress. I was glad to see when a delegate introduced a resolution to terminate the protocol—he asked me if he should withdraw it before it was acted upon by the convention, and I said not to do so, I wanted to see how many revolutionists we had here. I thought of what I said to the socialist convention in 1910, that it is not necessary for a revolutionist to be a damn fool. And this convention has shown that it is not necessary for revolutionists to be damn fools. I do not intend to offend the delegates, on the contrary, I think there are many great minds that believe the protocol must result in slavery.

It is not a protocol that prohibits strikes, it is the union-constitution that prohibits shop strikes. A shop strike without the approval of the committee of the union means destruction. You call a shop strike of Oppenheim and Collis, 600 men or 500 men. In three days the strikers will come and tell you the work of Oppenheim and Collis is being made by Rubins and Company, and unless you pull out Rubins and Company the men threaten to return to work. You will have another strike on shop. Three days later committees from both shops come and say the work is being done by Jacobs and Company, Cohen and Company, etc., and you are compelled to pull out some more shops, and in less than three or four weeks you find yourselves on strike with thirty or forty substantial employers. That is why unions object to spasmodic shop strikes, which are not authorized by the governing committees of the union.

I think your credentials, if I go to the International Socialist Congress, will be of very great value and of great credit to your organization. I will be able to tell them that in the United States of America, where the Jew and Italian have been given a chance to develop, they have built up one of the greatest, noblest organizations in the world.

I will be able to tell the Congress that the Jewish trade unionists are learning more and more how to combine the idealism of socialism with the practical work of the labor union. We are making wonderful progress. We have not advanced as far as we wish in the direction of self-discipline, but we have made progress. It will be a pleasure to represent you, because I know to what an extent your work as union men and our work as socialists is identical. It falls to the lot of very few people to see during their lifetime such progress as we have seen. We are making headway. We have a right to be optimistic. I have no use for the pessimist. I have no use for the man who sees everything in a dark light. We are marching onward and forward.

Delegate Glasman, of Seattle, stated that he was the delegate referred to by Mr. London who wished to abolish the protocol. Delegate Glasman stated that he had taken up no time in discussing questions during the convention but had listened carefully to what had been said by others. He discussed briefly the conditions of the trade in Los Angeles and the conditions that had been obtained by the workers there. Among other things he stated that they had the 44-hour week and he hoped other cities would follow their example and secure it.

**NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS**

Vice-President Polakoff in the chair.

The chairman stated that nominations for General President were in order.

Benjamin Schlesinger, Local No. 1, New York, was placed in nomination by Delegate Solovioff. The nomination was seconded by several delegates.

Delegate Solovioff, in placing Delegate Schlesinger, made a brief statement. Delegate Gorenstein objected to nominating speeches, owing to the number of officers to be elected.

President A. Rosenbach was placed in nomination by Delegate Simons. The nomination was seconded.

The chairman asked Delegate Schlesinger if he would accept the nomination.

In replying to the question of the chairman Delegate Schlesinger said in part: I believe that the open policy is the best policy. I believe I can make good. I believe that I understand the difficult problems that confront you but. I want to tell you something that many delegates may not like to hear. I cannot, however, afford to take an office at $35 a week. If you nominate me you have to find a way to increase the salary.
Delegate Solovioff asked if nominations could be postponed until a resolution could be presented in regard to the salary of the President. The chairman stated that nothing was in order but nominations, and the other matters could be taken up later, after the nominations were all in.

Chairman Polakoff: Brother Rosenberg, you were nominated on this floor for President of our International Union. Do you accept or not?

President Rosenberg: I also desire to say a few words in behalf of my candidacy. The President of your International Union believes that, having been in office for six years and working with all his might, he needs an extended rest. The President thanks the delegate who nominated him, and assures you that, no matter who is going to be General President or General Secretary or members of the General Executive Board, he will always be with you whenever his services are needed.

The chairman stated that nominations for General Secretary-Treasurer were in order.

Delegate Morris Sigman, Local No. 35, was placed in nomination by Delegate Slopak.

Secretary-Treasurer John A. Dyche was placed in nomination by several delegates.

Delegate E. Rosenberg, Local No. 10, was nominated by Delegate Kurinsky.

Delegate Baroff, Local 25, was nominated by Delegate Silberman.

