

*Labor Omnia Vincit*

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# REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL  
CONVENTION

OF

# THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT EL PASO, TEXAS

November 17 to 25, Inclusive

1924



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OFFICERS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION  
OF LABOR

1925

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WILLIAM GREEN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Washington, D. C.
JAMES DUNCAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wollaston, Mass.
FRANK DUFFY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Indianapolis, Ind.
T. A. RICKERT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Chicago, Ill.
JACOB FISCHER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Indianapolis, Ind.
MATTHEW WOLL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Chicago, Ill.
MARTIN F. RYAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Kansas City, Mo.
JAMES WILSON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Cincinnati, Ohio
JAMES P. NOONAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Washington, D. C.
DANIEL J. TOBIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Indianapolis, Ind.
FRANK MORRISON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Washington, D. C.

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# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# Forty-Fourth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....	1	74	Frank Gillmore, 115 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators, and.....	1	22	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, L. I., New York, N. Y.
		74	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Internation Union of America.....	3	74	Peter Beisel, 4100 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
		74	J. Goldstone, 1823 Holland Ave., Bronx, New York City.
		91	James C. Shanessy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		91	Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	91	Leon Worthall, 1 Hammersmith Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		90	Roe H. Baker, 112 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California.
		90	M. E. Mehl, 2022 North Nuecess Street, San Antonio, Texas.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	Fred B. Flandreau, 368 Washington Street, Newark, N. J.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	J. W. Kline, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		25	M. W. Martin, 5565 Quincy Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		44	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	44	Charles F. Scott, 824 Heed Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
		44	John Doheny, 7915 S. Sangamon Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		43	M. J. McGuire, 1483 Hopkins Street, Oakland, Calif.
		45	Walter N. Reddick, 307 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	45	Felix J. Belair, 310 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		44	Anna Neary, 2509 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
		75	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
		75	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	74	Frank E. Cook, 526 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		74	Benjamin Laging, 3108 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		74	John A. Logie, Hotel Richford, Rochester, New York.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	54	Joseph Obergfell, 2347-51 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		53	A. J. Kugler, 156 Grant Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		53	John Sullivan, 2268 Hampden Place, New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	117	A. E. Bartlett, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		117	John J. Corcoran, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		117	Robert J. Ewald, 2345 Cass Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
		117	George Jones, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		116	Louis Maher, Sheffield, Illinois.
		116	Walter V. Price, 255 Haven Ave., New York City.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, United.....	2	24	Frank Kasten, Room 309, 327 S. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		24	Wm. Tracy, Room 309, 327 S. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		45	John Snyder, Room 1615, Syndicate Trust Bldg., 915 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	44	W. E. Reddin, Room 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., 915 Olive St., St. Louis, Missouri.
		44	Edward Ryan, 3841 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		44	John O'Brien, 2536 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Building Service Employees, International Union.....	2	31	Wm. F. Quesse, 6318 West Oakly Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		31	Claude F. Peters, 7223 Fingree Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	344	Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Missouri.
		344	J. W. Buckley, 7 Victoria Boulevard, Mt. Dennis, Ont., Canada.
		344	Thomas P. Hyland, Horton, Kansas.
		343	Robert M. Ware, 600 North Francis Street, Terrell, Texas.
		395	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		395	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		395	George T. Walker, 3046 Osgood Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	394	John Howatt, 531 Robinson Place, Shreveport, Louisiana.
		394	Alex. Kelso, 2523 Poplar Street, Westchester, New York.
		394	J. B. Weyler, 3312 Greenwood Ave., Louisville, Kentucky.
		394	Harry Schwarzer, 3284 W. Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio.
		394	Jas. A. Gauld, 178 Walker Street, Roslindale, Massachusetts.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	4	70	G. W. Perkins, 620, 508 S Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		69	Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		69	W. A. Campbell, 620, 508 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	4	69	R. S. Sexton, 620, 508 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		50	Thomas F. Flaherty, Room 300, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		50	Wm. T. Straup, 122 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		50	R. L. Riter, P. O. Clerk, Parcel Post Division, El Paso, Texas.
		50	T. Grant Woodard, Apt. 2, St. Regis Apts., El Paso, Texas.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	6	148	E. H. Fitzgerald, 701 Brotherhood Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		148	J. J. Forrester, Room 301 Labor Building, 10 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.
		147	Wade Shurtleff, care, Labor, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
		147	A. J. Pickett, 254 Field Bldg., St. Louis, Missouri.
		147	P. J. Kelly, 7311 S. Marshfield Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		147	G. H. Nicholson, Lock Box 1094, Kansas City, Missouri.
Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	50	W. G. Desepte, 424 Grafton Ave., San Francisco, California.
		50	H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North American, United.....	1	8	Max Zuckerman, 621 Broadway, New York City.
Conductors, Order Sleeping Car.....	1	23	E. A. Moses, 3323 Palm Drive, Hermosa Beach, California.
Coopers' International Union of N. A	1	15	Frank Thompson, 620 4th Street, Port Arthur, Texas.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and.....	1	*	
		6	Michael J. Browne, 1812 Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Illinois.
		203	James P. Noonan, 506 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		203	P. F. Sullivan, 6929 South Green Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		203	Murt Enright, 929 Foster Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		203	Edward J. Evans, Room 1505, 127 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	203	Martin T. Joyce, 12 Pemberton Bldg., 12 Pemberton Square, Boston, Massachusetts.
		203	Charles M. Paulsen, 1507 Ogden Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		202	Charles Murphy, 206 1/2 South Stanton Street, El Paso, Texas.
		27	Frank Feeney, 391 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		27	James J. McAndrews, 1223 Capital Building, 159 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	27	Walter Snow, 2901 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		63	Arthur M. Huddell, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		63	Dave Evans, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	62	Joseph Fay, 4 Fleming Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
		62	William P. Walsh, 9215 Clifton Blvd., Cleveland, Ohio.
		34	Matthew Woll, 166 West Washington Street, Room 701, Chicago, Illinois.
		34	Henry F. Schmal, Room 11, Tower Grove Bank Building, 3136 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	2	52	Luther C. Steward, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
		52	James P. McKeon, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	4	52	John Fitzgerald, 72 Adelphi Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		52	M. J. Hines, 224 Columbia Ave., Leavenworth, Kansas.
		52	

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Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	75	Fred W. Baer, 105 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		75	John F. Kerwin, 12th and Commerce Streets, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationery.....	3	30	Timothy Healy, 229 East 47th Street, New York City.
		30	C. L. Shamp, 3611 No. 24th Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
		30	Joseph W. Morton, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....	2	45	Morris Kaufman, 1368 Sheridan Ave., Bronx, New York.
		44	Charles Stetsky, 2846 Harrington Ave., Bronx, New York.
		95	T. A. Rickert, Room 506, 175 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		95	B. A. Langer, Room 619 Bible House, New York, New York.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	95	Frank Doyle, Room 210, 69 Canal Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		95	A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York.
		95	Daisy A. Houck, 635 Marsh Strong Building, Los Angeles, California.
		152	Morris Sigman, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
		152	Louis Langer, 130 E. 25th Street, New York City.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	6	152	Charles Kreindler, 203 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		152	Louis Pinkofsky, 231 East 14th Street, New York City.
		151	Luigi Antonini, 8 West 21st Street, New York City.
		151	Samuel Perlmutter, 33 Second Ave., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	30	James Maloney, 1006 Colonial Trust Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		30	Walter Wallace, 111 West Main Street, Millville, New Jersey.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	2	31	Wm. P. Clarke, 338-48 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
		30	George J. Barrett, 4437 Jefferson Street, Bellaire, Ohio.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	2	43	Sam Squibb, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		43	James Duncan, 25 Gilmore Street, Wollaston, Massachusetts.
		39	Michael F. Greene, 534 Lincoln Ave., Orange, New Jersey.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	38	Christopher Donigan, 39 Newton Street, Newark, New Jersey.
		38	Jeremiah J. Sculley, 303 Main Street, Danbury, Connecticut.
		98	D. D'Alessandro, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	5	98	J. V. Moreschi, P. O. Box 183, Chicago, Illinois.
		98	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.
		98	J. B. Etchison, 809 1/2 North East Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		98	S. P. LUZZO, 800 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	1	20	Hubert S. Marshall, 1101 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.

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Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	77	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Ave., Buffalo, New York.
		77	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Edwards Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		77	John J. McDevitt, 2908 Aramingo Ave., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		77	Emanuel Koveleski, 36 Lockwood Street, Rochester, New York.
		77	Thomas S. Farrell, 1056 Kenneth Drive, Lakewood, Ohio.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Amalgamated Association of.....	1	111	M. F. Tighe, 510 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	Chas. J. Case, 917 Main Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		27	Joseph H. Duty, Washington Trust Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Laundry Workers' International Union	1	55	James F. Brock, Box 11, Lans, Station, Troy, New York.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	1	20	W. E. Bryan, 610 Walsix Bldg., Kansas City, Missouri.
		82	Edw. J. Gainer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	4	81	Chas. D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Illinois.
		81	L. E. Swartz, Stahlman Bldg., Nashville, Tennessee.
		81	John T. Mugin, 621 Main Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	1	55	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut Street Brooklyn, New York.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	2	153	A. J. Chlopek, 702-704 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, New York.
		152	J. H. Fricke, 1223 Avenue K, Galveston, Texas.
		156	Wm. H. Johnston, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
		156	Wm. Larkin, 35 Thirteenth Street, Lowell, Massachusetts.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	156	G. Marshall, Hotel Alma, West Palm Beach, Florida.
		156	D. P. Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California.
		155	James F. Murray, Mach. Hall, 133 Clinton Street, Schenectady, New York.
		77	Fred H. Fijozdal, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
		77	Elmer E. Millman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of.....	5	77	T. Claude Carroll, Room 19, Cohen Building, 18 Pike Street, Covington, Kentucky.
		76	E. E. Clark, 300 Manhattan Building, Kansas City, Missouri.
		76	James S. Moorhead, Box 182, Durant, Mississippi.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubber and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers' International Association of.....	1	30	Stephen C. Hogan, 406 East 149th Street, New York City.
		39	Patrick E. Gorman, 900 Fehr Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	3	38	Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		38	S. Garcia, 802 East San Antonio Street, El Paso, Texas.

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Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	63	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
		63	P. J. Downey, 445 Western Ave., Albany, New York.
		62	Richard Pattison, 12 St. Marks Place, New York City.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	2	62	Thomas Redding, 4941 West End Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		46	Chas. H. Moyer, 502 Mercantile Building, Denver, Colorado.
		45	John McMullen, 514 South Montana Street, Butte, Montana.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	7	576	John L. Lewis, 1102-9 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		576	William Green, A. F. of L Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		575	Philip Murray, 408 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		575	Frank Farrington, Illinois Miners' Building, Springfield, Illinois.
		575	Thomas Kennedy, 54 Seager Building, Hazelton, Pennsylvania.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	5	575	Fred Mooney, Box 1332 Charleston, West Virginia.
		575	Lee Hall, 75 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
		68	M. J. Keough, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		67	John P. Frey, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		67	Peter Smith, 321 Wheeler Street, Akron, Ohio.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	67	Jack Haley, 806 North Union Street, Kokomo, Indiana.
		67	John F. Dunachie, 1418 Putnam Ave., Brooklyn, New York.
		193	Joseph N. Weber, 110 West 40th Street, New York City.
		193	Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	1	193	David A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		192	Edward Canavan, care, Local 802, A. F. of M., 958 Eighth Avenue, New York City.
		22	R. H. Stickle, 208 1/2 West Twelfth St., Fort Worth, Texas.
Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	173	Geo. F. Hedrick, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		172	Chas. J. Lammert, Painters' and Decorators' Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		172	Chas. J. Eisenring, 3546 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
		172	P. H. Triggs, 21 Sanford Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.
		172	Nick F. Smith, 2882 Howard Street, San Francisco, California.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	1	172	John J. Doyle, 54 Norwalk Ave., Buffalo, New York.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	70	James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 336 East 59th Street, New York City.
		24	Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 130, Rockport, Massachusetts.



DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	75	Ed. J. McGivern, 17 Robbins Road, Arlington Heights, Massachusetts.
		75	John Donlin, National Hotel, Washington, D. C.
		75	C. J. McCarthy, Room 22, Jackson Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		75	John C. Carroll, 386 Harrison Ave., Boston, Massachusetts.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	70	John Coefeld, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		70	Chas. Anderson, care, James J. McKee, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		70	Wm. H. Fallon, 37 Woodlawn Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		70	Frank J. Kennedy, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		70	Michael F. Garrett, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Polishers', Metal, International Union.....	2	30	W. W. Britton, P. O. Box 641, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		30	H. C. Diehl, 11212 Michigan Ave., rear, Chicago, Illinois.
		28	John T. Wood, P. O. Box 6, E. Liverpool, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	3	28	George H. Cartledge, Rooms 1009-11, American Mechanics' Building, Trenton, New Jersey.
		27	George Chadwick, 802 Bank Street, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	12	Thomas McQuade, 1130 Montello Ave. N. E., Washington, D. C.
		78	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	78	Martin P. Higgins, 46 High Street, Charlestown, Massachusetts.
		77	C. E. Make, 4200 Cambridge Street, El Paso, Texas.
		77	M. E. Shay, 1213 Avenue I., Galveston, Texas.
		77	C. C. Moranville, Room 2, Williamson Bldg., 225 W. 12th Street Kansas City, Missouri.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	John P. Burke, Post Office Drawer V., Fort Edward, New York.
		25	H. W. Sullivan, 3 Courland St., Worcester, Massachusetts.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	29	Fred W. Suito, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vermont.
		200	William B. Fitzgerald, 260 East High Street, Detroit, Michigan.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	200	Abe L. Spradling, 1005 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		200	Charles H. Clark, 929 Broadway, South Boston, Massachusetts.
		200	Edward A. Raleigh, Room 418, Third National Bank Building, Springfield, Massachusetts.
		200	Clarence Nugent, 310 Goebel Bldg., 138 Cadillac Square, Detroit, Michigan.
		90	W. M. Collins, Room 505 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railway Mail Association.....	2	89	H. W. Strickland, Rooms 506-508, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		30	J. M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	1		Andrew Furuseth, 409 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	2	90	Paul Sharrenberg, 525 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad.....	3	27	D. W. Helt, 4750 N. Kimball Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		27	W. R. Cage, Box 584, Baltimore, Maryland.
		26	D. C. Cone, 1535 Westchester Ave., New York City.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	50	William F. Canavan, 110 West 40th New York City.
		50	Thomas E. Maloy, 422 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		50	H. C. Griffin, 1315 Lafayette Building, Detroit, Michigan.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	50	Patrick J. Ryan, P. O. Box 1333 Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
		33	Thos. P. Reynolds, 3822 Sherman Ave., Omaha, Nebraska.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	32	Chas. A. Sumner, 3110 Olive Street Kansas City, Missouri.
		25	M. W. Mitchell, 324 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	25	Frank Basky, 410 East 89th Street, New York City.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	16	W. L. Funder Burk, 6466 Jefferson Ave., E. Detroit, Michigan.
		47	T. C. Cashen, 39 West North St., Buffalo, New York.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	46	James B. Connors, 5441 Halsted Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		34	Thos. Sweeney, 6753 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		33	Gus Soderberg, 219 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	33	M. J. Sillinsky, 2536 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		37	F. G. Stecker, 512 Webster Building, 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	125	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		125	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		125	John M. Gillespie, 15 Allston Heights, Allston 34, Massachusetts.
		125	William A. Neer, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
		125	John P. McLaughlin, 536 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California.
		125	Daniel Rox, 534 West 51st Street, New York City.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	87	E. J. Manion, Missouri State Life Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		87	D. G. Ramsay, Room 1628, 127 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		87	H. B. Perham, 1378 Montclair Ave., St. Louis, Missouri.
		86	R. C. Bonney, P. O. Box 54, Boulder, Colorado.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	1	86	G. R. Smith, Trenton, Michigan.
		37	Roscoe H. Johnson, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		150	Thomas F. McMahon, 110 Bible House, New York City.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	2	150	Sara A. Conboy, 110 Bible House, New York City.
		15	W. R. Walden, Room 50, Our Home Life Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	30	John J. Collins, Station L., Box 10, New York City.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1		

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		115	James M. Lynch, Bankers' Trust Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		115	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	115	Max S. Hayes, 2829 Coventry Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
		115	John C. Harding, 110 N. Pine Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		114	T. W. McCullough, 2005 Manderson Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
		114	William Young, 1530 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	1	75	William Kohn, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	William J. Spencer, Route 1, Silver Spring, Md.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	James O'Connell, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	Bert M. Jewell, Riviera Bldg., 4750 Broadway, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert R. Moore, P. O. Box 897, Birmingham, Alabama.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. E. Green, 1821 Laurel St., Pine Bluff, Arkansas.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. W. Robinson, 304 Coronado Ave., Long Beach, California.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jerome Jones, Journal of Labor, Atlanta, Georgia.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Walker, 728 Illinois Mine Workers' Bldg., Springfield, Illinois.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas N. Taylor, 721 Peoples Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John C. Lewis, 109 8th Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. E. Freeman, Box 89, Topeka, Kansas.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Turnbull, Louisville, Kentucky.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Geer, 1028 Market Street, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Francis J. Drum, Box 402, Cumberland, Maryland.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Allen, 1586 Dickerson Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Daniel J. Murphy, 2228 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Stephen Ely, 27-29 Montana Bldg., Helena, Montana.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John L. Barry, 50 Conant Street, Manchester, New Hampshire.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles J. Jennings, 121 Van Nostrand Ave., Jersey City, New Jersey.
New Mexico State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Neal Culley, 106 East Second Street, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 229 East 47th Street, New York, New York.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. P. Barringer, 721 South Jackson Street, Salisbury, North Carolina.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Levinka, Miners' Temple, Belaire, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ira M. Finley, 521 1/2 West Main St., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Elmer Spahr, 1350 Second Ave., Elmwood, York, Pennsylvania.

## DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, Box 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jacob Cohen, Labor Temple, Memphis, Tennessee.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George W. Fisher, 2614 Travis Ave., Fort Worth, Texas.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. M. Short, 508 Maynard Bldg., Seattle, Washington.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Snyder, Box 1106, Charleston, West Virginia.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 306 Perceles Bldg., 85 Oneida Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, Lock Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Asheville, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	H. N. Townsend, 91 Patton Ave., Asheville, North Carolina.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	Robert E. Gann, 309 Luckie Street, Atlanta, Georgia.
Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. C. Hushing, Room 200, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edward D. Bieletz, 1222 St. Paul St., Room 1, Baltimore, Maryland.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	Lewis Bowen, Room 910, Farley Bldg., Birmingham, Alabama.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph J. Cabral, 71 Sagamore Ave., Winthrop, Massachusetts.
Charleston, W. Va., Kanawah Valley, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. Katherine E. Snyder, P. O. Box 1106, Charleston, West Virginia.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas F. Kennedy, 605 South East Ave., Oak Park, Illinois.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Zimmerer, 217 West 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clarksburg, W. Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	L. E. Brewer, R. F. D. 3, Box 464, Clarksburg, West Virginia.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James F. Malley, 2450 East Ninth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Corpus Christi, Texas, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. H. Bland, Corpus Christi, Texas.
Corsicana, Texas, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. E. Melear, Corsicana, Texas.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	Harry Bruns, 217 West 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Chas. W. Gill, 809 North Pearl Street, Dallas, Texas.
El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. J. Moran, care of Labor Advocate, El Paso, Texas.
Florence, Ala., Tri-City Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. G. Gentry, P. O. Box 1014, Sheffield, Alabama.
Fort Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly.....	1	1	J. C. Estill, P. O. Box 65, Fort Worth, Texas.
Hamilton, Ohio, Cooperative Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Redmond, care, Labor Temple, Hamilton, Ohio.
Hamilton, Ont., Canada, District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Ave., Hamilton, Ont., Canada.
Henryetta, Okla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank Hughes, Henryetta, Oklahoma.
Houston, Texas, Labor and Trades Council.....	1	1	L. M. Andler, 4411 Floyd Street, Houston, Texas.
Hudson County, New Jersey, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Richard Costello, 32 Terrace Ave., Jersey City, New Jersey.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Jackson, Michigan, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Albert E. Saether, P. O. Box 228, Jackson, Michigan.
Jackson, Tennessee, Trades Council.....	1	1	C. F. Cantrell, 450 E. LaFayette Street, Jackson, Tennessee.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. B. Nelson, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.
Klamath Falls, Oreg., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	E. F. Duffy, 524 High Street, Klamath Falls, Oregon.
Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William M. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Ave., Rochester, New York.
Lansford, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John B. Breslin, 11 West Ridge Street, Lansford, Pennsylvania.
Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	H. M. Thackery, Labor Temple, 519 Scott Street, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John S. Horn, 124 East 59th Place, Los Angeles, California.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William C. Scanlan, 574 Eastern Ave., Lynn, Massachusetts.
Marion, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	Roy Cox, Marion, Illinois.
Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	David A. Frampton, Moberly Trust Company Bldg., Moberly, Missouri.
Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Chas. H. Franck, Room 16 Labor Temple, Mobile, Alabama.
Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James Ferns, U. M. W. Office, Ry. Exchange Bldg., Muskogee, Oklahoma.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater.....	1	1	Joseph P. Ryan, Room 401, 287 Broadway, New York City.
Orange, Texas, Central Trades Council.....	1	1	E. L. Spaugh, P. O. Box 204, Orange, Texas.
Palestine, Texas, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Edward M. Ware, Palestine, Texas.
Ponca City, Okla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Bonny Childs, 413 South Palm St., Ponca City, Oklahoma.
Port Arthur, Texas, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Henry Maitre, 1211 8th Street, Port Arthur, Texas.
Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	S. B. Laylor, 913 Fifth St., Portsmouth, Va.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 N. 6th Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Heiden, 39 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, New York.
Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	J. L. R. Marsh, 1905 L Street, Sacramento, California.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	David Kreyling, 2228 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
San Antonio, Texas, Trades Council.....	1	1	W. L. Hoefgen, 1144 South Almo St., San Antonio, Texas.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	John M. Hourigan, 350 Veeder Ave., Schenectady, New York.
Shreveport, La., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert E. Royster, 2835 Stonewall Street, Shreveport, Louisiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Thomas J. Reynolds, 3134 Leland Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Ass mby.....	1	1	R. T. Wood, 1530 N. Douglas Ave., Springfield, Missouri.
Thurber, Texas, Trades Council.....	1	1	Lawrence Santi, Mingus, Texas.
Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council.....	1	1	William Covert, 257 Brock Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. B. Dale, Stillwell Hotel, 838 South Grand Ave., Los Angeles, California.
Waco, Texas, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John R. Spencer, Sr., Waco, Texas.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. W. FitzPatrick, 13 Wall St., Waterbury, Connecticut.
Waterloo, Ia., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	H. L. Errichson, 324½ East 4th Street, Waterloo, Iowa.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.....	1	4	Ernest Bohm, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
Chicago Court Reporters Federation No. 14171, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Miss Grace H. Harte, Suite 501, 21 N. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
City and County Public Service Employes' No. 17289, Springfield, Ill.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, Box 15, Springfield, Illinois.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.....	1	5	Ben Abrams, 3539 Douglas Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Federal Labor Union No. 17718, Superior, Ariz.....	1	1	Lester Doane, Superior, Arizona.
Federal Labor Union No. 17710, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	1	Wm. Mansfield, 497 24th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	William Shaw, 2188 East 36th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Freight Handlers and Station Employes' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.....	1	1	Lee A. Williams, 949 Walker Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Hospital Stewards and Nurses' Union No. 16031, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	Andrew J. Camous, 129 Steiner Street, San Francisco, California.
Library Employes' Union No. 15590, New York City.....	1	1	Marie G. Cokeley, 247 Lexington Ave., New York, New York.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	M. J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Massachusetts.
Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	George Rincker, General Delivery, Villa Park, Illinois.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	1	E. J. Tracy, 608 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17717, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	S. E. Brasfield, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Stereoptican Slide Makers' Union No. 17183, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	George Browne, 1319 Addison St., Chicago, Illinois.
Tuck Pointers and Front Cleaners' Union No. 13046, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Thos. Portway, 5941 S. Sawyer Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	Wm. Elloit, 512 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
British Trade Union Congress.....	2	1 1	A. B. Swales, 30 Casino Ave., Herne Hill, London, S. E. 24, England. C. T. Cramp, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress..	1	1	John Colbert, 632 Queens Ave., London, Ontario, Canada.
General Federation of German Trade Unions.....	1	1	Peter Grassman, Inselstrasse 6, Berlin, Germany.
Mexican Federation of Labor.....	1	1	José W. Kelly, Route 1, Box 366, Inglewood, California.
San Domingo Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Roberto Haberman, Apartado, 1855 Mexico City, Mexico. Dr. F. Ellis Cambiaso, 3414 Douglas Street, El Paso, Texas.

Number of Unions	NAME	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
90	National and International.....	265	28,197
4	Departments.....	4	4
30	State Bodies.....	30	30
57	Central Labor Bodies.....	57	57
17	Trade Unions.....	17	26
5	Federal Labor Unions.....	4	4
213		377	28,318





# Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year.	City and State.	Date.
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-13.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Cal.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Cal.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oregon.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Texas	November 17-25.

# CONSTITUTION

OF THE

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1924-1925

### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behoves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

### CONSTITUTION.

#### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

#### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1.—The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

#### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention

of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of

affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries

of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a

majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name. If any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such an organization and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, twenty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, five cents per member per month; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation,

and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall be come suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrears are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exists. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

Sec. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until their action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

Sec. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement,

and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing to work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the

American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than seventy-five (75) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 or more than \$10.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamps.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dis-

solution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the unions or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

**ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.**

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive

Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

**ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS**

This Constitution can be amended altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two thirds vote.



**Forty-Fourth Annual Convention**  
OF THE  
**American Federation of Labor**  
**1924**

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**REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS**

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**First Day—Monday Morning Session**

El Paso, Texas, Nov. 17, 1924.

Pursuant to law, the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor convened at Liberty Hall at 10 o'clock a. m., R. L. Riter, president of the El Paso Central Labor Union, presiding.

Previous to calling of the convention to order, the El Paso Municipal band played the "Star Spangled Banner," and other selections.

Invocations were offered by Rev. Father Robert O'Laughran and Rev. Leon M. Sweetland.

Chairman Riter briefly welcomed the delegates and visitors, and introduced the permanent chairman of the opening session and Chairman of the Arrangements Committee, Mr. William J. Moran.

Chairman Moran introduced Mr. Richard M. Dudley, mayor of El Paso.

Mayor Dudley extended the welcome to the city, as well as of the Southwest, and in doing so said in part:

You might have gone to places that could have given you more entertainment or shown you more country, but I contend that your convention is not altogether for entertainment, it is not altogether for building up the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor. It is for building up the country that you represent, and you come to a section of the country that needs you. You can educate our people, because the future development here in the great Southwest is going to call for energy and capital. You are coming down here to meet in a city that was just fifty years old last year. You are in a district of labor, you are in a district of people who toil; it is going to grow by leaps and bounds, so that you are down here where you can do a wonderful amount of good, where you can spread the true principles of labor so that the Southwest will be benefitted by it.

I have told my people here in El Paso to come out and hear the speeches in this convention by men who have come from the ranks, who represent in every detail the labor movement in all parts of the world.

Major Berry, in his speech at Portland last year, told you it was your duty to come down here, not specifically on account of El Paso, but on account of our neighbors across the way. I lived in the Republic of Mexico for fourteen years, and I know that those people, who love music, poetry, birds, flowers and children, are inherently good people; they have their faults, but they are just like the children of Israel coming out of the wilderness—they need help, they need the steady, guiding hand that will keep them from extremes of all kinds. It is your

hand that must guide them. It is your hand that must direct them. They are meeting across the river, where you can join with them and give them information gained from your many years of experience. They have had none.

And so I welcome you, not only in behalf of the southwest and El Paso, but on account of the people who are very dear to my heart because I know them and love them, because I know they are good people.

Chairman Moran: I have a letter from the Governor-Elect of Texas, Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson, expressing her sincere regret that she was unable to be here this morning. It is possible she may come before your meeting closes. She does ask in the letter that this convention will give the most serious thought to the protection of women and children in industry.

Chairman Moran introduced Congressman Claude B. Hudspeth.

In his opening remarks Congressman Hudspeth paid a compliment to the head of the American Federation of Labor and said:

El Paso is honored, my friends, by this great assemblage of the representatives of the toilers, not only of this Republic, but of the neighboring country to the south. El Paso is honored by the presence of that giant intellect which has guided the destinies of labor for more than forty years, successfully guided them, who, when certain corporations and enemies of individual liberty had oppressed labor and bore it to the ground, took into his mighty arm forty years ago the fragments of labor that lay swooning in the dust and brought to it the breath of life. I refer to that Grand Old Man, the President of your Federation, the Honorable Samuel Gompers.

Congressman Hudspeth then reviewed in some detail the many measures favorable to labor that had been enacted into law in the State of Texas. He said that he was opposed to compulsory arbitration and opposed to any law which had for its purpose taking away from laboring people the right to strike. In enumerating the laws that had been enacted for labor's benefit he mentioned the child labor law, laws for the protection of women and children in factories, laws compelling the employers of woman labor to furnish seats for them in stores and workshops, safeguards for the protection of life and limb of the railway workers

and for the protection of passengers on the railroads.

As a word of welcome to the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor, the Congressman said:

"We welcome the representatives of the Federation of Labor in the Republic to the south. This country has a splendid reputation in the eye of that Republic. Its movement of organized labor has not been of such duration as the movement to the north, and it needs the assistance, the counsel and the wisdom of the representatives that I see before me today. They have their problems down there, they are our neighbors, and if they are not already our friends, we want to make them our friends as well as our neighbors. As your representative I shall contribute my part. I have tried to show by my official actions in Washington the friendly spirit that I hold towards those people down there. We want to help them, my friends, in obtaining a government where all men are equal under the law, and where the law applies just the same to the peasant in his hovel as to the rich man in his castle.

I welcome you, my friends, to this splendid city, and I know you will find a hearty welcome in the hearts of every man and woman in this City of El Paso.

Major-General R. L. Howze, representing the United States Army, made a short address and invited the delegates and visitors to take part in an entertainment planned in their honor at Fort Bliss Wednesday afternoon. Speaking of the efficiency of the army and the necessity of preparedness, the Major-General said:

The army of the United States belongs to the people, and is only as efficient as the people want to have it. We of the army believe that efficiency is the greatest pacifist move that can be made in the United States. With efficiency must be preparation, and I believe I am the greatest pacifist in the southwest. I believe that the way to avoid trouble is to be prepared for it. We do not want war, we want to avoid war; there is no reason whatever why the United States of America should ever have war again, provided the people of our country see to it that we are prepared, so that no nation, no

matter how strong it may be in its military power, will dare attack us.

The fallacy that we are so rich, so great, so powerful that no nation may attack us is perfect rot. Any nation will develop military power. As far as resources are concerned, we have inexhaustible resources, but resource has no military value until it is converted in a way that it may be used in an emergency. That is all the army wants—to have those resources so converted and so placed and our people so well prepared that no nation, no matter how strong in military power, will dare attack us. Once we reach that stage, ladies and gentlemen, you may take it from me that war will end, and not before.

Our labor day ends at 4:30 in the afternoon and we start at 6:30 in the morning. I think that I can safely say that two-thirds of our men are laboring men, they work full eight hours per day, and when they go to bed at night they have the satisfaction of knowing that they have earned their day.

That is our slogan at Fort Bliss. We spring from labor, we are laboring men. I was born on a farm in East Texas; I have risen to some position in the United States Army, of which I am proud.

Before I sit down I want to thank labor for the splendid things that you did in the last war. I personally know what you did, I occupied a position of high rank during that war, and I want to say that, through your efforts and your working together, the American Army in France never suffered any real want. Without your support we would have suffered untold want. And for that I want to thank you.

Chairman Moran introduced Mr. George H. Slater, Executive Secretary of the Texas State Federation of Labor.

In a very interesting address Mr. Slater reviewed the early history of the labor movement in Texas from the time Typographical Union No. 28 was chartered in Galveston in 1860 until the present. During that period he stated that the State Federation had grown to 127 local unions affiliated with 71 international organizations identified with the American Federation of Labor. Not until the year 1914, he pointed out, did the movement in Texas begin to make real progress. In that year the State Federation increased its per capita tax, and as a result in the following ten years, with an expenditure of \$125,000, there were as many as five organizers in the field. Today, he said, there are twenty-six resident members of the labor move-

ment in Texas on the payrolls of international labor organizations in various positions.

The State Federation's legislative program, the speaker said, was begun in 1913, and in the intervening period approximately fifty pieces of legislation directly or indirectly affecting the working people have been placed on the statute books. He referred in particular to the compulsory education law passed in 1915, and in this connection he directed attention to the large number of immigrants, approximately 12,000, who come annually into Texas from the south. These people, he said, can neither read nor write the language of the country from which they come or the country to which they migrate, and in this connection he pleaded for the enactment of legislation that would more adequately protect the states along the southern border.

Chairman Moran: Honored Chief, we have here a gavel which we trust you will use. There is a history to this piece of work. It is made by one of our delegates from a tree under which Sam Houston held a conference with the Mexicans and the Indians prior to going to the San Jacinto battlefield, where the Republic of Texas became a fact. I want to introduce a young man whose father is an international officer, who himself is a Texan born, and I want to have him present the gavel to Mr. Gompers.

Delegate Robert M. Ware, International Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: Mr. Chairman, President Gompers and delegates—The history of this glorious State of Texas has woven into it the wonderful achievements of those early pioneers who blazed the trail of civilization into the vast forests and across the broad prairies of a largely unoccupied country, colonized it, and finally liberated its people from the rule of a power whose methods of government they could not accept.

Standing pre-eminent among the names of those heroes who engaged in this great struggle for Texas independence and the liberty of its people is that of Sam Houston, Indian fighter

under Andrew Jackson, Governor of Tennessee, General of the Texas armies, twice President of the Republic of Texas, United States Senator from Texas, Governor of Texas, soldier and statesman, noted for his rugged majesty and force of character. About the life of this man a large part of the early history of our State is builded.

It is therefore fitting that on this, the occasion of the opening of the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, something significant of the early struggles of our people should be brought forcibly to the minds of the assembled delegates.

As a native Texan, proud of his birth, as a trade unionist, and a member of two of the affiliated organizations of this Federation, and as a delegate representing one of these organizations in this convention, it affords me great pleasure to present to you, President Gompers, this gavel with which you may preside over this august body as it proceeds with its deliberations.

This gavel is made of wood taken from the historic old elm tree of Nacogdoches, Texas, under which General Sam Houston, the father of the Texas Republic, held his first conference, and signed a trade treaty with a tribe of Indians prior to the founding of the Texas Republic. It was made in a union railroad shop at Terrell, Texas, owned by the Texas Midland Railroad, this railroad being one of the first to settle the shop crafts strike in 1922. As you wield this gavel in the interest of the American wage-earner, may it at all times be of profit to him and pleasure to yourself.

President Gompers: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Fellow Delegates, Friends: It is really beyond my power to express to you the emotions which have overcome me during the delivery of these addresses of welcome, each with some intrinsic utterance and declaration of principle, of practical results coupled with high ideals. It is useless for anyone to attempt to express the appreciation and the gratitude

which jointly the delegates to this convention must feel at the hearty welcome extended to us.

We are glad to be here, glad to be among you men of the Southland and of the Southwest, men who have grown up in this great part of our country, rugged, earnest, honest. It is of that fiber and of that material that goes to make up the rank and file of the American labor movement. We are not apart from you. We are a part of you. The highest hopes, the most practical results which can be achieved for the peoples of our Republic, and adding as we can the peoples of all climes and countries, that service is always at the command of those who may benefit by our success.

It has been my desire at each of the conventions over which I have had the honor to preside to deliver some form of address applicable to the situation as it might arise in the addresses of welcome made to us. I have felt it due to you as well as to the rank and file at home, to the good people of the community in which we are assembled, for those who may come after us, if it is deemed of sufficient importance, that I might commit to writing a brief statement of a response more general than I have felt it possible to deliver at this time. And I am going to ask our good friend and associate, Brother William Green, one of the vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor, to read from the manuscript which I have prepared, a statement that I trust will interest you.

Vice-President Green read the following statement prepared by President Gompers:

Forty-four years ago in the city of Pittsburgh a group of labor men met to bring to fruition an effort extending over a period of years—to organize a national labor movement. We were a group of labor men with little experience in a national labor movement. We had to find our problems and devise ways of meeting them. There was little to guide us. The majority of us had a standing in our local trade unions and in our national trade organizations, but we had not joined hands with the representatives of other trade organizations in an effort to make

the labor movement a force in the determination of national policies.

The National Labor Union, like previous similar labor efforts, had organized a labor party and then passed out of existence. Industrialism growing out of constantly increasing invention of machinery, application of mechanical power which necessitated the factory system and the substitution of new materials for old, was making the need of economic protection for the workers increasingly imperative. Those of us who had opportunity to observe tendencies felt the responsibility to our fellow workers to make the effort for protection and for future progress.

There were but few paid trade union officials in those days, but after the day's work was done, those with the vision and spirit of service gave the evening hours and holidays to the cause of betterment of their fellow workers. More frequently than not the office of trade union official was carried in his pocket and its code of laws in his heart and mind; benefits, even strike assistance, were irregular and undependable if provided at all; union dues and union rules varied from city to city, if not from shop to shop. The present trade union movement was then in the making—aye, had hardly begun.

But the men who constituted that Pittsburgh labor congress in 1881 were as brainy and resourceful a group as ever gathered; they were men who knew the joy and inspiration of service that entailed sacrifice. Service in the early trade union movement meant to become a marked man whom employers were reluctant to hire and who was discharged first; whose family must forego the comforts and often the necessities of life; upon whose children the handicap attaching to the name of a "labor agitator" fell.

These very conditions of service in the labor movement assured the cause selected men of unusual qualities. They were men of self respect and character.

When the Pittsburgh labor congress set itself to the task of planning an organization, it studied the British Trades Union Congress, drafted a similar plan and organized the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. In our optimism we thought that we had settled our economic problems and that we needed only to consider the field of labor legislation. We elected as our executive, a legislative committee, but provided not salaries, no permanent office, no full-time representatives. From year to year we met, accomplishing a little but keeping alive the thought of national organization and calling attention to the needs of the workers, until there came a crucial contest in which the existence of trade unions was threatened. Then the trade unions sent out the warning of danger and sent a small group to

carry by word of mouth a message to rouse labor. Again in 1886 a national labor conference was called. This time it was designated a trade union conference to be composed of representatives of trade unions and to consider trade union problems. The deliberations of that conference resulted in the formation of our present American Federation of Labor with which the old Federation of Trades and Labor Unions was merged. This new federation recognized only the trade union card as a credential and proposed to deal primarily with economic problems. It was an organization that had no power and no authority except of a voluntary character. It was a voluntary coming together of unions with common needs and common aims. That feeling of mutuality has been a stronger bond of union than could be welded by any autocratic authority. Guided by voluntary principles our Federation has grown from a weakling into the strongest, best organized labor movement of all the world.

So long as we have held fast to voluntary principles and have been actuated and inspired by the spirit of service, we have sustained our forward progress and we have made our labor movement something to be respected and accorded a place in the councils of our Republic. Where we have blundered into trying to force a policy or a decision, even though wise and right, we have impeded, if not interrupted, the realization of our own aims.

But the very success of our organization has brought additional and serious dangers. Office in the labor movement now offers opportunity for something in addition to service—it offers opportunity for the selfseeker who sees an instrumentality for personal advancement both in the economic and in the political field. There are serious problems confronting us. Wisdom and conviction are necessary to wise decisions.

Men and women of our American trade union movement, I feel that I have earned the right to talk plainly with you. As the only delegate to that first Pittsburgh convention who has stayed with the problems of our movement through to the present hour, as one who with clean hands and with singleness of purpose has tried to serve the labor movement honorably and in a spirit of consecration to the cause of humanity, I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible. There is no way whereby our labor movement may be assured sustained progress in determining its policies and its plans other than sincere democratic deliberation until a

unanimous decision is reached. This may seem a cumbersome, slow method to the impatient, but the impatient are more concerned for immediate triumph than for the education of constructive development.

Our movement has found these voluntary principles the secure foundation upon which the workers of all America make united effort, for our voluntary co-operation has ignored lines of political division separating the United States and Canada, because economically we are a unit. Because we refused to be bound by arbitrary restrictions or expedients we have fostered cohesive forces which give play to the finer and more constructive faculties of the peoples of both countries. We are eager to join in an international labor movement based upon the same principles of voluntarism. We are willing to co-operate if we can be assured a basis that will enable us to maintain our integrity — a condition necessary for our own virility and continued progress.

Understanding, patience, high-minded service, the compelling power of voluntarism have in America made what was but a rope of sand, a united, purposeful, integrated organization, potent for human welfare, material and spiritual. I have been with this movement since the beginning, for I have been given the privilege of service that has been accorded but few. Nor would that privilege have continued open to me had not service to the cause been my guiding purpose.