Delegate Gorenstein asked if a member of the I. L. G. W. U. who was not a delegate could be a candidate for general office.

Chairman Polakoff stated that a member of the I. L. G. W. U. could be a candidate for general office.

Delegate Baroff, Local 25, was nominated by Delegate Silberman.

Delegate Gorenstein asked if a member of the I. L. G. W. U. who was not a delegate could be a candidate for general office.

Chairman Polakoff stated that a member of the I. L. G. W. U. could be a candidate for general office.

A brief discussion ensued, in which Delegate Martin, Gorenstein, Cohen (J. P.), and Vice-President Polakoff participated.

Nominations for General Secretary-Treasurer were closed.

The chairman asked the nominees in turn whether they would accept or decline the nomination.

Delegate Sigman accepted the nomination, stating that although he knew Secretary Dyche to be much the abler man but he accepts it since John A. Dyche had stated that he would not run for the office of Secretary-Treasurer.

Secretary Dyche: I will repeat what the President said, only with this difference, that I have served ten years and I think after ten years I am entitled to a rest.

Delegate Rosenberg and Delegate Baroff declined the nomination, both thanking the delegates for the honor they desired to confer upon them.

The chairman stated that nominations for First Vice-President were in order.

John F. Pierce, Local 10, was nominated by Delegate Sapin of Local 1.

Elmer Rosenberg, Local 10, was nominated by Delegate Kurinsky.

Abraham Solovioff, Local 38, was nominated by Delegate Landio.

S. Polakoff, Local No. 25, was nominated by Delegate Sandler, Local No. 2.

Upon motion of Delegate Rubin nominations were closed.

Delegate Pierce accepted the nomination, stating that he did so with great pleasure and would consider it an honor if he should be elected.

Delegate Rosenberg, Delegate Solovioff and Vice-President Polakoff declined the nomination.

The chairman stated that nominations were in order for six Vice-Presidents from the New York organizations.

Solomon Metz, Local No. 1, was placed in nomination by Delegate Cohen of No. 11.

Salvatore Nino, Local No. 8, was placed in nomination by Delegate Ciccone.

A. Baroff, Local No. 25, was placed in nomination by Delegate Haiman.

Jacob Halpern, Local No. 9, was placed in nomination by Delegate Martin.

Sam Lefkovits, Local No. 9, was placed in nomination.

Morris Leader, Local No. 17, was placed in nomination by Delegate Gerchekoff.

Harry Kleinman, Local No. 23, was placed in nomination by Delegate Braslaver.

H. Dubinsky, Local No. 20, was nominated by Delegate Shapiro.

Max Gorenstein, Local No. 10, was placed in nomination by Delegate Rubin.

B. Witashkin, Local 25, was placed in nomination by Delegate Nagel.

Isador Epstein, Local No. 10, was placed in nomination by Delegate Cohen, Local 17.

A. Solovioff, Local No. 38, was placed in nomination by Delegate Pearl.
M. Goldofsky, Local No. 35, was placed in nomination by Delegate Zuckerman.

Louis Hyman, Local No. 9, was placed in nomination by Delegate Goldstein.

A. Silver, Local No. 25, was placed in nomination by Delegate Holtzman.

Delegate Sapin, Local No. 1, was placed in nomination by Delegate Student.

Elmer Rosenberg, Local No. 10, was placed in nomination by Delegate Copstein.

Delegate Bernstein, Local No. 9, was placed in nomination by Delegate Schuster.

Delegate Block, Local No. 25, was placed in nomination by Delegate Jesse P. Cohen.

Upon motion of Delegate Pismanoff nominations were closed.

The chairman stated that nominations were in order for candidates for six vice-presidents from organizations outside of New York City.

Max Amdur, Local No. 2, was placed in nomination by Delegate Goldowsky.

S. Koldofsky, Local No. 14, was nominated by Delegate Guckman.

Max Grishkan, Local No. 2, was nominated by Delegate Polin.

Benjamin Kurland, Local 73, was nominated by Delegate Shcincs.

Jay Katz, Local No. 67, was nominated by Delegate Granofsky.

I. S. Feit, Local 26, was nominated by Delegate A. Cohen.

A. Cohen, Local No. 26, was nominated by Delegate Feit.

Abe Groban, Local No. 98, was nominated by Delegate Fusfeld.