Events of recent months made me keenly aware that the time is not far distant when I must lay down my trust for others to carry forward. When one comes to close grips with the eternal things, there comes a new sense of relative values and the less worthy things lose significance. As I review the events of my sixty years of contact with the labor movement and as I survey the problems of today and study the opportunities of the future, I want to say to you, men and women of the American labor movement, do not reject the cornerstone upon which labor's structure has been builded—but base your all upon voluntary principles and illumine your every problem by consecrated devotion to that highest of all purposes—human well being in the fullest, widest, deepest sense.

We have tried and proved these principles in economic, political, social and international relations. They have been tried and not found wanting. Where we have tried other ways, we have failed.

A very striking illustration is emphasized by circumstances connected with the present location of our convention. For years force and selfish interests dominated relations across this international border, but the labor movement brought to an acute and difficult situation the spirit of pati-

ence and the desire of service and a transformation has been brought which gives us courage and conviction for wider application of the same principles. As we move upward to higher levels, a wider vision of service and responsibility will unfold itself. Let us keep the faith. There is no other way.

President Gompers: I think I express the feeling of every delegate to this convention when I say to the representatives of labor of the City of El Paso, to the representatives of labor of the State of Texas, to His Honor, the Mayor of El Paso, to the General representing the government of the United States, and to all who have manifested as well as expressed their words of welcome, suggestion and advice, our deepest appreciation and gratitude.

As to this gavel, the emblem of the authority of the presiding officer of any legislative body, let me say to you, Brother Ware, from the very innermost recesses of my soul, I thank you. It is doubtful that in any legislative body the gavel is used less than in conventions of the American Federation of Labor. A simple indication on the part of the delegate occupying the chair to a delegate that he is not confining himself to the question or that he is not in strict order, is usually sufficient to admonish the delegate to get in order in short order.

The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are free forums; there is no proposition which any delegate may make but will receive consideration and action. I am sure that this gavel will help me very materially in maintaining the order of this convention, for a mere exhibition of it to a delegate will remind him of the characteristics of Sam Houston. Let me add that this gavel, together with other gavels which have been presented to me during my long occupancy of the presidency of the American Federation of Labor, will belong to the American Federation of Labor and not to any man, no matter who he may be. In behalf of this Federation, as well as of myself, I thank you.

I now declare the forty-fourth con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor in order, and ready to transact business.

President Gompers stated that a Committee on Rules and Order of Business was usually appointed after the organization of the convention, but, owing to the fact that the sister Federation of Mexico would meet in session with the convention during the afternoon, he asked unanimous consent to appoint the committee before the reading of the credentials list. Unanimous consent was granted, and the following committee was announced by Secretary Morrison:

**Rules and Order of Business**—John Sullivan, Edward I. Hannah, Hubert S. Marshall, Daisy A. Houck, R. L. Riter, J. J. Scully, G. H. Nicholson, Edward Crough, George H. Cartledge, Fred Flandreau, M. J. Cunnane, F. G. Stecker, William Kohn, John Collins, J. P. McLaughlin, Michael J. Browne, W. R. Waldren.

Vice-President Duncan presiding.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Delegate McKeon, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

El Paso, Texas, November 17, 1924.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Credentials Committee, duly appointed by President Gompers, as provided by Section 4, Article 3, of the Constitution, herewith submits the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 375 delegates, representing 90 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 29 State Branches, 53 Central Bodies, 17 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 6 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artists of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, 74 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 22 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, J. Goldstone, 222 votes.

Barbers' International Union of America, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, Jacob Fischer, Leon Worthall, Roe H. Baker, M. E. Mehl, 453 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Fred B. Flandreau, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—J. W. Kline, M. W. Martin, 50 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Charles F. Scott, John Dohney, M. J. McGuire, 175 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Walter N. Reddick, Felix J. Belair, Anna Neary, 134 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Collis Lovely, Charles L. Baine, Frank E. Cook, Benjamin Laging, John A. Logie, 372 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, A. J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 160 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Wm. J. Bowen, John J. Corcoran, Robert J. Ewald, George Jones, Louis Maher, Walter V. Price, 700 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, Wm. Tracy, 48 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, M. J. Cunnane, Edw. Ryan, John O'Brien, 177 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Wm. F. Quesse, Claude F. Peters, 62 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, J. W. Buckley, Thomas P. Hyland, Robert M. Ware, 1375 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, George T. Walker, John Howat, Alex. Kelso, J. R. Weyler, Harry Schwarzer, Jas. A. Gauld, 3155 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—C. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, W. A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, 277 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Straup, R. L. Riter, T. Grant Woodard, 200 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—E.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

H. Fitzgerald, J. J. Forrester, Wade Shurtleff, A. J. Pickett, P. J. Kelly, G. H. Nicholson. 884 votes.

Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail—W. G. Desepte, H. J. Conway. 100 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United — Max Zuckerman, 8 votes.

Conductors, Order Sleeping Car—E. A. Moses. 23 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Frank Thompson, 15 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and—Michael J. Browne, 6 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—James P. Noonan, Frank J. McNulty, Miss Julia O'Connor, Edward J. Evans, Martin T. Joyce, Charles M. Paulsen, Charles Murphy. 1420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, James J. McAndrews, Walter Snow. 81 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Arthur M. Huddell, Dave Evans, Joseph Fay, William P. Walsh. 250 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo — Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 68 votes.

Federal Employes, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, James P. McKeon, John Fitzgerald, M. J. Hines, 208 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, John F. Kerwin, 150 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary — Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, 90 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International — Morris Kaufman, Charles Stetsky, 89 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United — T. A. Rickert, E. A. Larger, Frank Doyle, A. Adamski, Daisy A. Houck, 475 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies — Morris Sigman, Louis Langer, Charles Kreindler, Louis Pinkofsky, Luigi Antonini, Samuel Perlmutter, 910 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Feeney, Walter Wallace. 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, America, Flint—Wm. P. Clarke, George J. Barrett, 61 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Sam Squibb, James Duncan, 86 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, Christopher Donigan, Jeremiah J. Sculley, 115 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, J. V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, J. E. Etchison, S. P. Luzzo, 490 votes.

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, 20 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flöre, Jere L. Sullivan, John J. McDevitt, Emanuel Koveleski, Thomas S. Farrell, 385 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 111 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Chas. J. Case, Joseph H. Duty, 80 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, 55 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 20 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Ed. J. Gainor, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, 325 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, 55 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—A. J. Chlopek, J. H. Fricke, 305 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. Larkin, G. Marshall, D. P. Haggerty, James F. Murray, 779 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of—Fred H. Fljzodal, Elmer E. Milliman, T. Claude Carroll, E. E. Clark, James S. Moorhead, 383 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. J. Kelly, 115 votes.



Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet — John J. Hynes, P. J. Downey, Richard Pattison, Thomas Redding, 250 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International—Chas. H. Moyer, Edward Crough, John McMullen, 91 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Wm. Green, Philip Murray, Frank Farrington, Thomas Kennedy, Fred Mooney, Lee Hall, 4027 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, Peter Smith, Jack Haley, John F. Dunachie, 336 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Chauncey A. Weaver, David A. Carey, Edward Canavan, 771 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—R. H. Stickel, 22 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—Geo. F. Hedrick, Chas. J. Lammert, Chas. J. Eisenring, P. H. Triggs, Nick F. Smith, John J. Doyle, 1033 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, 70 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 24 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed. J. McGivern, John Donlin, C. J. McCarthy, John C. Carroll, 300 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of — John Coefield, Chas. Anderson, Wm. H. Fallon, Frank J. Kennedy, Chas. M. Rau, 350 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union —W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, 60 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative — John T. Wood, George H. Cartledge, George Chadwick, 83 votes.

Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate—Thomas McQuade, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Martin P. Higgins, C. E. Make, M. E. Shay, C. C. Moranville, 387 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, 50 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Suito, 29 votes.

Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—William B. Fitzgerald, Abe L. Spradling, Charles H. Clark, Edward A. Raleigh, Clarence Nugent, 1000 votes.

Railway Mail Association—W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, 179 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—J. M. Gavliak, 30 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Paul Scharrenberg, 180 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—D. W. Helt, W. R. Cage, D. C. Cone, 80 votes.

Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—William F. Canavan, Thomas E. Maloy, H. C. Griffin, Patrick J. Ryan, 200 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Thos. P. Reynolds, Chas. A. Sumner, 65 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, Frank Basky, 50 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union —W. L. Funder Burk, 16 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America —Thomas C. Cashen, James B. Connors, 93 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thos. Sweeney, Gus Soderberg, M. J. Sillinsky, 100 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—F. G. Stecker, 37 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of — Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, William A. Neer, John P. McLaughlin, Daniel Rox, 750 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, D. G. Ramsay, H. B. Perham, R. C. Bonney, G. R. Smith, 433 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—Roscoe H. Johnson, 37 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United

—Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, 300 votes

Tobacco Workers' International Union—W. R. Walden, 15 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union—John J. Collins, 30 votes.

Typographical Union, International—James M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, John C. Harding, T. W. McCullough, William Young, 688 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Wm. Kohn, 75 votes.

Building Trades Department—William J. Spencer, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department — James O'Connell, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes Department—Bert M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Robert R. Moore, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—W. E. Green, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—R. W. Robinson, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—Jerome Jones, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John H. Walker, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Thomas N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—John C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—W. E. Freeman, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—William Turnblazer, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Greer, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Francis J. Drum, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Daniel J. Murphy, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—Stephen Ely, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—John L. Barry, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Chas. J. Jennings, 1 vote.

New Mexico State Federation of Labor—Neal Culley, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Jas. P. Holland, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. P. Barringer, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Frank Ledvinka, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Ira M. Finley, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Elmer Spahr, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Tennessee Federation of Labor—Jacob Cohen, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—George W. Fisher, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—W. M. Short, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Frank Snyder, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Asheville, N. C., Central Labor Union—H. N. Townsend, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Georgia, Federation of Trades—Robt. E. Gann, 1 vote.

Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union—W. C. Hushing, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Edward D. Bieretz, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Alabama, Trades Council—Lewis Bowen, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Central Labor Union—Joseph J. Cabral, 1 vote.

Charleston, West Virginia, Kanawha Central Labor Union—Katherine E. Snyder, 1 vote.

Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor—Thomas F. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Frank Zimmerer, 1 vote.

Clarksburg, West Virginia, Central Labor Union—L. E. Brewer, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—James F. Malley, 1 vote.

Corpus Christi, Texas, Central Labor Union—W. H. Bland, 1 vote.

Covington Kentucky, Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Harry Bruns, 1 vote.

Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council—Chas. W. Gill, 1 vote.

El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union—Wm. J. Moran, 1 vote.

Florence, Alabama, Tri-City Central Labor Union—W. G. Gentry, 1 vote.

Port Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly—J. C. Estill, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ohio, Co-operative Trades and Labor Council—John Redmond, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Canada, District Trades and Labor Council — E. W. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Henryette, Okla., Central Labor Union—Frank Hughes, 1 vote.

Houston, Texas, Labor and Trades Council—L. M. Andler, 1 vote.

Hudson County, N. J. Central Labor Union—Richard Costello, 1 vote.

Jackson, Michigan, Federation of Labor—Albert E. Seather, 1 vote.

Jackson, Tennessee, Trades Council—C. F. Cantrell, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—C. B. Nelson, 1 vote.

Klamath Falls, Oregon, Central Labor Union, E. F. Duffy, 1 vote.

Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union—William M. Campbell, 1 vote.

Lansford, Pennsylvania, Central Labor Union of Panther Creek Valley—John B. Breslin, 1 vote.

Little Rock, Ark., Trades and Labor Council—H. M. Thackrey, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, California, Central Labor—John S. Horn, 1 vote.

Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—William Scanlan, 1 vote.

Marion, Ill., Trades Council—Roy Cox, 1 vote.

Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—David A. Frampton, 1 vote.

Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—Chas. H. Franck, 1 vote.

Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union—Jas. Ferns, 1 vote.

Orange, Texas, Central Labor Council—E. L. Spaugh, 1 vote.

Port Arthur, Texas, Trades and Labor Council—Henry Maitre, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union—S. B. Laylor, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—John Heiden, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council—J. L. R. Marsh, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—David Kreyling, 1 vote.

San Antonio, Texas, Trades Council—W. L. Hoefgen, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—John M. Hourigan, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Trades and Labor Council—Robert E. Royster, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Thomas J. Reynolds, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

Thurber, Texas, Trades Council—Lawrence Santi, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—Wm. Covert, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. B. Dale, 1 vote.

Waco, Texas, Central Labor Council—John R. Spencer, Sr., 1 vote.

Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—J. W. Fitz Patrick, 1 vote.

Waterloo, Iowa, Central Labor Union—H. L. Errichson, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City—Ernest Bohm, 4 votes.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.—Ben Abrams, 5 votes.

Chicago Court Reporters' Federation No. 14171, Chicago, Ill.—Miss Grace H. Harte, 1 vote.

City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17289, Springfield, Ill.—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17710, Milwaukee, Wis.—Wm. Mansfield, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17718, Superior, Ariz.—Lester Doane, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio—William Shaw, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Mo.—Lee A. Williams, 1 vote.

Hospital Stewards' and Nurses' Union No. 16031, San Francisco, Calif.—Andrew J. Camous, 1 vote.

Library Employees' Union No. 15590, New York City—Marie G. Cokeley, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—M. J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Ill.—George Rincker, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers, and Assistants' Union, No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—Edward J. Tracy, 2 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17707, St. Louis, Mo.—S. E. Brasfield, 1 vote.

Stereopticon Slide Makers' Union No. 17183, Chicago, Ill. — Geo. Browne, 1 vote.

Tuck Pointers and Front Cleaners' Union No. 13056, Chicago, Ill. — Thos. Portway, 2 votes.

Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio—Wm. Elliott, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—A. B. Swales, C. T. Cramp, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—John Colbert, 1 vote.

General Federation of German Trade Unions—Peter Grassman, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League—Anna Fitzgerald.

National Women's Trade Union

League of America—Elizabeth Christman.

Respectfully submitted,  
JOHN F. DUNACHIE, Chairman  
JOHN J. DOYLE.

JAMES P. McKEON, Secretary.  
Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Conners, Switchmen, moved that the partial report be adopted, and the delegates whose names had been read seated. The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice-President Duncan: In accordance with the usual rules in organizing the convention, there are certain officers to be appointed by the president. President Gompers has appointed the following officers:

Assistant Secretary — Alex. Duguid, member Typographical Union No. 370.

Sergeant at Arms — J. R. Shaklee, president Electrical Workers' Union, No. 585.

Messenger — Robert C. Scott, president Branch No. 505 of National Association of Letter Carriers.

Vice-President Duncan: I may also say that the rules of the last convention apply until the Committee on Rules reports to this convention. It is a little beyond the time for adjournment, and I suggest that the convention now stand adjourned until three o'clock.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, called the attention of the delegates to cards that had been distributed, giving information with regard to restaurants which employ members of his organization, and announced that the dining rooms at the headquarters hotel were not on the list.

Delegate Sullivan, Brewery Workers, moved an adjournment to 2:30 p. m. The motion was adopted, and at 12:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned until 2:30 p. m. of the same day

## First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m., Monday, Nov. 17, by Vice-President Duffy.

### Absentees.

Zuckerman, Bryan, Duffy, Bock, Horgan, Crough, Lewis, J. L., Murray, Hannah, Bergstrom, Burke, J. P., Sullivan, H. W., Sutor, Johnson, Walden, Collins, J. J., Spencer, W. G., Lewis, J. C., Drum, Barry, Barringer, Finley, Iglesias Cohen, Short, Gentry, Hughes, F., Saether, Costello, Cox, Franck, Ferns, Spaulsh, Thackrey, Laylor, Bower, Heiden, Hourigan, Wood, R. T., Dale, J. B., Harte, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Williams, Camous, Cokely, Brasfield, Elliott.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Secretary McKeon reported as follows:

We have examined credentials and recommend the seating of delegates as follows:

Palestine, Texas, Trades and Labor Council—Edward M. Ware, 1 vote.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—A. E. Bartlett, to take the place of Wm. J. Bowen, who advises that it was necessary for him to leave the city.

Confederacion of Regional Obrera Mexicana—(Mexican Federation of Labor)—Jose W. Kelly, 1 vote.

JOHN DONACHIE, Chairman,

JOHN DOYLE,

JAMES P. MCKEON, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted, and the delegates seated.

### Special Report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business

Delegate John J. Sullivan, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

You committee begs leave to submit this special report:

Inasmuch as the Mexican Federation of Labor is holding its annual convention at Juarez, Mexico, and the American Federation of Labor is holding its convention at El Paso, Texas, beginning on the same date, it has been arranged for a mutual exchange of visitation of the officers and delegates of the Mexican Federation of Labor to the convention of the A. F. of L. and the time for such visit has been arranged to take place at 4 o'clock this Monday afternoon, in this, the

Liberty Hall of El Paso. Your committee recommends that the hour 4 o'clock of this day be set apart for the purpose of receiving the fraternal visit of the officers and delegates of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

We beg further to report that it has been arranged by the representatives of the Executive Councils of both the Mexican and American Federations of Labor for an exchange visit of the latter (of our body) to the Mexican convention at Juarez at 4 o'clock tomorrow, Tuesday, afternoon, November 18th.

We, therefore, recommend that at 3:45 on Tuesday afternoon, November 18th, the convention of the American Federation of Labor will adjourn for the day and in a body the officers and delegates of this convention will pay a reciprocal visit to the convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor at Juarez.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### Appointment of Committees

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees appointed by the President:

**Committee on Report of Executive Council**—James Wilson, George L. Berry, John L. Lewis, Wm. L. Hutcherson, T. W. McCullough, Jere L. Sullivan, William P. Clarks, Wm. J. Bowen, J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Anthony J. Chlopek, Cellis Lovely, John P. Frey, James P. Noonan, Wm. A. Campbell.

**Committee on Resolutions**—James Duncan, Matthew Woll, G. W. Perkins, E. A. Langer, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, Joseph W. Morton, Thomas L. Hughes, Dave Evans, P. J. Morrin, C. J. Lammert, John Cozfield, J. M. Lynch, Jos. Weber, Wm. Fitzgerald.

**Committee on Laws**—Daniel J. Tobin, Dennis Lane, E. J. Evans, A. J. Kugler, Wm. H. Johnston, James P. Holland, Thomas McMahon, Paul Scharrenberg, Charles Anderson, James O'Connell, M. E. Shay, Frank Doyle, J. J. Corcoran, A. Kelso, William Tracy.

**Committee on Organizations**—Frank Duffy, Sara A. Conboy, Thomas S. Farrell, Charles H. Moyer, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, Martin Joyce, William J. Spencer, W. N. Reddick, Louis Langer, D. W. Helt, Phillip Bock, E.

E. Milliman, Roe H. Baker, M. J. Kelly.

**Committee on Labels** — John Manning, Thos. Sweeney, Max Hayes, H. C. Diehl, J. R. Weyler, Joseph Obergfell, R. S. Sexton, Charles Kreindler, J. Goldstone, Leon Worthal, Felix Belair, Frank E. Cook, C. Donigan, C. A. Weaver, P. J. Ryan.

**Committee on Adjustment** — T. A. Rickert, Edward Flore, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, D. A. Carey, J. W. Kline, H. B. Perham, W. E. Bryan, Philip Murray, B. M. Jewell, F. H. Fljoldal, M. F. Tighe, William F. Canavan, Frank Kasten, James Mationey, M. F. Greene.

**Committee on Local and Federated Bodies** — Jacob Fischer, Walter V. Price, L. E. Swartz, R. M. Ware, Louis Pinkofsky, Jos. Marshall, Fred Mooney, Peter Smith, John T. Wood, C. J. McCarthy, W. J. Yarrow, Frank J. Kennedy, Fred Suito, Edward A. Raleigh, W. R. Cage, Anna Neary, R. C. Bonney.

**Committee on Education** — William Green, John H. Walker, Frank Gilmore, John Howat, H. C. Griffin, Henry P. Schmal, William A. Neer, E. H. Fitzgerald, A. L. Spradling, C. C. Moranville, William Young, J. F. Murray, Morris Sigman, Roscoe H. Johnson, M. W. Martin.

**Committee on State Organizations** — Martin Ryan, John T. Mugavin, S. C. Hogan, C. M. Paulsen, J. M. Gillespie, Carl Bergstrom, D. P. Haggerty, Benj. Laging, G. W. Lawson, P. J. Kelly, Fred W. Baer, Wm. P. Walsh, M. J. Hines, T. M. Taylor, John L. Barry.

**Committee on Boycotts** — Frank Farrington, Charles H. Clark, P. J. Downey, M. J. McGuire, A. J. Pickett, Walter Snow, Walter Wallace, E. E. Clark, Charles D. Duffy, W. G. Desente, W. F. Funder Burk, Jos. Fav, Timothy Healy, G. V. Moreschi, Charles J. Case, James F. Brock.

**Committee on Building Trades** — George F. Hedrick, F. J. McNulty, D.

D'Alessandro, Frank Feeney, Arthur M. Huddell, Joseph A. Mullaney, W. J. McSorley, John Donlin, Edward Ryan, Richard Pattison, R. J. Ewald, G. T. Walker, W. H. Fallon, M. W. Mitchell, Sam Squibbs.

**Committee on Shorter Workday** — M. J. Keough, E. J. McGivern, E. J. Gainor, Thomas P. Hyland, Wade Shurtleff, Wm. T. Straup, H. J. Conway, Samuel Perlmutter, Peter Beisel, Harry Schwarzer, Charles F. Scott, John C. Harding, C. E. Make, Geo. Jones, Thomas Kennedy.

**Committee on Legislation** — C. L. Baine, Thomas F. Flaherty, Luther Steward, W. W. Britton, W. M. Short, Thomas C. Cashen, Emanuel Koveleski, A. Adamski, P. H. Triggs, J. J. Forrester, Julia O'Connor, George J. Barrett, T. Claude Carroll, G. Marshall, Thomas McQuade, Charles Sumner.

**Committee on International Labor Relations** — George W. Perkins, James Duncan, Max Hayes, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, James O'Connell, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, Matthew Woll, W. J. Bowen, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Sara Conboy, Timothy Healy, W. J. Spencer, J. J. Forrester, E. J. McGivern, Anthony J. Chlopek, Edward J. Gainor, Samuel Gompers.

Vice-President Duncan: President Gompers, with his usual modesty, has not appointed himself on the Committee on International Labor Relations. You will notice he has appointed those delegates who have been delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. I move that President Gompers' name be added to the list. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duffy presented to the convention Vice-President Duncan, who read a digest of the following report of the Executive Council:

## REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

EL PASO, TEXAS, November 17, 1924.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:*

The year has witnessed many dramatic developments affecting wage earners and the labor movement itself has witnessed a steady progressive movement toward better organization, a great influence on our whole social life in all its important aspects.

It is with immense satisfaction that we note the growth of constructive and progressive thought on every hand, perhaps the healthiest sign on our whole horizon. It is obvious that there is today a greater understanding of the aims of Labor than ever before, a greater and deeper sympathy with Labor's purposes and aspirations and a finer spirit of cooperation.

Educators, to cite an example, have arrived at a better understanding of Labor and they have during the year more than ever displayed their deep interest by inquiry at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor for information and counsel, as well as regarding methods by which they might be helpful.

There has been a marked weakening of the cold wall of bigoted opposition on every hand. Labor's position has won new friends and defenders and has challenged the admiration and sympathy of great numbers who have during the year come to a better understanding of our movement.

It is not only the policy of our movement regarding what are generally known as purely Labor measures that has won for us this growing understanding and friendship; the position of our movement on broad measures of social and industrial progress has been equally productive of understanding and good-will. The bigoted and obviously selfish movement of reactionary employers to destroy the unions and inaugurate what has been variously described as "open shop" and "American plan," was contrasted in the public mind with the constructive logic and thoroughly American declaration of Labor for the steady growth and development of democratic practice in our industrial life, and the comparison of these two positions has left reactionary and bourgeois employers in a most unfavorable position.

This exposition of Labor's faith in democracy and of its understanding that a solution of industry's problems must be approached on a basis of democratic practice has won for our movement great admiration and friendship among the thinking people of our country. It may be of some interest to record the fact that no other action or statement of position during the year has brought forth so much comment and so many valuable expressions of hope and confidence. Our own membership has been encouraged and inspired, and those outside of our movement who look to Labor for constructive guidance have been greatly cheered.

The militant determination of our movement, together with this promulgation of a democratic constructive policy in our industrial life has resulted in the almost complete elimination of the so-called "open shop" movement as an aggressive force. That movement is, of course, not dead, but it is, and for the past year has been, in retreat. It has been overcome by organized determination backed by the weight of a vastly superior and purely American philosophy. We look with a considerable measure of satisfaction upon the developments in this field and we believe we may safely look forward to a continuance of that healthy and constructive trend.

In the world of life and labor nothing is static—there is no standing still. If we are not to go backward, we must forge onward. This we have done during the year just passed and this we must do in the year to come with even greater intelligence, determination, and vigor. We are each day convincing the wage earners of our country of the supreme necessity of trade union organization. We are likewise convincing great numbers of those who are not wage earners in a similar manner, thus building up a sustaining body of opinion for progressive, democratic, and constructive effort.

We shall review in this report with some detail the various problems with which we have had to contend during the year and offer recommendations for the future. In doing so we feel that while there is much to beget discouragement, there is infinitely more from which we may derive gratification and inspiration to carry us forward to a year of more eager effort and greater achievement.

## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

GREETINGS I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1923, and ending August 31, 1924.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$236,645.47. Of this total, \$201,131.56 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used only to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions.

The balance \$35,513.91 is in the general fund and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$512,397.64; the total expenses \$500,028.33; amount of receipts over expenses, \$12,369.31.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1924:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand August 31, 1923.....	\$224,276 16
Per Capita Tax.....	\$366,504 94
American Federationist.....	77,991 50
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	\$34,084 28
Refund of strike benefits.....	294 00
	34,378 28
Initiation fees.....	10,218 60
Reinstatement fees.....	275 75
Supplies.....	6,753 97
Special Assessment, Freight Handlers.....	391 50
Interest:	
Bank deposits.....	\$5,024 21
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	1,600 00
Canadian Victory Loans.....	825 00
	7,449 21
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.	6,593 44
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued....	1,840 45
	512,397 64
<b>Total receipts.....</b>	<b>\$736,673 80</b>

EXPENSES	
General.....	\$412,902 27
American Federationist.....	63,961 08
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	17,241 00
Special Assessment, Freight Handlers.....	400 46
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	5,523 52
	\$500,028 33
<b>Total expenses.....</b>	<b>\$500,028 33</b>
<b>Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1924.....</b>	<b>\$236,645 47</b>



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$35,513 91
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	201,131 58
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1924.....	<u>\$236,645 47</u>

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1924:

Rent.....	\$13,240 00
Refund on supplies returned.....	8 85
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	5,523 52
Secretary's bond.....	10 00
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Insurance.....	37 32
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	1,021 24
Legislative expenses, including salaries and travelling expenses of three legislative committeemen: W. C. Roberts, Edward F. McGrady and Edgar Wallace.....	17,865 99
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	823 95
Office furniture and fixtures.....	250 55
Postage stamps.....	6,500 33
Printing and Electrotyping Proceedings of Portland Convention.....	3,297 85
Supplies and printing.....	24,823 72
Miscellaneous expenses.....	3,750 33
Cartoons.....	825 00
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	4,117 85
Mailing Equipment.....	1,013 20
Official stenographer, Portland convention.....	1,031 70
Telegrams.....	5,919 70
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	424 99
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	2,918 70
Portland Convention:	
Messengers, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary and Roll-Call Clerks.....	560 00
Printing Roll-Call.....	120 25
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	2,413 65
Printing, envelopes, and supplies.....	456 50
Stenographers.....	5,781 93
Rental of office furniture.....	615 82
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out Daily Proceedings, rent of typewriters and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery and hauling.....	148 60
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	565 84
Salary:	
President.....	12,000 00
Secretary.....	10,000 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employes.....	98,376 17
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings.....	16,884 77
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. meetings.....	549 33
Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. meetings.....	1,841 45
President, travelling.....	4,895 84
Secretary, travelling.....	1,763 58

Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	17,241 00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	14 15
Union Label Trades Department.....	61 26
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	
	70 51
Organizers' salaries and expenses.....	131,168 08
Legal expenses.....	500 00
Salary of Librarian.....	2,600 00
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	63,961 08
Printing, publishing and editing <i>A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter</i> .....	9,637 75
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	5,000 00
Special assessment, Freight Handlers.....	400 46
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Portland Convention.....	397 80
Expenses, Publicity.....	11,526 57
Expenses, Special Committees and Conferences.....	4,646 15
Appropriation by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to the United Textile Workers of America to pay per capita tax to the A. F. of L. for six months on 30,000 members.....	
	1,800 00
Total.....	<u>\$500,028 33</u>

#### GERMAN TRADE UNION FUND

Contributions from International Unions, National Unions, State Federations, City Central Bodies, Local Unions, Trade Unionists and friends for the sustenance of the Trade Union Movement of Germany. This appeal was issued on December 12, 1923, by order the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The total contributions from December 14, 1923, to and including August 31, 1924, were \$27,007.54, and the expenditures from January 2, 1924, to and including August 31, 1924, were \$27,007.54, the account being squared on August 31, 1924.

#### RECAPITULATION

Contributions from December 14, 1923, to and including August 31, 1924.....	\$27,007 54
Expenditures:	
Hermann Kube, Treasurer, General Federation of German Trade Unions.....	\$23,283 45
*Otto Wels, Social Democratic Party of Germany.....	1,600 00
*K. Heinze, President, Fur Workers' Union of Germany.....	1,000 00
*Th. Rienecker, President, Leather Workers' Union of Germany.....	100 00
Postage, printing and envelopes.....	1,024 09
Total expenditures from January 2, 1924, to and including August 31, 1924.....	<u>\$27,007 54</u>

An itemized report of this fund has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

\*Note.—These amounts were forwarded as per requests of contributors.

#### FUND FOR PUBLICITY PURPOSES

Contributions received from international unions upon request of President Gompers, for publicity purposes, showed receipts from February 3, 1923, to and including August 31, 1924, \$11,995.00, and expenses from March 26, 1923, to and including August 31, 1924, \$2,406.23, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1924, amounting to \$9,588.77.

#### RECAPITULATION

Total donations, February 3, 1923, to August 31, 1924.....	\$11,995 00
Total expenses, March 26, 1923, to August 31, 1924.....	2,406 23
Balance on hand August 31, 1924.....	<u>\$9,588 77</u>

An itemized report of the receipts and expenses will be printed in pamphlet form and a copy mailed to each contributor at the conclusion of this campaign.

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR NATIONAL  
NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FUND**

Appeals were issued April 7 and August 13, 1924, by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L., for contributions to assist in carrying out the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention, to defeat candidates for office, hostile to the trade union movement, and elect candidates who may be relied upon to support measures favorable to Labor. The amount received in response to the appeal to carry on the 1924 Political Campaign from April 9, 1924, to and including August 31, 1924, was \$4,174.97, and expenses from July 11, 1924, to and including August 31, 1924, were \$1,948.51, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1924, amounting to \$2,226.46.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, April 9, 1924, to August 31, 1924.....	\$4,174 97
Total expenses, July 11, 1924, to August 31, 1924.....	1,948 51
Balance on hand August 31, 1924.....	<u>\$2,226 46</u>

An itemized report of the receipts and expenses will be printed in pamphlet form and a copy mailed to each contributor at the conclusion of this campaign.

**FUND FOR PROMOTING AND ADVANCING COOPERATION**

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1924, \$4,367.78, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to and including August 31, 1924, \$2,171.51, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1924, amounting to \$2,196 27.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1924.....	\$4,367 78
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1924.....	2,171 51
Balance on hand August 31, 1924.....	<u>\$2,196 27</u>

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters. Additional report will be completed when this fund is closed.

**BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1924, INCLUSIVE**

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

Year	Receipts	Expenses	Year	Receipts	Expenses
1902-3.....	\$529 00	\$309 60	1914-15.....	\$5,190 74	\$5,052 66
1903-4.....	398 75	402 60	1915-16.....	5,062 79	4,428 19
1904-5.....	406 75	285 65	1916-17.....	5,906 61	4,970 68
1905-6.....	736 35	591 16	1917-18.....	3,544 91	3,055 28
1906-7.....	1,128 79	817 76	1918-19.....	9,626 78	8,067 33
1907-8.....	1,261 51	1,021 96	1919-20.....	13,285 93	11,121 08
1908-9.....	1,692 35	1,226 03	1920-21.....	9,490 68	7,816 14
1909-10.....	2,874 75	2,392 75	1921-22.....	5,979 90	4,963 00
1910-11.....	2,988 55	1,448 34	1922-23.....	6,368 76	5,310 10
1911-12.....	2,710 07	2,089 15	1923-24.....	6,593 44	5,523 52
1912-13.....	3,225 55	3,863 18			
1913-14.....	3,221 75	1,898 55	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$92,254 71</b>	<b>\$76,654 71</b>

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts from 1902, to August 31, 1924.....	\$92,254 71
Total expenses from 1902, to August 31, 1924.....	76,654 71
Excess from 1902 to August 31, 1924.....	<u>\$15,600 00</u>

**DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS**

On August 31, 1924, we had 458 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 22,755, and a defense fund of \$201,131.56, to protect the members of the 458 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout. While the average membership for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1924, was 22,755, we have received per capita tax on 33,718 members for August, the last month of the fiscal year.

There are only 22 unions of the 107 national and international unions that have a membership exceeding the 33,718 members contained in the local trade and federal labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

The Federation has 1,909 general and district organizers, as well as 22 paid organizers and the officers of 855 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

On August 31, 1923, we had 523 local unions. On August 31, this year, we had 458, a loss of 65 locals. There was received a total per capita tax from the local unions during the year of \$34,084.28; initiation fees, \$10,218.60, and reinstatement fees, \$275.75.

**DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS**

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months beginning September 1, 1923, and ending August 31, 1924:

RECEIPTS				
Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund.....				\$34,084 28
Returned Strike Benefits.....				294 00
<b>Total.....</b>				<b>\$34,378 28</b>
EXPENSES				
Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount	
Slate Workers' Union, No. 16905, Pen Argyle, Pa.....	139	6	\$5,838 00	
Gold Beaters' Union, No. 14670, Greater New York and vicinity, N. Y.....	80	6	3,367 00	
Gold Beaters' Union, No. 12899, Philadelphia, Pa.....	61	6	2,590 00	
Gold Beaters' Union, No. 13013, Chicago, Ill.....	45	7	2,212 00	
Gold Beaters' Union, No. 14937, Boston and vicinity, Mass.....	27	6	1,134 00	
Brass Bobbin Winders' Union, No. 14659, Philadelphia, Pa.....	27	5	945 00	
Federal Labor Union, No. 15632, Joppa, Ill.....	61	2	854 00	
Paste Makers' Union, No. 10567, San Francisco, Calif.....	17	2	238 00	
Tobacco Strippers' Union, No. 12046, New Haven, Conn.....	1	6	63 00	
<b>Total expenses.....</b>				<b>\$17,241 00</b>
RECAPITULATION				
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1923.....				\$183,994 28
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1924.....				34,378 28
<b>Total.....</b>				<b>\$218,372 56</b>
Paid out of Defense Fund.....				17,241 00
<b>Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1924.....</b>				<b>\$201,131 56</b>

**CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, MERGED, WITHDREW, AMALGAMATED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED**

**CENTRAL BODIES:** Disbanded, 58; suspended, 4; reinstated, 5.

**LOCAL TRADE UNIONS:** Disbanded, 9; suspended, 71; joined national and international organizations, 4; reinstated, 7.

**FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS:** Disbanded, 5; suspended, 39; reinstated, 1; joined national and international unions, 1.

**INTERNATIONAL UNIONS:** Suspended, 1. Saw Smiths National Union, membership, 75.

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$131,168.08. Of this amount \$965.13 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$100 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	AMOUNT RECEIVED
1. *Hugh Frayne.....	New York, Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C., Connecticut and New Jersey.....	\$11,525 82
2. **E. T. Flood.....	Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, Indiana and Kentucky.....	7,709 47
3. P. J. Smith.....	Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, Nebraska, Washington, D. C., Iowa.....	6,902 97
4. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon, Montana.....	6,801 50
5. Wm. Collins.....	New York, California, Canada, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.....	6,680 10
6. J. B. Dale.....	California and Nevada.....	6,506 98
7. P. F. Duffy.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., Virginia, Ohio, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey.....	6,432 79
8. E. L. Adams.....	New York, Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C., New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Delaware.....	6,319 97
9. T. J. Conboy.....	Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and West Virginia.....	6,169 56
10. A. Bastien.....	Quebec.....	5,563 10
11. J. A. Flett.....	Ontario.....	5,548 21
12. C. N. Idar.....	Texas, Louisiana.....	5,212 73
13. H. Streifer.....	New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois.....	4,997 30
14. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Maine.....	4,924 42
15. H. F. Hilfers.....	New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania.....	4,913 11
16. A. Neary.....	Washington, D. C., Maryland, New Jersey, Tennessee, Virginia.....	4,818 06
17. H. L. Eichelberger.....	Maryland, Washington, D. C., Pennsylvania, and Delaware.....	4,592 39
18. C. J. Jennings.....	New York, New Jersey.....	4,428 22
19. J. M. Richie.....	Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York.....	4,262 58
20. S. Iglesias.....	Porto Rico, California, Texas, Washington, D. C., New York and Virgin Islands.....	3,835 21
21. J. E. Roach.....	New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C., Illinois.....	3,789 25
22. A. Marks.....	New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Massachusetts.....	3,473 60
23. Edw. F. McGrady.....	Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Washington, D. C.....	1,836 46
24. Edgar Wallace.....	Indiana, Illinois, Washington, D. C., Kentucky.....	1,750 90
25. A. Farmilo.....	Canada.....	562 25
26. Al. Towers.....	Illinois.....	270 92
27. B. Lusby.....	Washington, D. C.....	140 00
28. R. Alonso.....	Porto Rico.....	120 00
29. D. Kreyling.....	Illinois.....	115 08
	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$100.00.....	965 13
	Total.....	\$131,168 08

\*Includes \$5,493.82 paid for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer, interpreter and other organizers.

\*\*Refund—\$11.77.

## CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1924, there have been issued 87 charters to Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Seventeen Central Bodies, as follows:

Canada:	Indiana:	New Jersey:
Jonquieres.	Princeton.	Ridgewood.
Kenogami.	Iowa:	Oklahoma:
Illinois:	Ames.	Bartlesville.
Eldorado.	Maine:	Tennessee:
Mattoon.	Biddeford.	Johnson City.
Mt. Vernon.	Massachusetts:	Lenoir City.
Ottawa.	Haverhill.	Texas:
Royalton.	Somerville.	Corpus Christi.
	Missouri:	
	Trenton.	

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1923-1924
Central Bodies.....	17
Local Trade Unions.....	46
Federal Labor Unions.....	24
Total.....	87

**BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY 30 OF THE 107 AFFILIATED NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR**

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployment benefits.
Bakers.....	\$15,240 00	\$2,550 00	\$106,161 22			
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	19,370 00		75,848 47a			
Carpenters and Joiners.....	535,784 04					
Carvers, Wood.....	2,600 00				\$252 30	
Cigarmakers.....	257,543 73	2,040 00	175,500 00	\$12,537 08		\$8,915 05
Conductors, Sleeping Car.....	23,000 00					
Coopers.....	4,800 00					
Diamond Workers.....	25 00	50 00	4,350 00			2,876 25
Engravers, Plate.....				110 00		
Foundry Employes.....	1,600 00		2,500 00			
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	46,000 00					
Glove Workers.....		100 00				
Hotel and Restaurant Employes.....	41,868 10		40,450 43			
Lathers.....	12,150 00					
Laundry Workers.....	2,700 00					
Leather Workers, United.....	2,500 00		3,825 00			
Meat Cutters.....	15,500 00					
Molders.....	87,513 90		213,046 20			61,161 00
Pattern Makers.....	11,025 00		6,490 75		556 50	
Paving Cutters.....	3,725 00			1,847 17		
Piano and Organ Workers.....	675 00	200 00	250 00			
Polishers, Metal.....	8,875 00					3,000 00
Printing Pressmen.....	78,625 00					
Quarry Workers.....	1,500 00					
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	14,600 00					
Stove Mounters.....	2,900 00					
Tailors.....	9,726 55		15,810 00			
Tobacco Workers.....	550 00		2,445 00			
Typographical.....	362,159 54					
Wall Paper Crafts.....	3,300 00		2,400 00			
Totals.....	\$1,565,855 86	\$4,940 00	\$649,077 07	\$14,494 25	\$808 80	\$75,952 30

a—including \$5,450.00 additional disability benefit.

Many of the local unions provide death, sick and out-of-work benefits for their members in addition to the benefits paid by the international unions that made reports. The amounts above reported are in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits.