P. Shienberg, Local No. 13, was nominated by Delegate Kivenko.

C. G. Morris, Local No. 81, was placed in nomination by Delegate Davidson.

I. Etkin, Local No. 4, was placed in nomination by Delegate Rotkowitz.

Sam Glasman, J. B. Philadelphia, was nominated by Delegate Gelbert.

Sam Tauber, Local 32, was nominated by Delegate Meader.

The chairman asked the nominees from the New York locals in turn if they would stand for election. The following accepted the nominations: Solomon Metz, Salvatore Ninno, A. Baroff, Jacob Halpern, Sam Lefkovits, Morris Leader, Harry Kleinman, Delegate Dubinsky, Isador Epstein, A. Solovioff, M. Goldofsky, Louis Hyman.

The following declined the nomination: S. Polakoff, Rubin Bernstein, B. Witashkin, Samuel Sapin, Elmer Rosenberg, Jennie Block.

The following nominees from locals outside of New York City accepted the nomination:


I. S. Feit declined the nomination.

Delegate Solovioff: Yesterday a resolution proposing to raise the salary of the General President was read. We have here a resolution signed by a large number of delegates asking for a raise in the President's salary. It does not state how much the increase shall be but refers the matter to the convention. I will ask the President to read this resolution.

President Rosenberg read the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The present salary of the President of the I. L. G. W. U. is not sufficient compensation for the services and responsibility the office requires, and taking into consideration the fact that if the convention will not take up this question the salary will not be increased; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the convention take up the question of increasing the salary of the President.

(Signed) Sam Blumenson, Abe Gerchekoff, Abe Pessin, Local 17; Harry Schuster, Local 9; S. Pismanoff, Local 38; P. Kursinsky, Local 20; M. Goldofsky, Joe Bralaver, Local 35; Hyman Buchbinder, Local 9; H. Blustein, Local 11; Sam Trizhaft, Local 23; Morris J. Ashpis, Local No. 1; A. Goldstein, M. Rubin, Sol Metz, Local No. 1; M. Jacobinsky, Local 17; L. Hyman, Local 9; M. Spivak, Local 38; Joseph Abramsky, Local 33; A. Babitz, Local 9; A. Solovioff, Local 38; M. Weiner, Local 9; J. Kimberofsky, Local 35; Morris J. Cohen, Local 67; A. Ribaek, Local 20; I. Wiseman, Local 20; R. Bernstein, Local 9; Gussie Landio, Local 62; A. Koslowsky, Local 35; S. Haiman, Local 25; L. Nigen, Local 58; A. Slovik, Local 65; A. LaPorta, Local 9; M. Shur, Local 14; Philip Fech, Local 23; S. Caplan, Local 4; M. Polen, Local 2; Max Zuckerman, Local 35; P. Kottler, Local 1; Frank Comunale, Local 23; Joe Sweet, Local 11; Stephen Rattay.
Local 38: A. Rotkowitz, Local 4; J. P. Cohen, Local 10; S. Grancofsky, Local 23; Paul Hering, Local 90; B. Reznikoff, Local 90; W. Cohen, Local 11; J. Levy, Local 11; S. Chachkes, Local 21; Ida Pearl, Local 62; J. Finkelstein, Local 38; S. Ninio, Local 9; N. DeMartino, Local 35; Frank Lopes, Local 9; Alex Student, Local 1; S. Sapin, Local 1; John F. Pierce, Local 10; C. Beaver, Local 10; A. Davidson, Local 10; S. Ciccone, Local 35; J. Katz, Local 67; J. Dubester, Local 23; M. Holtzman, Local 24; M. Tatelbaum, Local 49; Bessie Switzky, Local 25; B. Gelbert, Local 31; Charles Nagel, Local 10; Max Singer, Local 23; L. Auerman, Local 19; Hyman Zelingman, Local 70; Annie Bessin, Local 70; B. Cohen, Local 83; H. Dean, Local 83; L. Tredler, Local 92; S. Hoffman, Local 14; S. Koldofsky, Local 14; P. Schienberg, Local 13; Jacob Kivenko, Local 19; I. Epstein, Local 10; F. Slopak, Local 23; M. Davis, Local 11; E. Meader, Local 28; B. Meyerison, Local 1; L. Langer, Local 35; Sam Tauber, Local 52; Alex Padover, Local 1; David G. Fusfield; Ida Horowitz, Local 62; Simon Davidson, Local 53; Morris G. Leader, Local 17; W. Hiiorns, Local 92; Max Gorenstein; Ida LaPorta, Local 82; Belle Yount, Local 82; A. Cohen, Local 20; Frank Magnavita, Local 38; A. Groban, Local 98; S. Martin, Local 10; H. Dubinsky, Local 20.