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

- |                               |                            |                          |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| American Federation of Labor. | Garment Workers, Ladies.   | Papermakers.             |
| Bakers and Confectioners.     | Glove Workers.             | Photo-Engravers.         |
| Bill Posters and Billers.     | Hatters.                   | Piano and Organ Workers. |
| Boilermakers.                 | Horsehoers.                | Plate Printers.          |
| Blacksmiths.                  | Iron and Steel Workers.    | Powder Workers.          |
| Bookbinders.                  | Jewelry Workers.           | Pressmen, Printing.      |
| Boot and Shoe Workers.        | Lathers.                   | Print Cutters.           |
| Brewery Workmen.              | Laundry Workers.           | Sawsmiths.               |
| Brickmakers.                  | Leather Workers.           | Slate Workers.           |
| Broommakers.                  | Lithographers.             | Stove Mounters.          |
| Carpenters and Joiners        | Machine Printers and Color | Tailors.                 |
| Brotherhood.                  | Mixers.                    | Textile Workers.         |
| Carvers, Wood.                | Machinists.                | Timber Workers.          |
| Cigarmakers.                  | Marble Workers.            | Tobacco Workers.         |
| Coopers.                      | Metal Polishers.           | Typographical.           |
| Draftsmen's Unions.           | Metal Workers, Sheet.      | Upholsters.              |
| Electrical Workers.           | Molders.                   | Weavers, Wire.           |
| Garment Workers, United.      | Painters.                  |                          |

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS

- |                   |                          |                             |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Actors.           | Firemen, Stationary.     | Musicians.                  |
| Barbers.          | Hotel and Restaurant     | Stage Employes, Theatrical. |
| Clerks, Retail.   | Employes.                | Teamsters.                  |
| Engineers, Steam. | Meat Cutters and Butcher |                             |
|                   | Workmen.                 |                             |

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Makers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Commercial Photographers; Nail (Horsehoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers; Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

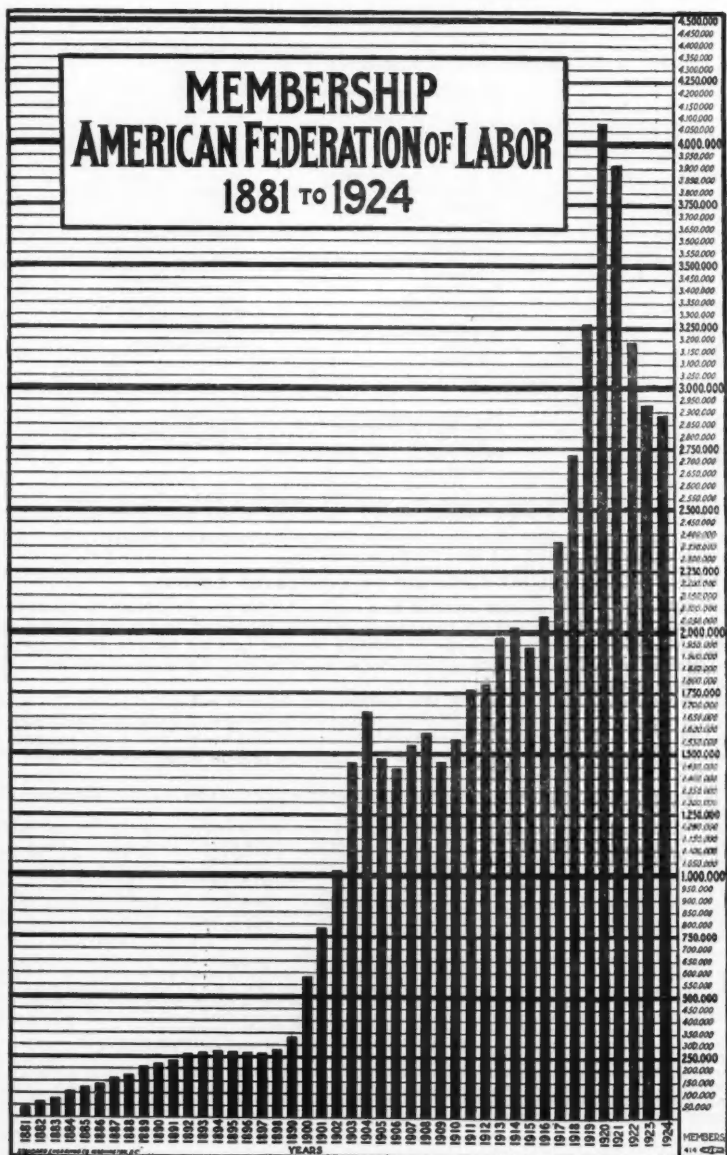
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,865,979. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that because of strikes and unemployment there were at least 500,000 members for whom per capita tax was not paid to the American Federation of Labor. Add this number to the 2,865,979 paid-up membership, will give a grand total of 3,365,979 members.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past twenty-seven years:

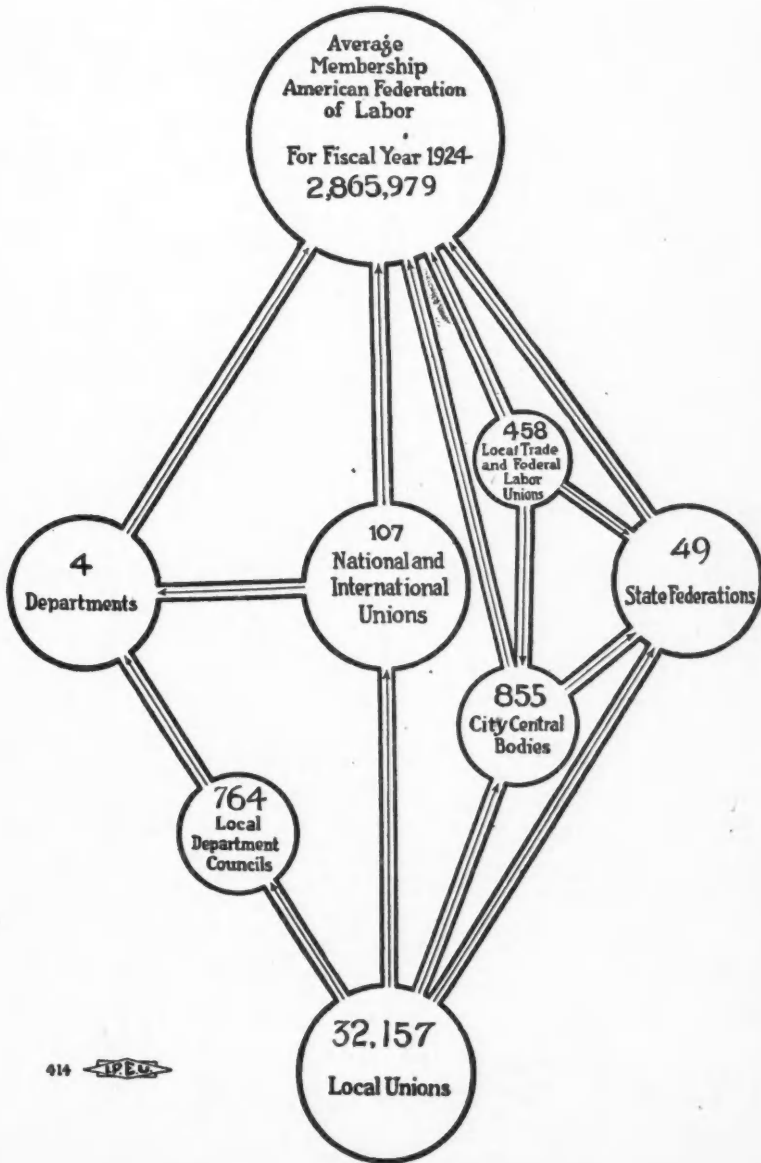
Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897	264,825	1904	1,676,200	1911	1,761,835	1918	2,726,478
1898	278,016	1905	1,494,300	1912	1,770,145	1919	3,260,068
1899	349,422	1906	1,454,200	1913	1,996,004	1920	4,078,740
1900	548,321	1907	1,538,970	1914	2,020,671	1921	3,906,528
1901	787,537	1908	1,596,885	1915	1,946,347	1922	3,195,635
1902	1,024,399	1909	1,482,872	1916	2,072,702	1923	2,926,468
1903	1,465,800	1910	1,562,112	1917	2,371,434	1924	2,865,979

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1924—forty-four years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 32,157 local unions in the 107 national and international unions and 458 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 22,755 for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1924.



117-5825  
114-4222







AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922	1923.	1924.
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United		32	41	67	117	80	34	20	20
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of		25	305	307	325	325	325	325	325
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural					3	16	10	6	3
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	42	46	49	56	61	72	76	63	55
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	250	255	260	313	740	641	463	343	305
Machinists, International Association of	1009	1125	1436	2546	3308	2736	1809	973	779
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of	89	97	56	542	q	q	q	377	383
Marble, etc., International Assn. of	6	10	10	10	12	12	17	23	30
Masters, Mates and Pilots	40	43	48	62	71	91	55	41	41
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	73	96	291	668	653	439	195	104	115
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet	175	176	183	202	218	242	250	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United	3180	3520	4134	3938	3936	4257	3729	4049	4027
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of	161	179	167	178	211	162	46	81	91
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	500	500	500	516	573	585	265	321	336
Musicians, American Federation of	600	604	650	654	700	746	750	750	771
Oil Field, etc., Workers				45	209	248	61	25	22
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	782	852	845	827	1031	1133	973	928	1033
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of	52	64	60	57	74	26	16	9	†
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad						90	80	80	70
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	65	70	88	90	90	90	80	80	70
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of	15	15	17	18	19	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	33	32	32	26	26	24	24	24	24
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	10	15	20	20	32	27	9	7	6
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & C. Oper.	184	190	190	190	194	239	245	252	300
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	320	320	320	320	320	319	350	350	350
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal	100	100	100	100	100	100	82	67	60
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of		81	101	145	162	170	178	180	200
Potters, National Bro. of Operative	77	76	78	74	80	91	92	91	83
Powder and High Explosive Workers	3	3	4	3	3	2	2	3	2
Printing Pressmen, International	290	330	340	340	350	370	370	370	387
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. & C. Plate	12	13	12	13	14	15	15	12	12
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	44	65	80	84	95	113	68	46	50
Quarry Workers, International	35	35	31	30	30	30	30	24	29
Railway Employees' Amal. Assn., S. & E.	646	737	786	897	987	1000	1000	1000	1000
Railway Mail Association		94	134	144	144	150	166	167	179
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.									
United State, Tile and Composition	12	12	12	10	18	28	30	30	30
Sawsmiths' National Union	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	†
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	217	322	371	427	659	1033	492	179	180
Sidographers, Intl. Assn. of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.	9	8	9	62	123	113	105	89	80
Slate and Tile Roofers	6	6	6	6	r	r	r	r	r
Spinners' Intl. Union	22	22	22	22	r	r	r	r	r
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical	181	186	186	185	196	194	195	196	200
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men	20	29	37	d	d	d	d	d	d
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.	49	52	53	54	59	61	60	62	65
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen	43	41	42	39	40	44	46	49	50
Stove Mounters' International Union	12	17	19	19	19	20	20	18	16
Switchmen's Union of North America	93	102	107	118	140	101	88	87	93
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	119	100
Teachers, Am. Fed. of	27	21	10	28	93	93	70	46	37
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of	590	703	729	756	1108	1057	764	727	750
Telegraphers, Commercial	10	10	10	20	22	32	34	26	37
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	250	272	377	445	487	506	570	500	433
Textile Workers of America, United	255	371	459	558	1049	829	300	300	300
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union	28	25	25	d	d	d	d	d	d
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of		2	23	32	101	58	8	††	††
Tip Printers	3	3	3	p	p	p	p	p	p
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America	34	32	33	42	152	123	34	19	15
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.	10	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.	27	34	24	20	30	30	30	30	30
Typographical Union, International	607	616	633	647	767	748	689	681	688
Upholsters, International Union of	39	40	48	55	56	60	67	73	75
United Wall Paper Craft of N. A.								7	6
Weavers, Elastic Goring	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle	4	5	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4
Centrals	717	762	781	816	926	973	905	901	855

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.
State Branches.....	45	45	45	46	46	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local unions.....	705	1016	1076	1091	1498	1027	747	581	514
Total vote of Unions.....	21906	24973	28375	33849	41307	40410	33336	30486	29847

†Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ††Disbanded. dNot recognized. gMerged with Operative Plasterers. hMerged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. iBro. of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged. jSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. kLeather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers. lSuspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. mSuspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. nMerged with Hodcarriers. oMerged with Timber Workers. pMerged with Bookbinders. qSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City Convention. rMerged with Composition Roofers, etc. sSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Montreal Convention. tAmalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S., with National Print Cutters Association of America, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. uWithdrawn from Affiliation.

## CONCLUSION

I congratulate the officers of the national and international organizations and all our affiliated bodies as well as the general membership, without whose loyal support and cooperation all effort would have been in vain, upon the splendid struggle that has been made to maintain the resistance of their respective organizations and the solidarity of our movement against the campaign of opposition of our enemies. I also desire to express my sincere appreciation of the assistance and cooperation extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and our affiliated bodies and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

*Frank Morrison*

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

## TREASURER TOBIN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from August 31, 1923, to August 31, 1924. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME	EXPENSES
Received of Secretary Morrison:	Warrants paid:
1923	1923
September 30..... \$32,199 67	September 30..... \$35,624 93
October 31..... 32,844 94	October 31..... 47,743 48
November 30..... 35,914 14	November 30..... 35,645 89
December 31..... 47,305 03	December 31..... 47,045 82
1924	1924
January 31..... 37,959 50	January 31..... 45,332 22
February 29..... 32,490 34	February 29..... 32,367 04
March 31..... 50,832 52	March 31..... 46,841 78
April 30..... 40,045 58	April 30..... 36,642 04
May 31..... 35,348 40	May 31..... 33,670 50
June 30..... 50,614 75	June 30..... 48,943 37
July 31..... 36,954 07	July 31..... 36,702 31
August 31..... 79,888 70	August 31..... 53,469 15
Total income for 12 months..... \$512,397 64	Total expenses for 12 months..... \$500,028 33
Balance in hands of Treasurer, August 31, 1923..... 222,276 16	
Total funds..... \$734,673 80	

### RECAPITULATION

Total funds (balance and income).....	\$734,673 80
Total expenses.....	500,028 33
August 31, 1924—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$234,645 47
August 31, 1924—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1924.....	\$236,645 47
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	\$100,000 00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check.....	79,645 47
Liberty Bonds.....	40,000 00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	15,000 00
Treasurer's balance August 31, 1924.....	\$234,645 47

Deposits guaranteed by bond.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

*Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.*

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., September 1, 1924.

## REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1924:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand August 31, 1923.....	\$9,166 36
Receipts from rents, September 1, 1923, to August 31, 1924.....	26,825 00
Receipts from interest on treasury certificates (4½%).....	225 00
Receipts from waste paper.....	181 29
Receipts from interest on interest bearing certificates (4%).....	70 00
Receipts from interest on funds on deposit.....	13 61
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$36,481 26</b>

Maintenance:	EXPENSES	
Pay-roll (building employes).....	\$15,155 25	
Painting and plastering.....	5,203 98	
Taxes.....	1,914 98	
Electricity.....	1,620 17	
Fuel (coal).....	1,415 16	
Supplies.....	1,009 03	
Ice.....	467 60	
Hauling ashes and trash.....	160 50	
Water rent.....	145 20	
Insurance (liability).....	136 85	
Upkeep and repairs on elevators.....	133 60	
Upkeep of lawn.....	90 00	
Insurance (fire).....	85 50	
Upkeep and repairs on building.....	77 35	
Laundry (rest room).....	7 00	
Safe deposit box.....	2 50	
<b>Total expenses</b> .....	<b>\$27,624 67</b>	

RECAPITULATION	
Receipts.....	\$36,481 26
Expenses.....	27,624 67
<b>Balance on hand August 31, 1924</b> .....	<b>\$8,856 59</b>
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mount Vernon Savings Bank.....	\$356 59
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, interest bearing certificates (4%)..	3,500 00
United States Treasury Certificates (4½%).....	5,000 00
<b>Balance on hand August 31, 1924</b> .....	<b>\$8,856 59</b>

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

## INDUSTRY'S PATH OF PROGRESS

We take pride in calling attention in this report to the declaration included in our report to the Portland convention in which was set forth the pathway along which, we are convinced, the development of industry and of industrial freedom must be sought.

We pointed out the fact that American labor has from the beginning been committed to the ways of democracy and that its effort always has been to develop democratic practices. Insofar as autocracy in industry has given way to democracy there has been a development of human freedom and a right adjustment of human relations. Insofar, also, there has been an approach to the solution of important problems of production.

Again we repeat, there is no other way by which we may approach the ideal which all labor holds up as its goal.

Industry must find its own way through the difficulties with which it is beset. There is no magic wand with which barriers may be waved aside. There is no outside agency, governmental or otherwise, which may be called in as a physician to cut away the entanglements. Industry, we repeat, must solve its own problems, or we face the alternative of state intrusion which must inevitably lead to bureaucracy and breakdown. Democracy can not come into industry through the state. Any effort in that direction results in bureaucracy and destruction of democracy.

But we must point out—and we wish to emphasize the point beyond mistake—the road to democracy in industry is not a road that labor alone can travel. Democracy in industry implies and involves the participation of every useful element in industry.

While there are large groups of employers that still hold to the despotic attitude which denies to Labor even its most elemental and fundamental rights, progress toward democracy is being made.

While there are groups of employers that still refuse to recognize the right of wage earners to organize freely and to be represented by men of their own choosing, progress toward democratic practice continues.

While there are groups that hold these reactionary and arbitrary views toward Labor—the great human element in industry—Labor must and will shape its policies to meet the conditions thus imposed.

It is with great pride and satisfaction that we find these views held by a diminishing number each year. The number this year is smaller than it was a year ago. But these immobile minorities frequently block the pathway for many who, if left to their own will and wisdom, would move onward in keeping with the knowledge and the spirit of the hour.

We have set forth our faith in democracy and we have lived our devotion to its practices. When employer meets employes and enters into agreement with them, that minute absolutism in the workplace disappears and a measure of democracy enters in. The old day has gone from that time and for all time. The road thus opened leads far into the future, with developments in store which we may not yet see clearly, but which lead toward more and more freedom for each human unit and more and more life for all. But until the door is opened progress must stand outside waiting for its chance. There can be no beginning for democracy until autocracy begins to retreat.

We have pledged our faith in the principle of democracy in industry, as in political life. We have gone forward as rapidly as it has been possible to move. But Labor can move onward only as rapidly as it can convince others to move.

Too frequently Labor is still compelled to fight for the simplest rights. It is compelled to fight for the very A B C's of industrial freedom—for the right to organize, the right to cease work, the right to speak through its chosen representatives, the right to fair conditions under which to work, the right to keep its childhood away from the mill and factory.

We still have our barbarous "open shop" movements, our autocratic injunction judges, our stop-watch employers, our blind and reckless managements, and we still have production methods inspired by the investor for the investor without regard either to the worker or the consumer.

Labor is ready to move forward as rapidly as the whole of industry is ready to

move. But while reactionary and bourbon employers stand across the pathway, Labor must meet conditions as they are. This it will do, and reaffirming its faith in the future, it lays the responsibility for delay squarely upon those groups of employers that will not see the light, that cling in darkness to the brutalities of the past, that still do homage to the tyrannical idea of "divine right" to rule arbitrarily, and that are unmoved by Labor's appeal for justice, progress, freedom and democracy.

### CHILD LABOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Since May, 1922, the activities of the American Federation of Labor have been directed to the securing of an amendment to the constitution to protect the children of our nation. The Supreme Court in that month had declared unconstitutional the excise tax of ten per cent on the net profits of all products manufactured by child labor.

Immediately after the Supreme Court handed down its decision in 1922, President Gompers called a meeting of representatives of women's and men's organizations in the A. F. of L. headquarters, in which the Permanent Conference on the Abolition of Child Labor was formed. President Gompers was made chairman. This conference became the responsible agency for determining the best way to protect child life by federal legislation.

The best information obtainable at that time was that it was impossible for Congress to pass a law that the Supreme Court would not declare unconstitutional. It was, therefore, necessary to submit a joint resolution to Congress proposing a constitutional amendment that would permit Congress to legislate so that child life would be protected. This agitation was successful and the following joint resolution proposing a child labor amendment was passed by the present Congress on June 2 and submitted to the states for ratification:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

Lengthy hearings had been held during the life of the Sixty-Seventh Congress before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Judiciary. The personnel of the subcommittee appointed in the Sixty-Eighth Congress to consider the child labor amendment was the same as that which considered a similar measure in the Sixty-Seventh Congress. Therefore, the committee decided to refer to the record and hold no further hearings. In the House hearings were held before the Committee on Judiciary sitting as a whole. Representatives of organized labor offered arguments in favor of the enactment of the amendment. Representatives of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the churches, women's organizations and other organizations were heard in favor of the amendment. The National Manufacturers' Association, representatives of mill owners in the south and capitalists whose homes were in the northern states but who have interest in the profits derived from child labor in industries in other sections of the country appeared in opposition to the measure.

The Committees on Judiciary of the House and Senate reported the amendment favorably. Attempts were made on the floor of the House and in the Senate to emasculate the amendment. Amendments were offered to exempt certain industries and callings. Other amendments proposed were to the effect that sixteen years of age should be substituted for the eighteen-year age maximum proposed in the amendment. All of the proposed amendments were defeated and the amendment was adopted in the House by a vote of 297 to 69. It passed the Senate by a vote of 61 to 23.

The proposal for the ratification of the child labor amendment is now before the state legislatures; four of which have already acted. The Georgia, Louisiana and North Carolina legislatures refused to ratify the proposed amendment. In these states child life is therefore sacrificed to the greed of the mill owners. Arkansas was the first to vote in favor of ratification. The next legislature to meet is that of Arizona which convenes in November. The states that have not acted upon the proposed amendment will convene in January.



It is, therefore, necessary that a most intensive campaign be launched by the state federations of labor, city central bodies and all local unions in the interest of the state labor amendment.

The enemies of the proposed amendment seek to defeat it by the most vicious propaganda, in which it is claimed that if it is ratified no persons under eighteen years of age can work at all. There is no word harsh enough to denounce this claim. If that was the intention of the amendment the words "to limit and to regulate" would not have been incorporated. The object of fixing the age up to eighteen under which the labor of persons could be limited, regulated or prohibited, was to make it unnecessary in the future to seek another amendment that will provide a higher age under which the labor of persons can be limited or regulated. In some states the labor of children up to twenty-one years of age is prohibited in hazardous employments, but in a number of others the age limit to enter gainful occupations is as low as twelve. A number of states permit children to enter gainful employment at a very immature age, as will be seen by the following table:

(Law applies at least to both factories and stores unless otherwise indicated. Compulsory school attendance provisions, which sometimes indirectly affect the minimum age for employment during school hours, are not included.)

Alabama.....	14	(12 during vacation in stores.) <sup>1</sup>
Arizona.....	14	(10 for boy in vacation <sup>1</sup> in work not harmful.)
Arkansas.....	14	(child working in vacation for parent in occupation owned or controlled by him exempted.)
California.....	15	14 on special "poverty permit"; 12 in school vacation or on Saturday. <sup>1</sup>
Colorado.....	14	(12 in summer vacation.) <sup>1</sup>
Connecticut.....	14	
Delaware.....	14	(12 in canneries; 12 for boy outside school hours in non-harmful work; <sup>1</sup> no minimum age if child obtains "poverty permit.")
District of Columbia.....	14	(12 on "poverty permit" in work not harmful.)
Florida.....	14	in factories; 12 in stores.
Georgia.....	14	in factories (12 on "poverty permit"; no minimum age in stores.)
Idaho.....	14	(12 in vacation.)
Illinois.....	14	
Indiana.....	14	
Iowa.....	14	(stores employing less than 9 persons exempted; child working in establishment owned or operated by parent exempted.)
Kansas.....	14 <sup>2</sup>	
Kentucky.....	14	
Louisiana.....	14	
Maine.....	15	during school hours in factories and stores; 14 outside school hours in factories, but no minimum age for stores.
Maryland.....	14	
Massachusetts.....	14	
Michigan.....	15	during school hours; 14 outside school hours.
Minnesota.....	14	in factories; 14 in stores during school hours; (no minimum age in stores outside school hours).
Mississippi.....	14	in factories; no minimum age in stores.
Missouri.....	14	during school hours (child working for parent exempted); no minimum age outside school hours.
Montana.....	16	in factories; no minimum age in stores.
Nebraska.....	14	

<sup>1</sup>Permit required.

<sup>2</sup>Law ambiguous as to whether there is any minimum age for work in stores outside school hours.

Nevada.....	14	during school hours; no minimum age outside school hours.
New Hampshire.....	14	
New Jersey.....	14	(child 10 or over desiring to assist in support of self or family may obtain special certificate for work outside school hours in street trades and "other light employments," but this does not permit employment in factories or stores except at errands or delivery work in connection with stores.)
New Mexico.....	14	during school hours (except on "poverty permit," for which no minimum age is specified); no minimum age in stores outside school hours.
New York.....	14	
North Carolina.....	14	in factories; 14 in stores except under regulations prescribed by State Child Welfare Commission.
North Dakota.....	14	
Ohio.....	16	during school hours; 14 outside school hours.
Oklahoma.....	14	in factories; no minimum age in stores.
Oregon.....	14	(12 in school vacation of two weeks or more, in work not harmful in discretion of Board of Inspectors of Child Labor). <sup>1</sup>
Pennsylvania.....	14	
Rhode Island.....	15	during school hours; 14 outside school hours.
South Carolina.....	14	in factories; no provision for stores.
South Dakota.....	14	in factories except on "poverty permit," for which no minimum age is specified; 14 in stores during school hours; no age minimum for stores outside school hours.
Tennessee.....	14	
Texas.....	15	in factories; <sup>2</sup> no minimum age for stores.
Utah.....		No minimum age except for certain dangerous or injurious occupations.
Vermont.....	14	in factories <sup>3</sup> no provision for stores.
Virginia.....	14	(12 in fruit and vegetable canneries outside school hours; 12 for boys at running errands or delivering parcels.) <sup>4</sup>
Washington.....	14	(12 on "poverty permit" at work not dangerous or injurious.)
West Virginia.....	14	12 for boy in mercantile establishments outside school hours. <sup>5</sup>
Wisconsin.....	14	(12 in stores in vacation.) <sup>6</sup>
Wyoming.....		No specific minimum age except for work in certain dangerous or injurious occupations, but no child whose attendance at school is required by law shall be employed during school hours.
Alaska.....		Minimum age for boys in mines, 16.
Porto Rico.....	14	
Philippines.....		No minimum age except for employment in acrobatic and similar performances.

The proposed child labor amendment was passed by Congress June 20, 1924. It must be understood that although a state may have refused to approve the amendment, the same state may change its decision and vote for the ratification of the

<sup>1</sup>Board interprets this to exclude work in factories and stores, except errands for small stores not in congested districts.

<sup>2</sup>Child 12 or over may obtain permit to work on account of poverty, but not in "any mill, factory, workshop, or other place where dangerous machinery is used," or where child's moral or physical conditions is liable to be injured.

<sup>3</sup>Commissioner of Industries with approval of Governor may suspend provisions for 2 months in any year in case of establishment handling perishable products.

<sup>4</sup>Street trades badge required.

<sup>5</sup>Permit required.

amendment. It is therefore necessary to keep up educational work in the states for the purpose of changing the attitude of the legislatures.

The proposed amendment does not in itself regulate or prohibit anything nor affect the employment of the labor of children at all. The proposed amendment when ratified, would authorize and empower the Congress of the United States to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. Federal child labor regulation will become effective only when Congress, after the amendment is ratified and under the new authority granted, shall enact a Federal Child Labor Law. The proposed authorization granted to the Congress of the United States will in no way impair state child labor laws unless the standards enacted in the state laws are lower than those in whatever federal legislation Congress may pass. The two laws declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, prohibited the labor of children under the age of fourteen years in mills, canneries, factories or manufacturing establishments and under sixteen years in mines and quarries.

The provision in the proposed constitutional amendment regarding the authorization of Congress to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of children under eighteen years of age, was designed, not to preclude all children under age of eighteen years from working, but is intended to authorize Congress, by constitutional grant, to determine a varying age limitation as applied to the different kinds of employment, the risk and hazards embraced and seasonal and other indetermined conditions involved. Such authorization now will obviate the necessity of a future constitutional amendment to meet our industrial conditions as they may develop in the cycle of time. It is not only for economic reasons that the citizenship of our country is urged to ratify the proposed amendment to the constitution. It is one of the highest duties of the men and women of our time to safeguard and protect the child life of our America.

Massachusetts is to have a referendum in the November election, the result of which is not known at the time of the writing of this report, but which will be reported to the convention. The American Federation of Labor began a campaign early in August to acquaint the people of Massachusetts with the necessity of giving as large a majority as possible for ratification of the amendment. The labor officials of the commonwealth have kept up a continuous educational campaign.

Forty thousand local unions have been circularized and their members urged to use every influence to elect members of the various legislatures who will vote to ratify the proposed amendment. The American Federation of Labor will leave no stone unturned to bring about the ratification of this necessary legislation to protect the children.

### LABOR AND THE COURTS

After an effort extending over many years, the American Federation of Labor has at last succeeded in making the arrogation of responsible discretionary power by the courts the paramount issue before the American people. Labor forced that issue into the foreground in 1908 and 1912, in the form of the proposed recall of judges and the recall of judicial decisions.

Never has the issue so dominated the consideration of the American people as now and sufficient education on the part of organized labor and sufficient agitation and organization in cooperation with political allies can keep it paramount until Labor's remedies are enacted.

In order to carry on this campaign effectively it is necessary to recall to mind the origin of the remedies now sought by Labor.

Because of the fact that the Supreme Court and the federal judges as well as many state judges are appointed for life, the courts are the most remotely responsible branch of the American government. Because the judiciary is the least responsible branch of the government the reactionary interests have conducted their attacks on the rights of the individuals and on labor organizations mainly through the courts, as well as strengthening their defense against legislation demanded by the people.

The attack through the courts on organized labor has mainly taken the form of injunctions and suits for damages against the unions for alleged conspiracy and other offenses instituted under either a perverted interpretation of the ancient common law or an equally strained interpretation of the American constitution.

The misuse of the injunction has become so menacing as to threaten to undermine public confidence in the judiciary. That eminent lawyer and Republic leader, Senator Pepper, denounced it before the American Bar Association, thus:

Under such a system of government as ours, the maintenance of well-nigh universal confidence in the judiciary is pretty nearly essential to national safety. Is it not worth while to place elsewhere than upon our federal judges the burden of solving for us our legislative and executive problems? . . .

To maintain such confidence, must we not confine the courts to the sphere in which the creators of our constitutional system intended them to live and move and have their being?

On the development of injunctions against strikes, Senator Pepper has further declared:

. . . in a free country we can not by governmental action compel people to work . . . when a strike is on, the strikers are enough in earnest to wish their strike to be effective and that means that it becomes their interest to create conditions under which their places will not be effectively filled by others. The third fact is that under all conditions government must protect life and property, yet if we insist upon interpreting the courts to masses of citizens as mere obstacles to industrial justice we shall not only be undermining popular respect for our most important institution, but we shall be straining government to the breaking point.

The injunction orders have become more and more comprehensive and far-reaching in their provisions until they culminate in the Shopmen's Injunction order. Every thoughtful lawyer who has not already done so should read that order and meditate upon its significance. In so doing he should have in mind that during the shopmen's strike in 1922 nearly everyone of the two hundred and sixty-one "Class 1" railroads and a number of short-time railroads applied for injunctions in the various federal courts. No applications were denied. In all nearly three hundred were issued.

The exercise of power of the courts in industrial disputes has become a menace to our institutions and to the practices of free men. Constitutional safeguards of individual liberty have been repeatedly violated by the courts. It is not the rights of the working people alone that are threatened by substitution of judicial discretion for established agencies and methods for administering justice.

The extent of judicial despotism in process of development was disclosed when the President of the United States issued a pardon to Grossman, found guilty of contempt, and when the President's right to do this was directly denied by the federal court and Judges Carpenter and Wilkerson rendered a decision holding that regardless of the fact that the constitution grants to the President full powers of reprieve and pardon in the case of all offenses against the United States except impeachment, that the federal courts have the inherent power to decide punishments in contempt and that therefore even the President of the United States was without power to interfere with or mitigate punishments decreed. Thereupon Grossman was arrested and sent to prison to serve his sentence, the President's pardon to the contrary notwithstanding.

In order fully to grasp the present situation, mention must be made of the judicial perversion of the remedies hitherto sought by organized labor. This is necessary in order to explain why new and more far-reaching remedies have become absolutely indispensable.

After years of agitation, labor succeeded in 1914, in securing the passage of the Clayton Act, two sections of which, section 6 and section 20, dealt with the chief methods by which the courts had been attacking organized labor, injunctions and the so-called crime of "conspiracy." Section 20 of the bill is as follows:

That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States . . . in any case between an employer and employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment,

unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right, of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

The provisions of this act, together with the intent of Congress, were accepted by labor as a bona fide attempt to remedy wrongs. These Labor provisions came to be designated as "Labor's Magna Charta." However, the courts by emphasizing the words underlined, ruled that "property right means the right of a man to do business" and that this entitled him to injunctions against strikers and labor organizations.

With regard to injunctions, the Act proceeded further to definitely define what acts should not be enjoined. The definition is as follows:

No such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; or from attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working, or from ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do; or from paying or giving to, or withholding from any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from peacefully assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such disputes by any party thereto; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States.

The words underlined enabled the courts to render the whole clause meaningless. The limitations of the injunction specified were without effect because of the fact that judges issuing injunctions exercised the authority to determine what was lawful and what was not lawful.

The other section of the Clayton Act, Labor believed, protected it from suits and injunctions, based on alleged conspiracy, which means simply Labor acting collectively for its interest.

For many years the prosecution of labor had mainly been under the Anti-Trust laws. The Clayton Act was intended to put an end to prosecution under the Anti-Trust laws. Section 6 reads:

That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor . . . organizations, instituted for mutual help . . . or to forbid or to restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the anti-trust laws.

Again the words underlined were interpreted by the courts as allowing practically the same injunctions against alleged "conspiracies" as previously. The unions were not to be regarded as trusts, but they could be regarded as "conspiracies" under the ancient common law.

The Clayton Act was also intended to guarantee a trial by jury. Until very recently, the courts have interpreted this provision to mean that a trial by jury may be accorded the accused if the judge trying the accused for contempt so elected.

However, this evil has recently been removed by the United States Supreme Court in two decisions just made wherein the section guaranteeing a trial by jury to all charged with contempt was held constitutional and a proper denial of the power of the courts to find the accused guilty of contempt.

In the case of *Sandefur v. Canoe Creek Coal Co.*, the Circuit Judge certified this question to the Supreme Court for a decision as to the constitutionality of this section. With it was considered a case of railroad strikers (*Michaelson et al. vs. United States ex rel. Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Co.*) who had been denied a jury trial upon being judged in contempt after violating an injunction. Holding that the status of employer and employe is not destroyed by a strike, the Supreme Court in a decision rendered on Monday, October 20, 1924, held that this section of the Clayton Act was constitutional and that the workers were entitled to a trial by jury.

This decision is a blow at the encroaching power of the judiciary and will go far to re-establishing faith in the government. No longer will a federal judge be accuser, judge, and executioner, in these cases at least. And the onward march of labor will be heartened to secure much the same sort of law in the several states.

The resultant effects of this section of the Clayton Act and this decision affirming its constitutionality are of far-reaching significance to organized labor and justify labor's complaint that the courts have assumed an unwarranted and unconstitutional exercise of power. These decisions go far to remove some of the more pronounced abuses connected with the injunction evil, but nevertheless leave undisturbed the unwarranted authority of federal judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes. Having made this progressive advance in curbing the powers of the courts, it needs our even greater attention to remove the root of the evil and not rest content that some of the more flagrant abuses have been mitigated or removed.

Then, too, it must be remembered that there is the necessity for similar legislation to restrain our several state courts. It will be recalled that Oklahoma and Massachusetts have had laws of this kind, which have been declared unconstitutional as being an unwarranted invasion upon the inherent power of the judiciary.

Evidently the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court are a reversal of these former decisions. It is difficult to conceive that Congress may constitutionally limit the power of federal judges to find the accused guilty of contempt without a jury trial and deny our state legislatures a like power and authority to limit the power of state courts. Wisconsin has a law of this character. It is reasonable to assume that other states will hasten to secure similar laws for the protection of the workers in their individual and collective rights. The Executive Council urges that organized labor give such measures first place in their legislative programs for the coming year.

Whatever else may be said of labor's long struggle to curb the courts' unwarranted and unconstitutional assumption of power over the people, it must be freely conceded that these decisions would never have been decided as they were, unless the question of the unwarranted power of our courts had been fully presented to the people and sentiment crystalized against it. It has been said that the Supreme Court follows the elections and this is well demonstrated in this instance.

Other anti-labor decisions by the Supreme Court, including decisions declaring social legislation unconstitutional, have forced labor to the conviction that the power of the courts can not be restrained solely by legislative enactments, but that constitutional or other amendments are necessary to make the courts more responsible to the people.

In 1906 the Federation proposed a constitutional amendment to provide for the direct election of the judges by the people. In 1912 the Federation was willing to accept the principle of appointment, if limited to short terms and accompanied by the right of recall of judges, as well as the recall of judicial decisions. The Federation at that time succeeded in making this one of the chief issues before the American people and keeping it as a leading issue from 1908 to 1912.

The European war in 1914 turned attention in other directions. Immediately after the war the American Federation of Labor in its Reconstruction Program, proposed its present remedy of permitting Congress to repass a measure over the judicial veto. The Reconstruction Program declared:

It is manifestly evident that a people are not self-governing unless they enjoy the unquestioned power to determine the form and substance of the laws which shall govern them. Self-government can not adequately function if there exists within the nation a superior power or authority which can

finally determine what legislation enacted by the people, or their duly elected representatives, shall be placed upon the statute books and what shall be declared null and void.

It is essential that the people, acting directly or through Congress or state legislatures, should have final authority in determining which laws shall be enacted. Adequate steps must be taken, therefore, which will provide that in the event of the Supreme Court declaring an act of Congress or of a state legislature unconstitutional and the people acting directly or through Congress or a state legislature should re-enact the measure, it shall then become the law without being subject to annulment by any court.

This reform has been sponsored by Senator La Follette and the Republican-Democratic progressive movement. Mr. La Follette appeared before the American Federation of Labor convention in 1922 at Cincinnati, and in a lengthy and forceful argument laid before that body added reasons for this great constitutional reform. The Committee of the Federation at the same convention, which gave further consideration to the question, decided that it would be better if the proposal specified a two-thirds majority of Congress, and the resolution of that year was to that effect, demanding the following amendment:

An amendment providing that if the United States Supreme Court decides that an act of Congress is unconstitutional, or by interpretation asserts a public policy at variance with the statutory declaration of Congress, then if Congress by a two-thirds majority repasses the law, it shall become the law of the land.

Labor proposes to leave the Supreme Court of the United States with greater power than that enjoyed by any similar judicial body of any other country in the world. There is no proposal to touch the strictly judicial powers of the court, and even its right to declare and interpret the constitution—confined within reasonable and constitutional limits—is not attempted to be modified.

The proposal of the American Federation of Labor amounts to this: The Supreme Court at the present moment is the absolute and final arbiter of the entire American political structure. By an amendment which would divide this final power with Congress, the Supreme Court would be deprived of autocratic power over the constitution and the other branches of the government and confined to strictly judicial functions.

Labor does not stand alone in its protest against the assumption of unlimited power by the judiciary of our government and its apprehension as to the destruction of our democratic institutions and the need of safeguarding of the legislative branch of government.

Our forefathers saw the situation as did John Marshall, later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and the originator of the doctrine of judicial oligarchy, when he declared:

The legislative authority of any country can only be restrained by its own constitution. This is a principle that springs from the very nature of society; and the judicial authority can have no right to question the validity of a law unless such a jurisdiction is expressly given by the constitution.

Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of *Marbury against Madison*, decided by the Supreme Court in 1803, first asserted for that court the claim that the court could nullify an act of Congress by declaring it unconstitutional.

A year later, however, when Justice Chase of the Supreme Court was under impeachment, the Chief Justice, in writing to Justice Chase, stated his view as follows:

I think the modern doctrine of impeachment should yield to an appellate jurisdiction in the legislature. A reversal of those legal opinions deemed unsound by the legislature would certainly better comport with the mildness of our character than would a removal of the Judge who has rendered them unknown of his fault. (*Beveridge's Life of John Marshall*, Vol. III, p. 177.)

It was at the time of the Dred-Scott agitation that Lincoln made his strong statements against the powers of the Supreme Court over the constitution, statements which he repeated after his election, and which are as follows:

The people of these United States are the masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the constitution. (September 7, 1859.)

The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. (March 4, 1861.)