The resolution had been referred to the Committee on Resolutions. Vice-President Amdur, reporting for the committee, stated that the committee recommended that the salary of the General President be raised to fifty dollars a week. Upon motion of Delegate Cohen, Local No. 17, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

B. Schlesinger was again nominated for President. The nomination was accepted. Further nominations were asked for. No other candidates were nominated.

Delegate Martin moved that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the candidates for President, Secretary and First Vice-President, as there was but one candidate for each of these offices. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Portnoy stated that the election could not be unanimous if he objected to any of the candidates.

Delegate Pierce: In view of the fact that both our General President and General Secretary-Treasurer have served us for a number of years to the best of their ability, have gone through many long and hard fights in our interests, I believe at this time as a mark of appreciation for their services they should be granted the sum of $500 each by this convention. I offer that as a motion. (Seconded.)

Delegate Martin: I move as an amendment that the incoming General Executive Board also draw us a set of resolutions, have them engraved and present them to the retiring officers. (Seconded.)

Secretary Dyche: Personally I will not accept any present in money.

President Rosenberg: I will do likewise.

Secretary Dyche: While I heartily appreciate your kindness and your appreciation of my work I respectfully decline to accept any gratuities. I thank you.

Delegate Chachkes moved that some token of appreciation be given the retiring President and Secretary.

Secretary Dyche: Now at last you are finding out what good fellows we are.

President Rosenberg: We have not worked in this organization for the sake of getting money out of it. It was not our intention to make a fortune by it. We did the best we could and we were satisfied with as little as this organization was in a position to pay us. Of course both Secretary Dyche and myself could use the few hundred dollars you offer us, because we both need it badly, but the same people who will vote today to make a donation of $500 will go back to New York or Chicago, go on the street corners and say the officers are blood-suckers, that the members pay money merely to keep them up. We feel if the organization will suffer by it in the least, we have no right to accept any donation, no matter in what form you may offer it.

The resolutions are all right. Some years later, when I am gone, my children will know I worked in the labor movement. I will accept them, but I will not accept any money or presents. Four years ago in the Boston convention this watch was presented to me and one was also presented to Brother Dyche. Four years later the people who presented the watches went out on the street corners and attacked my character, which has been clean during the
thirty-two years in the labor movement. Therefore I say your presents will not be accepted, they do not count for anything at all. I promise you to remain in the labor movement; even if I should be idle for months I will never desert the labor movement, because I cannot do anything else now. But forget about the presents we don't want any.

Delegate Martin expressed surprise and disappointment that the officers should refuse to accept anything from the convention. He stated that the motion was not presented as it was originally intended; that the delegates who desired to present the motion intended to ask the officers to accept the amount mentioned in order that they might take a vacation to which they were entitled. He stated that it was intended to offer the amount in order that they might take a three months' leave of absence.

Delegate Pierce stated that he would change his motion to conform to the statement of Delegate Martin.

Delegate Pierce stated that he would change his motion to conform to the statement of Delegate Martin.

Secretary Dyche: I do not care to talk about my financial condition, but I want to tell you this work in the labor movement has been a labor of love for me. I love the people I work for. I have a great love even for my opponents; they do not understand any better, but I would not accept a penny from this organization in any form. It is against my grain. I thank you for your kindness, but I cannot accept any money. President Rosenberg says the same. The engrossed resolutions will be accepted.

Delegate Silverman: Brother Pierce forgot to mention the First Vice-President, who likewise has contributed something to this movement. I believe Brother Polakoff should be included in the resolution.

Delegate Pierce: I will accept that as part of the motion.

Delegate President Polakoff: Two years ago, after returning from the convention, I refused to accept another office in the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union. They decided to present me with a set of resolutions signed by the Joint Board. I haven't received them yet.

The motion pending was adopted as amended.

Secretary Dyche in the chair.

The chairman stated that a motion had been made that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the three officers who had received the unanimous nomination of the convention.

Delegate Martin: You are in the chair, but you have an assistant secretary. We are not going to have any technical points raised later.