Mr. Roosevelt's Progressive Party in this respect continued the Jefferson and Lincoln traditions, its 1912 platform demanding "such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policies."

Commenting upon the unlimited and unrestrained powers of our courts, ex-President Roosevelt said:

If the courts have the final say-so on all legislative acts, and if no appeal can lie from them to the people, then they are the irresponsible masters of the people. The only tenable excuse for such a position is the frank avowal that the people lack sufficient intelligence and morality to be fit to govern themselves. In other words (I want your attention to that) those who take this position hold that the people have enough intelligence to frame and adopt a constitution, but not enough intelligence to apply and interpret the constitution which they have themselves made.

Organized labor has realized that it is extremely difficult to accomplish anything either through the courts or through legislation, or even through constitutional amendment, until the courts are better informed. Even constitutional amendments have been and are continuously perverted and misinterpreted by the courts.

Organized labor has therefore put the reform of the Supreme Court and the direct election of federal judges in the forefront of its program.

Labor is earnestly engaged in securing certain constitutional amendments, including the enactment of the child labor amendment. Two child labor bills have already been declared unconstitutional and the child labor amendment itself is subject to being perverted by the courts unless that power is first limited and unless they are made responsible to the people as proposed by organized labor.

The Portland convention in 1923 following the previous convention demanded an amendment which would clearly safeguard the collective as well as individual rights of the wage earners and make it impossible for the Supreme Court or any other court to limit, restrict or deny such rights by wrongful interpretations.

The amendment proposed is as follows:

An amendment prohibiting the enactment of any law or the making of any judicial determination which would deny the right of the workers of the United States and its territories and dependencies to organize for the betterment of their conditions; to deal collectively with employers; to collectively withhold their labor and patronage and induce other to do so.

Aside from these constitutional amendments, the legislation demanded by the Cincinnati convention in correction of the Clayton Act, is the following:

A law which will make more definite and effective the intention of Congress in enacting Sections 6, 19 and 20 of the Clayton Act, which was manifestly ignored or overridden by the courts.

The second remedy declared for by the Cincinnati convention is:

An act repealing the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which was intended by Congress to prevent illegal combinations in restraint of trade, commonly



known as "trusts," but through judicial misinterpretation and perversion has been repeatedly and mainly invoked to deprive the toiling masses of their natural and normal rights.

Not only has the Sherman Anti-Trust Law been applied to outlaw the rightful and just collective efforts of the wage earners through their trade unions, but more recently the Federal Trade Commission has undertaken the enforcement of this as well as the Clayton Law in a manner that makes still more exasperating and threatening the menace confronting the workers. The Federal Trade Commission charged with guiding and administering the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and the Clayton Act has demonstrated its unfitness to perform the functions delegated to it. Its activities have been ineffective so far as large and influential combinations are concerned. With respect to trade unions the Federal Trade Commission following the example of the courts is trespassing upon the field of personal relations between employers and organized workers. It is assuming to pass judgment upon labor contracts which contracts were specifically exempted under the labor provisions of the Clayton Act. Thus the Commission is arrogating to itself some of the functions of an industrial court and is thereby establishing a policy which our legislative body rejected. It is clear that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and all other related law can not be used to check undesirable industrial tendencies and have been used only to repress constructive development of both industry and the trade union movement.

Court decisions and legal interpretations have been such as to make necessary the enactment of legislation removing proscriptions against normal constructive development of industrial controls and repealing the unnatural and undesirable prohibitions contained in trust legislation.

In the place of our present policy of prohibition, we need to develop a national economic policy of constructive regulation which shall direct growth and expansion along lines leading to benefits for our whole nation as well as the industry. The problem of regulation involves the determination of broad general policies and the provision of the necessary technical agencies competent to secure the purposes desired. That a governmental agency may fail completely of constructive results is demonstrated by the punitive achievements of the Federal Trade Commission. On the other hand, the Department of Commerce which has been attempting constructive leadership through group action has disclosed the possibilities of that sort of governmental service which is constructive and helpful. This constructive development is in marked contrast to the repressive, wasteful policy of the Federal Trade Commission.

The development of legislation to provide for the fundamental economic needs of workers and industry should not come from but one of the groups concerned, but should be the recommendations of all elements affected. Labor would welcome an opportunity to participate in such constructive work.

We recommend that this convention emphatically declare in favor of concentrated action on the part of the men and women of the labor movement of our country in support of the constructive fundamentals outlined and appeal to the forward-looking citizenship of America to aid in the establishment and maintenance of the essential reforms in this report set forth.

#### LEGAL INFORMATION BUREAU

It is evident that the conduct and decisions of the trade unions and the attitude and actions of trade unionists are being subjected more and more to a super critical legal analysis and court definition. As trade unions become stronger, it is quite logical to anticipate that employers will resort more frequently to the courts in defense of what they have come to regard altogether too long as their "vested" rights and "divine" possessions.

The trade unions must meet this change in the form of conflict for equality, justice and right, and develop every possible instrumentality and agency that will enable them to continue their march of progress.

In our report to the Portland convention there was set forth the urgent need for a legal information bureau to meet these changed conditions. Initial steps had then been

taken to establish such a bureau in a modest form, and on a basis assuring constant growth and permanency. Under the able direction of Vice-President Matthew Woll substantial progress has been made in this new field of endeavor. A volunteer staff of lawyers familiar with and competent to handle litigation involving industrial relations has been established. It is surprisingly encouraging to have found such a sympathetic and helpful response from this direction. National and international unions, state federations of labor and central labor unions have cooperated likewise by furnishing this bureau whatever information was solicited or that came to their attention.

The nucleus has been gathered for a comprehensive and useful law library. Advance sheets are being received of all reported decisions of courts of last resort in the several states and in the United States. Cooperating attorneys and officials of trade unions are likewise advising the bureau upon current and pending decisions and issues involved. This method of gathering legal information has enabled the bureau to distinguish carefully those cases in which fundamental principles and rights of the wage earners are involved, and wherein remedial and helpful legislation is menaced. Accordingly the American Federation of Labor has been able to assist the organizations involved to meet these issues in the most effective and efficient manner possible.

As was indicated in our report a year ago, oftentimes successful legislative results of the trade unions have been annulled or placed in jeopardy because of the employment of inexperienced counsel, untrained in industrial relations affairs. To some extent this situation has been remedied. There is still room for great improvement. It is hoped that with time and further experience this bureau will be able to meet this situation adequately. The service of this bureau has contributed also to a helpful study of labor legislation proposed, pending, or enacted into law. A number of studies are now in the making which will emphasize the importance and the helpfulness of this service.

While it was not and is not intended that this bureau shall furnish counsel or undertake the defense of any trade union involved in legal difficulties, nevertheless, valuable and helpful information and practical advice have been given to affiliated organizations in a number of instances.

The legal information gathered by the bureau has been carefully reviewed, tabulated and much of it disseminated to all helpful and interested groups and persons. The bureau has published and distributed from time to time a legal information bulletin containing the latest decisions of the more important labor cases rendered by courts of last resort. Seven numbers of this bulletin have been issued during the past year, each number containing approximately eight decisions. This bulletin is distributed to the presidents and secretaries of the affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, central bodies, salaried organizers, labor publications, libraries and other institutions requesting them. That this service is of practical value is demonstrated in the constantly increasing demand being made for it.

The legal information bureau has passed the stage of experimentation; it has demonstrated its practicability and great helpfulness. The Executive Council is alert to the importance of this work and of the opportunities that continually present themselves for further improvement. It is the purpose to enlarge the service with time and experience, consistent with the original designs of its creation and in keeping with all other demands made upon the American Federation of Labor.

For that which has been achieved, and to those having made that success possible, the Executive Council expresses appreciation. The sincere hope is voiced that this cooperation may be not only continued, but be enlarged upon during the coming year. Every possible encouragement and added support are solicited. It is only through cooperation and constant vigilance that the proper and efficient defense may be presented whenever and wherever the rights of labor and the fruits of labor's struggles are challenged in the courts, whether in their law or equity divisions.

#### BANKING AND CREDIT

The organizing and operating of banking institutions by trade unions and trade unionists has continued to make progress during the past year.

There are at present twenty-three labor banks in operation, some of them sufficiently long enough to demonstrate the remarkable power possessed by them to pool

the earnings and savings of the workers, to accumulate large deposits and so to manage these funds in a manner helpful to the wage earners and the trade union movement. It is estimated that the total resources of labor banks in this country exceed sixty million dollars.

Labor, in this new field of activity, has not passed the complete period of experimentation and upon those in whose care the continued successful administration of these banking ventures depends, there rests a great and grave responsibility not alone in the proper safeguarding of funds entrusted into their care, but to maintain the integrity of labor's ability and competency to participate in all the different spheres of business life.

We repeat, what was reported a year ago, that the power and control of credits are of the utmost importance in our present every-day life. Banking and credit are as inseparable as life and air. Unfortunately, credit, as now administered, too often serves to increase unearned incomes at the expense of earned incomes and constitutes a burden upon essential and necessary industry. It is not anticipated that labor banks can or will correct this evil. This can be accomplished only through a properly constituted and efficiently managed public agency. Labor banks, however, are a nearer approach to the people's needs and requirements than banking institutions dominated by the atmosphere and practices that prevail in Wall Street. The Executive Council, however, again warns organized labor and its membership against the hasty formation of labor banks and calls attention to the need of the most careful investigation and survey of all conditions surrounding such ventures.

While some of our national unions, many of our local unions have organized and are now operating banks where the majority of the stock and entire policy and control are under the supervision of union members, there are other types of stock offered for sale to our unions and their members by securities, investment and holding companies with the inference that they are buying shares of stock in a bank. This is a type of investment about which we wish to warn the membership of our organizations, for the reason that the business of these securities, investment or holding companies is not subject either to the national or state laws and their policies are therefore in the hands and control of those operating the companies without any necessity for rendering official reports or being subject to examination and regulation in the same way that banks now have to follow rules and regulations of either the federal or state governments.

Some of our central bodies have already taken definite action with reference to these securities, investment and holding companies, and have warned their unions and the rank and file of their organizations to be exceedingly careful when approached about such an investment.

Too much care, time and attention can not be given to the above suggestions, for after all, our unions must keep in mind that handling other people's money is a sacred and public obligation.

### ABOLISH CONVICT LABOR COMPETITION

Continued efforts have been made in the past year as in preceding years to protect the labor of free men from competition against convict labor. To further legislation of this character a conference was called by the Executive Council as directed by the Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor.

As was indicated in our report of a year ago, out of approximately 67,000 prisoners in the various prisons and reformatories conducted by the several states, 18,439 were engaged in what is known as "shop trades," out of which 10,740 were employed in industries under contract and public account systems and wherein the manufactured goods are disposed of in the open market in competition with free labor. Of the 10,740 prisoners working under the contract system, 5,749 or fifty-three per cent are employed in the manufacture of work shirts and overalls. It is thus apparent that the solution of this problem does not rest entirely upon the enactment of effective state and national legislation, but that substantial aid can be given the movement of eliminating competition of convict labor by wage earners exercising a greater discriminating

care and judgment against purchasing convict made goods. A consistent and persistent demand for union label goods of this kind will be of material assistance.

The evil involved in the competition of convict labor with free labor, however, can not be wholly exterminated without proper and effective national and state legislation. Indeed, it is a fundamental error for the state or nation to use the services of convicts for private gain or other than for state use.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently advocated the state-use system of employing convicts in penal institutions; that is, that the state itself or its subdivisions consume the commodities produced within the penal institutions of the state.

It has also condemned the contract system, the lease system, the piece price system and the state or public account system, the first three of which are practically the same in operation as the contract system and work to the detriment of the convict, the state, the employers and the workers of the states. The last system, the state itself enters into direct competition with its citizens by disposing on the open market of materials manufactured by the inmates of its penal institutions.

There are at present forty-seven states that use either or all of the following: Contract, piece price, lease or and public account systems. It is advisable that a bill for legislative enactment be prepared for presentation to and enactment by these several state legislatures abolishing either or all of these systems and installing in their stead the state-use system.

It is also advisable that continued efforts be made to have an enabling act similar to what was known as Booher or Nolan bills enacted by Congress which will permit the states that have already enforced the state-use system to legislate against the importation of goods made under the four systems which are condemned by not only the American Federation of Labor but by all fair-minded citizens interested in this problem.

Central bodies, which have legislative committees, state branches, and international organizations the members of which are adversely affected in states where the four systems condemned are in whole or part in use are urged to use every possible effort and activity to have substituted therefor the state-use system.

## INSURANCE

Insurance, speaking of all kinds collectively, may be defined as the science of sharing economic risks. There are two types of values, viz: Human life values and property values. One group of insurance covers life, accident, health, compensation, liability, etc., and pertain to life values; another group of fire, marine, credit, bonding, etc., to property values, but whatever the form which we have in mind, insurance represents a great living force that reaches out in every direction to serve mankind wherever values are subject to loss. It renders this service either by way of prevention or indemnification. It is a great economic factor of safety, which changes uncertainty into certainty. Without it, it would be impossible for business to function with any degree of certainty or safety.

Regarded from another angle, insurance is related to the public welfare and naturally identifies itself with the great constructive movements that have for their aim the uplifting of the community.

It is said that 84% of property values are now protected by insurance policies, but that only 7% of the value of human life is so protected. This in itself is rather an unpleasant commentary on the way in which life and casualty insurance men have done their work.

As the nature of insurance becomes more clearly understood by the public, the demands for better service will also increase. Wherever man has a future obligation to fulfill, which involves the uncertainty of life, such as the accumulation of an estate, education of children, provision for unpaid taxes or debts in the event of death, old age provision, or the accumulation of a business surplus for future contingencies, life insurance may be used as a sinking fund method to assure realization of the contemplated object.

Trade unions have been keenly alert to the science of sharing economic risks,

and in a more or less complementary fashion have provided fraternal insurance covering in part the losses sustained due to loss of life values. However, this field of indemnification has far exceeded all human expectations and has rapidly assumed a proportion and form that bids fair to become the most potent and influential agency in all our affairs of today and especially in the field of industrial relations unless essential counterbalancing agencies are established to protect the rights, interest, influence and power of the wage earners.

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held a year ago in Portland, Oregon, the President was directed to investigate this subject or to cause it to be investigated and with the approval of the Executive Council submit the findings and recommendations for further consideration and action by the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers, selected for the purpose of investigating this subject and submitting recommendations, Messrs. Matthew Woll and George Perkins and we submit herewith the report of this committee, its findings and recommendations for your favorable consideration and action.

*Report of Special Committee.*

OCTOBER 7, 1924.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Pres.*,  
American Federation of Labor,  
DEAR SIR:

The Portland Convention, A. F. of L. October, 1923, adopted a resolution—No. 83—authorizing the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate or cause to be investigated the amount and kind of death benefit insurance paid by national and international unions, group insurance, and other forms of insurance. You appointed Matthew Woll, President of the Photo-Engravers' Union, and G. W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union of A., to make this investigation. Your committee sent a questionnaire to all of the national and international unions in which we asked what if any death benefit or insurance they paid and whether they would be interested in a mutual, cooperative, properly developed plan of insurance under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions. A total of 53 unions reported. Of this number 39 unions reported that they paid some kind of death benefit or insurance, and many unions reported that they would be interested in a mutual, cooperative, properly developed plan of insurance under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions. Your committee has with the limited time and means at its command gone as fully as possible into the question of insurance and we find that:

It is stated by insurance authorities that the combined assets of life insurance companies of this country amount to approximately Ten Billion Dollars. This is either in cash, first mortgage real estate securities, or approved railroad and industrial bonds, state, county, municipal and government bonds. It is in cash or the equivalent of cash and is invested in the bed rock, underlying and controlling securities of the nation.

It is conservatively estimated that in the year, 1923, over Two Billion Dollars were collected in premiums for insurance, and that it required about One Billion Dollars to liquidate all liabilities and claims, leaving practically One Billion Dollars for the further increase of the financial power of these gigantic corporations.

The history of insurance in this country portrays a remarkable degree of advancement. The early attempts at insurance were almost all for the protection of property. There soon grew up a sort of fraternal form of death benefit insurance followed by death benefit insurance by private companies. Fraternal insurance has proved in many instances to be a failure, chiefly because it is on the assessment plan and the premium to be paid increases in accordance with the age of the membership or because the premium was inadequate. Fraternal insurance not based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality, and upon a fixed premium rate not subject to change or assessment is not entirely safe. The assessment plan upon which most of the fraternal insurance, including that in our unions, is based has never been entirely

satisfactory. Where new blood is not taken into these fraternal associations failure and repudiation of benefits are the inevitable result.

The present day insurance company is surrounded by special laws which while they do not fully protect the interests of the insured do practically protect the company against failure. Scientific investigation has been made from the records of insurance companies which has made possible the establishment of insurance premium rates based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality. This is so scientifically and accurately arranged that failure of a properly conducted insurance company is impossible. The insurance laws provide that an insurance company shall maintain a legal reserve fund. This fund is obtained by exacting the payment of a sufficiently large premium in advance. The money is then invested under the laws in approved securities at a rate of not less than three per cent. The insurance companies have a right to invest at any rate they can safely get. The result is that while ostensibly the rate of interest from the reserve fund is 3 per cent or 3½ per cent or 4 per cent the companies often get 5 or some times 6 per cent interest, which is the source of enormous profits. Many individuals have become enormously rich and are still piling up great wealth out of this business.

Reliable statistics show that profits on capital stock invested in life insurance companies range from 18 to 22 per cent on the average. The capital stock of insurance companies has frequently shown a hundred per cent increase in a single year, created by increase of capital stock or payment of large dividends from surplus funds arising out of the profits of the business.

The excessive expense attending the present conduct and management of life insurance in this country is one of its greatest evils. Few companies show an expense ratio of less than 20 cents out of each dollar of premium received and not a few companies show an expense reaching the astonishing figure of an amount equal to 40 to 50 cents out of each dollars of premium received during the year.

These insurance companies have become one of the most powerful economic, social and political factors in the United States.

The insurance business is increasing at an astonishingly enormous pace. It is said that there is a total of sixty billion dollars of insurance in force in America, covering the lives of forty million people. In the value of its cash assets and the volume it is the second largest industry in the United States. It is second in value only to the farm products. Some statisticians have calculated that at the present rate of increase, in fifty years the insurance companies will be in a position to control practically all the industries in the United States. It is the safest and surest business in the whole world. It requires no great capital to start and having the American Experience Table of Mortality rate as a guide it can not fail. There is no risk. It is much safer than banking and less intricate and much easier to control.

A state document issued by the superintendent of insurance of the state of Missouri shows that the fire insurance profits of ten fire insurance companies for the five years ending December 31, 1922, were 230.5 per cent on the combined capital stock, and 189.15 per cent on the average capital stock for the five-year period. He says, "The argest percentage of profit made by any one company on its average capital stock for the five-year period from its invested income was 1157.81 per cent and the smallest 141.41 per cent." The document issued by the superintendent contains 19 pages, 12 by 9½, of solid printed matter of very interesting and instructive data, and is contained in an official state document, signed by the superintendent of insurance of the state of Missouri.

The plan of group insurance by employers was started in 1912. At that time there was in force about \$13,172,198 worth of insurance of this character. This amount has steadily grown until at the end of 1922 there was \$1,852,593,533. Many more millions of group insurance were created during 1923-24. At the rate that group insurance is increasing it would be fair to assume that there is at least three billion dollars in group insurance in existence today. In the past twelve years group insurance has increased from \$13,172,198 to approximately three billion dollars, showing an increase of \$2,986,827,802.

Charles F. Nesbit, insurance counsellor, Washington, D. C., in a letter addressed to President Gompers under date of January 17, 1924, goes deeply and quite thoroughly

into the whole question of insurance and especially group insurance. This report to President Gompers contains 42 typewritten pages. Mr. Nesbit states that there are five good reasons why organized labor should enter the field of old-line legal reserve life insurance. He points out: That most of the death benefits paid by the unions are not based upon sound, scientific, actuarial foundations, and that with increasing age of the members, payment becomes a burden upon union resources; that many members of organized labor carry life insurance for protection which he says can be more conveniently and more cheaply and with equal safety handled through their own companies where properly organized; that such companies would be a powerful factor in recruiting union members and seeing that unions' memberships are maintained; that the reserve required by law would in a short time amount to a great sum of money; that this fund would be absolutely free from attack through the court in any issue involving the union and would on the other hand become a powerful influence in increasing the standing and prestige of organized labor; that such companies could reduce the operating expenses to a very low figure, and the vast amount of money thus saved could be used to reduce the cost of insurance to its policy holders and it would be entirely possible that by utilizing the present union organization the expenses of the unions themselves might also be considerably reduced because of this insurance activity. He shows that the so-called industrial insurance companies exact an enormous tribute from the great mass of wage earners who patronize these companies.