Secretary Dyche: The chair will appoint Brother Meyer London, Brother Louis Katz and Brother Harry Berkowitz, tellers.

The Secretary prepared a ballot for each of the three officers mentioned and presented them to the tellers.

B. Schlesinger was declared duly elected President for the ensuing term; Morris Sigman was declared duly elected Secretary-Treasurer for the ensuing term, and John F. Pierce was declared duly elected First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President-elect Schlesinger: I want to thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me in electing me President of your organization. Those of you who have known me for a number of years know it has always been my desire to make good when I worked for the organization. I do not need to tell you that I will do my very best, that I will put my life into my work for your organization to make it a success. You have honored me by making me your President, and I will be the President of the whole organization, not the President of any individual member or local. When the question of increasing the president's salary was raised some delegates told me the Joint Board of New York would be willing to give me $25 a week in addition to the $35 provided by your constitution. I said if I accepted anything from any joint board or local union I would be under obligations to them, and I did not want to be under obligations to any body but the International. I will put my life into the work of the organization; I will do everything in my power to help every man and woman in the trade. I will do all I can to make this organization, which is very powerful now, more powerful in the future.

Secretary-elect Sigman was introduced to the convention by Secretary Dyche, and said: I have been in the labor movement for about eleven years and I have always done the best I could for it. Although I take the place of a much ableer man than I am—at least I consider him so—I believe with the assistance of all our members and our
officer's I will make a success. I thank you.

Vice-President-elect Pierce was introduced to the convention by Secretary Dyche, and said: At one time during the convention Brother London said he had done a great favor to the delegates by not speaking. I will not take up much of your time, because I know there are a lot of anxious candidates for the offices of vice-presidents and I want them to know the results speedily. I will do the best that is in me for this Internation Union, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honor you have conferred upon me.

Following is the result of the ballots that were cast for the offices.

President, B. Schlesinger.
Secretary-Treasurer, Morris Sigman.
First Vice-President, John F. Pierce.

The election of these three delegates was unanimous.

NEW YORK MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Solomon Metz, 115 votes.
Jacob Halpern, 97 votes.
Harry Kleinman, 85 votes.
A. Batoff, 79 votes.
H. Dubinsky, 75 votes.
S. Lefkowitz, 67 votes.

These candidates having received the highest number of votes were declared duly elected.

MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD FROM LOCALS OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK.

Sam Glassman, 106 votes.
Max Amdur, 100 votes.
S. Polakoff, 95 votes.
B. Kurland, 77 votes.
A. Cohen, 71 votes.
Jay Katz, 45 votes.

These candidates having received the highest number of votes were declared duly elected.

Candidates from the New York locals not elected, received the following number of votes, respectively:

I. Epstein, 65 votes.
Salvatore Ninfo, 57 votes.
A. Solovioff, 55 votes.
Morris Leader, 41 votes.
Louis Hyman, 27 votes.
Goldofsky, 11 votes.

Candidates from Locals outside of New York not elected received the following number of votes, respectively:

Sam Tauber, 42 votes.
Abe Groban, 36 votes.
P. Schienberg, 33 votes.
I. Etkin, 30 votes.
Max Grishkon, 20 votes.
C. G. Morris, 18 votes.

The following candidates were nominated for delegates to the American Federation of Labor:


A. Rosenberg, Morris Sigman and I. S. Feit declined the nomination.

The candidates accepting the nomination received the following votes respectively:

B. Schlesinger, 73; John A. Dyche, 70; S. Polakoff, 61; Elmer Rosenberg, 54; Alfred LaPorta, 35; M. J. Cohen, 34; I. Epstein, 31; Morris Leader, 29; A. Solovioff, 29; A. Silver, 22; Frank Comunale, 24; A. M. Copstein, 4.

B. Schlesinger, John A. Dyche, S. Polakoff, Elmer Rosenberg and Alfred LaPorta, receiving the highest number of votes, were declared the delegates-elect.

Mr. Meyer London installed the newly elected officers.

President Rosenberg, in closing the convention made a brief address to the delegates in which he assured them of his interest in the organization and stated that he would co-operate with the newly elected officers; in spite of the fact that he would not be a paid officer he would do the best he could for the interests of the organization.

At 5:30 p. m. Saturday, June 13th, the Twelfth Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was adjourned sine die.