Mr. Nesbit submits some very interesting figures on the question of group insurance. He points out, however, that group insurance is term insurance which means that the rate while low is changed each year so that if the average age of the members of an association happens to increase from year to year the premium rates would be raised correspondingly. This to Mr. Nesbit's mind is not the most satisfactory form of insurance for the members of organized labor undertake. It should be remembered that he is personally committed to the whole life insurance plan.

We find that group insurance is a rather recent development in the life insurance business. There may be humanitarian employers who provide group insurance for their employes with no ulterior motive in their mind, but it can not be overlooked that group insurance is also a good thing for employers, especially of the non-union type. Nor can it be overlooked that in many instances one of the motives behind group policies is to tie the employes to their job, to prevent or discourage strikes, and that group insurance provided by employers certainly tends to prevent the worker to whom it is given from having a single eye to his own economic welfare.

A thousand dollar group insurance policy costs the average employer about 4 cents a day; or about \$15.60 a year. It can not be overlooked that frequently much advertising is given to the fact by employers that "this insurance is furnished free to the employes." Just what does this mean in cold figures?

A case has been cited where two shops are operating in one city. One is union; the other, non-union. The non-union shop made a great stir in the papers about "giving" a thousand dollar policy free of cost to each of its employes. The union shop does not provide group insurance.

The figures we find on income, wages, and hours indicate that the employes of the non-union shop receive 4 cents an hours less than the union shop. They work nine hours a day instead of an eight-hour day. This difference would mean that in the non-union shop, the workers contribute to the employer each day nine times the amount paid for the group insurance policy "given" them. This would mean that this employer at the end of each year had in his pocket five times the amount paid for group insurance for his employes, saved in lower wages.

Under these circumstances, the free gift of this insurance is hardly anything to brag about and when the important element of hours and wages paid by non-union shops in comparison with union shops is taken into consideration, the statement as usually made might fairly be considered misleading.

Self-reliance and independence, self-help and cooperation among the workers in their own interests would be certainly increased by the wage earners providing their own insurance rather than depending on the humanitarian impulse of employers.

Self-reliance and independence are essential characteristics of American citizenship.

The summary of Mr. Nesbit's report previously referred to, is as follows:

1. Insurance is for citizens of the United States the most practical and popular method of creating an estate and providing for dependents and old age.

2. It is vast in volume and extent, exceeding sixty billions of life insurance in force represented by more than seventy-five million policies or contracts. Insurance companies hold more than ten billions of cash assets and have an annual income of more than one and one-half billion.

3. Its greatest evil or abuse is the excessive expense imposed on the insured, which unnecessarily increases the cost of insurance protection. This expense arises from a mad race for volume of business and assets. The annual expense exceeds \$400,000,000.

4. Group insurance, a recent development in life insurance, attempts to solve the insurance problem of the average wage earner. It is calculated to benefit the employer and to work against trade union affiliation and loyalty.

5. Its adverse influence can be best overcome by labor organizations themselves meeting the wage earner's insurance needs.

6. The existing organizations and financial methods and machinery of labor organizations are admirably adapted to furnish their members absolute insurance protection at the lowest possible cost.

7. The service thus rendered by utilizing the present fiscal organizations of union labor should result in reducing not only the cost of insurance protection to an absolute minimum, but also in reducing the present cost of labor organizations themselves in the important items of rent and clerk hire. In other words, where the union headquarters can be used, the present union-paid officers and the present union clerks can be employed or used in part, in handling the insurance business as well as the union's business, which should result in a decided saving to both the organizations.

Another considerable saving would come from the fact that advertising, which is a part of every insurance company's legitimate business, should and could be carried on largely through the publications and journals conducted by labor organizations. This would be a decided financial advantage to the unions with no loss to the insurance company.

These are only some of the methods by which the mutual financial advantage of the unions could be served by the establishment and handling of their own insurance business.

An extremely interesting document was submitted to your committee by Mr. L. D. Wood of the Universal Sales Agency Insurance Research Bureau of Philadelphia, Pa. He says that the gross premiums paid to the companies each year exceed in value the output of all of our mines or the total value of all automobiles produced, and are second in value only to the products of our farms, that the payment made by our people amounts to the enormous sum of about two million dollars per year. He says that within the shadow of Wall Street are companies whose assets thus gathered in dimes and dollars from every corner of the country exceed seven billion dollars or about 70 per cent of the whole. He points out that this creates a never ending, absolutely dependable source of money supply in good times or bad, which is not affected by crop failures, earthquakes, war, or pestilences, and which finds its way into the constantly increasing golden stream to the New York bankers for investment and distribution.

He points out that life insurance is very simple, that it requires very little machinery for its operation. He says that one company which advertises that it has policies numbering more than a fifth of our entire population employs only about 5,000 clerks and the executives required are hardly more than a half dozen in number.

He goes over much of the ground we have quoted from the report of Counsel Nesbit, although he goes more into detail and shows the enormous profit to insurance companies.

He points out that a company holding five hundred million dollars of its assets in reserve are making a profit of 2 per cent or ten million dollars a year.

He also points out the fact that the table of American Experience Mortality was gotten out some years ago, that it covered the survivors of the late Civil War and the



smallpox epidemic and that it has not been thoroughly revised since, and that with the better living conditions now obtaining and more freedom from epidemics it is found that human life is gradually lengthening and that the rates charged by the insurance companies are much higher than they would be if the Mortality table were brought down to the present. He holds that a company controlled by the unions could do this and still be on an absolutely safe basis and yet save millions of dollars to be returned in dividends to the members or to be used for cheapening the rates of insurance.

He points out that we could take up, in addition to the regular life insurance, annuities and income policies, old age pension policies, and fire insurance which is the most profitable of them all; in fact go throughly into the insurance business.

He summarizes his report as follows:

"The opportunity presented to the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR by the foregoing facts and conditions is a most unusual one. Life insurance has been legalized; the legal reserve system has been tried and proven. There is nothing occult or even vague about the business. It does not even require the analytical, discriminating judgment necessary to the conduct of the banking business. The laws governing life insurance are well defined. They have been established by many decisions interpreting them, and a new company could not easily be discriminated against. No investment in machinery or goods, or in credits is required; even the capital required to engaged in the business may be retained and invested in income producing securities.

"The opportunity to quickly build a strong, safe company affording absolute protection to the working people, at cost, is here.

"It is the unanimous opinion of a few experts to whom the idea has been presented that such a company would in a very few years become the best known of all legal reserve companies; that its growth would be phenomenal and that its power and influence for good can hardly be estimated.

"It would quickly become a great and enduring monument to the sagacity and wisdom of its founders.

"SUGGESTION—A capital stock company to operate on the legal reserve system and on the participating policy plan only—to write both ordinary and industrial forms of policies—to be owned by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and its constituent elements and their members, and directed by the heads of those organizations. It should have a paid-in capital and surplus equal in amounts, of as much as can be quickly and inexpensively secured, building its business among its own members and agencies by their own properly constituted local officials.

"Such a company could be very quickly and inexpensively organized. It would quickly and inexpensively acquire a very large volume of desirable business. Its growth in assets would probably be faster than that of any company ever formed. Its profits legitimized by custom and law would belong to its owners, while its growing accumulation of reserve would be available for any legitimate financing.

"Its successful launching and operation would constitute an achievement such as has seldom been equalled."

Your committee makes no definite recommendations as to the form our insurance enterprise shall assume. We have been convinced and fully persuaded that it is not only advisable and safe but almost the duty of the unions jointly to adopt some form of proper insurance. However, we are opposed to have the American Federation of Labor as such actually engage in the insurance business.

We have reliable documents and statements on which the foregoing report is based, which are at your disposal. Fraternaly submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL,  
G. W. PERKINS.

This report is furnished for the information of affiliated national and international unions who may wish to avail themselves of the opportunity of studying this report, and for such action as they may desire to take.

### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS

Heretofore society has been extremely jealous of the rights of property. Everywhere the cry has been heard that property must be protected and be protected adequately by law. Personal rights, the rights of humanity, however, have not been sufficiently recognized or protected. These latter rights must receive greater consideration and emphasis in the future. Wherever and whenever called upon to choose between these two, the rights of humanity must prevail and the rights of property must give way.

It is upon this distinction that the old system of employers' liability and the new method of workmen's compensation are founded. The former system attempted to protect property and property alone and to leave the rights of humanity unprotected, under the false assumption that all industrial hazards and accidents are due to neglect. The new point of view is that industrial hazards and accidents are more or less inseparable from modern industry and that industry consequently should bear the cost of compensating those who suffer from the effects of industrial hazards and accidents.

While under this latter method the cost of compensation falls immediately upon the industry, the cost in fact is spread over and involved in the cost of production and is thereby ultimately borne by the community as a whole but under a more humane and constructive fashion than under the older system and not dependent upon public or private charity.

Considerable progress has been made in advancing this new concept of legal responsibility of industry to the risks and hazards involved and in the method and form of compensation to be provided injured workmen and their dependents. With this progress, development and extension of the principles of workmen's compensation there has come the need for a revision of those laws in a number of particulars. Then, too, there has developed the necessity of more nearly equalizing and unifying the provisions and requirements of the workmen's compensation laws in the several states and in the United States. This necessity is accentuated not only in the requirement to place industry upon a more equal condition in the several states but likewise to assure the workmen more adequate compensation and more dependable methods of payment than are provided at the present time.

There is hardly need to affirm that the American Federation of Labor has assumed the unquestioned leadership in the origin, development, extension and constant improvement of workmen's compensation laws in America. It has demonstrated likewise its leadership in the effort more nearly to equalize and unify the provisions and requirements in the workmen's compensation laws of the several states. To give emphasis to this latter part of its program the Executive Council by authorization of a previous convention selected a special committee for this purpose, consisting of Vice-Presidents William Green, Frank Duffy and Matthew Woll.

This committee has been at work for a considerable period of time. It has submitted a comprehensive report to the Executive Council setting forth the minimum and maximum requirements contained in existing laws, with recommendations as to standards which should guide our future activities in this phase of our remedial legislative endeavors. This report has received the careful consideration and full endorsement of the Executive Council, and under authority vested in it, it is the intent and purpose to release this report in the very near future for the instruction and guidance to all interested in furthering humane legislation of this character.

Among the more important changes contemplated in existing workmen's compensation laws are: Revision of those requirements relating to the amounts of compensation to be paid; providing a more adequate and just manner in determining the weekly wage upon which compensation is to be predicated; calling for greater promptness in the payment of compensation; requiring the inclusion of compensation for all trade and occupational diseases; including payment for funeral expenses, embracing compensation, without discrimination, of alien non-resident dependents; prohibiting "direct settlements"; demanding that greater attention be given to the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases; insisting that the principles of rehabilitation of maimed workers and of restoring them to useful self-sustaining occu-

pations shall receive attention, and that all commercial methods of compensation insurance be made inapplicable to cover this form of risks and requirements.

It is urged that this work of the special committee be given the widest possible publicity and that renewed efforts be displayed everywhere for the early and speedy enactment of the standards proposed and recommended.

The American Federation of Labor is endeavoring to have a bill passed by Congress for the District of Columbia that will be a model for the entire country. The insurance companies have made it an issue and are using every means possible to defeat any legislation that will prohibit private insurance.

When the bill came up for action in the Sixty-seventh Congress, a bill in the interest of the insurance companies was substituted for the American Federation of Labor measure. When this reached the Senate the American Federation of Labor decided that it was better to urge the defeat of the insurance company bill. The bill was defeated.

The American Federation of Labor bill was re-introduced in the Sixty-eighth Congress and was approved by the Committee on Judiciary and it is now on the House calendar for action.

Substantial progress was made last year in improving the compensation laws in several states. For example, there are now twelve American laws (including the federal act for public employes) which compensate occupational diseases. And in New York State in 1924 we secured the non-compensated "waiting period" reduced from 14 to 7 days, thus adding \$1,500,000 a year to benefits and increasing the number of cases compensated about fifty per cent. At present there are thirty-six American laws having a "waiting period of seven days or less," (including several having no waiting period).

Since New Hampshire changed her law in 1923, all states except Arizona now provide medical service. Seventeen states, as well as Hawaii, Porto Rico and the federal government, either place no limit on the duration or amount of medical care or else permit both limits to be indefinitely extended through administration.

As to percentage of wages now paid (Louisiana very recently, West Virginia and Oklahoma since 1922 have raised their scale for total disability compensation) there are now sixteen laws paying 65% or 66% and only eleven as low as 50%.

The last \$10 a week maximum weekly payments were abolished in 1923. Eight states, including Louisiana very recently, and Hawaii, now have a weekly maximum of \$20 or more.

Twenty state laws now provide permanent total disability compensation for life.

### RAILROAD LABOR LEGISLATION

Successive conventions of the American Federation of Labor have unsparingly condemned the United States Railroad Labor Board created by the Esch-Cummins Act. Each year the conduct of the Board and the operation of this law has amply justified such condemnation. During the past year the Labor Board has continued to increase irritation and discord in the human relations on the railroads and has continued its policy of violating all the traditions of the industry, of bona fide trade unionism and of American citizenship.

The labor organizations on the railroads, confronted with this intolerable situation, after mature consideration and study of the problem, through their recognized leaders and in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, drafted a bill to abolish the Labor Board and the section of the statute under which it operates and to set up in its place a simple law, based upon the principles of voluntary collective bargaining and government aid in bringing about voluntary arbitration.

This Railway Labor Bill (also known as the Howell-Barkley Bill on account of its sponsors in Congress) imposes a general duty upon the carriers and their employes "to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements concerning wages and working conditions." The parties to any dispute are required to confer, and the Bill specifically safeguards such conferences by prohibiting either party from attempting to influence the other in the selection of its conference representatives.

Disputes over the application of existing agreements—called grievance disputes—which can not be settled in such conferences, must be referred to the appropriate Board of Adjustment. Four such Boards of Adjustment are set up by the Bill, each

to be composed equally of employes and carrier representatives, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from nominees submitted by the respective groups of workers, organizations and managers.

The bill prohibits changes in working conditions or wages until the machinery of the bill has been exhausted. Disputes over changes in existing agreements or the establishment of new rates of pay or working conditions, which can not be adjusted in conference, are not referred to the Boards of Adjustment. Such undecided disputes, together with any grievance disputes which can not be decided by the proper Board of Adjustment, are to be settled through a Board of Mediation and Conciliation, composed of five impartial experts, appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. The aid of this Board may be invoked "by either party, or it may proffer its services on its own motion." If mediation proves unsuccessful, then the Board of Mediation and Conciliation must urge the parties to submit their differences to arbitration. The bill provides specifically that arbitration is to be purely voluntary. The Board of Arbitration is to be composed of individuals selected by the parties, the neutral arbitrator to be selected by agreement of the parties or by the Board of Mediation. If voluntary arbitration is agreed to, the parties likewise agree to accept the award of such a Board of Arbitration and this contract and the resulting award may be enforced in the courts.

Before the introduction of this bill, numerous conferences were held between the railroad labor organization executives and their counsel, and with President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, Vice-President Woll and other representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The officers of the Railway organizations, including the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor, before finally deciding upon the draft of the bill to be introduced in Congress, were solicitous of securing the judgment of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with such suggestions as the Executive Council might make in reference to it, and to secure our endorsement of the measure.

The bill was considered at length and in every detail by us, and after a lengthy discussion the bill was not only endorsed but cooperation pledged in every honorable effort to secure its enactment by congress. Conferences were also held with the Secretary of Commerce, and an effort was made but without success to obtain the cooperation of the railroad executives, in the preparation of just and adequate legislation.

On February 28, 1924, the Railway Labor Bill was introduced into the Senate (as S. 2646) by the Honorable Robert B. Howell of Nebraska, Republican, and member of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, and in the House (as H. R. 7658) by the Honorable Alben W. Barkley, Democrat, ranking member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

In the Senate the Bill was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and a special subcommittee was promptly appointed to hold hearings on the bill. The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, dominated by reactionaries, granted no hearing, and it was made plain that it was their purpose to smother the Bill by failing to report it out of Committee.

On March 18, 1924, hearings on the bill were begun before the Senate subcommittee composed of Senators Couzens of Michigan, Chairman, Gooding of Idaho and Dill of Washington. The case for the bill was thoroughly presented by D. B. Robertson, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and Chairman of the Chief Executives Special Committee, and Donald R. Richberg, counsel for the railway labor organizations and representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The carriers opposed the bill, and a large number of railroad executives and general counsel swarmed to Washington in an effort to prevent its passage. Among the witnesses before the Special Committee composing the Bill were Alfred P. Thom, Chief Counsel, and Hale Holden, Chairman of the Association of Railway Executives, Carl R. Gray, President of the Union Pacific, P. F. Crowley, then Vice-President of the New York Central, and others. Ben W. Hooper, Chairman of the United States Railroad Labor Board, also appeared in opposition to the bill. The carriers also brought about the appearance of a number of "company union" representatives in opposition. The hearings closed on April 7, but due to the illness of Chairman Couzens no report was made until May 19, when the Bill

was favorably reported with amendments to the full Committee on Interstate Commerce. The Committee favorably reported the bill, with amendments, all of which with but one exception improved the bill. This report was presented to the Senate on June 6, too late for passage at the first session of Congress which adjourned June 7.

In order to get the bill out of the House Committee and on the floor of the House for consideration, Congressman Barkley took advantage of the new "Committee Discharge Rule." The petition filed by him under this rule was quickly signed by over 150 members of the House, and on May 5, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was discharged from further consideration of the bill. The opposition, led by the floor leader, Nicholas Longworth, then began a desperate parliamentary struggle to prevent a direct vote on the measure. These dilatory tactics were repeated each time the bill came up for consideration on May 5, May 19, and June 2.

During this battle in the House, representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of twenty organizations of railway and marine workers carried on a splendid campaign of education of members of both Houses winning increasing support of the bill. Other legislation favorable to the public interest was awaiting the consideration of the House; and rather than prevent its enactment by fighting out the filibuster with the opponents of the bill, the friends of the bill in the last week of Congress turned their attention to farm relief and other similar measures, and agreed to postpone a finished fight on the Howell-Barkley bill until the session of Congress which convenes December 1, 1924. Under the House rules the bill has special privilege over all other bills on the calendar on the first and third Mondays of each month until passed. The bill also is in a favorable position for consideration by the Senate. The fact that the Progressives have demonstrated a majority power in the Senate and that in the House on 24 roll calls the proponents of the bill never fell below a majority, seems to assure the enactment of the Howell-Barkley Bill into law during the December session, upon a renewal of the vigorous fight made at the last session.

In order to prevent a real understanding of the bill and thus prevent its passage, the railroads have resorted to an extraordinary campaign of misrepresentation, and for furthering this an organization called the "American Economic Institute," headed by A. H. Mulliken, president of a railway supply company, has been established by the railroads since the adjournment of Congress in June.

It is the intent and purpose of all of the forces of organized labor and of all friends desirous of maintaining the freedom of the workers and of promoting industrial peace, to carry on this fight insistently and vigorously for the abolition of the Railroad Labor Board, and the enactment of the Howell-Barkley Bill.

### OLD AGE PENSIONS

The Portland convention endorsed the principle of old age pensions and directed that an investigation be made by the Federation to promote federal and state legislation to provide protection for industrial workers no longer able to work at their accustomed occupations.

In considering the problem of federal legislation the constitutional difficulties at once appear as prohibitive barriers. In the states old age pension laws have been enacted for Arizona, Montana, Nevada and Pennsylvania.

In Arizona the law was declared unconstitutional because of a defect in the title and no attempt has since been made to reenact it.

In Montana and Nevada no attacks have as yet been made upon the constitutionality of the bill passed.

In Pennsylvania, however, the law was passed in the state legislature of 1923. A suit was instituted in the name of several tax paying private citizens attacking its constitutionality. The law was attacked on the ground that it violated Sections 7 and 18 of Article 3 of the Constitution of Pennsylvania as well as the 14th amendment of the Constitution of the United States. Section 18 of Article 3 of the state constitution provides as follows:

No appropriations, except for pensions or gratuities for military services shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes, to any person or community, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution, corporation or association.

In connection with this the old age pension law provided for the appropriation of moneys to a commission which in turn parceled the money out to those entitled under the law to receive it.

Section 7, Article 3 of the state constitution provides in part as follows:

The general assembly shall not pass any local or special law . . . .  
granting to any corporation association or individual any special privilege or  
immunity. . . .

The decision declaring the Pennsylvania law unconstitutional considered only technicalities and did not pass upon the fundamental principle of the law.

No effort should be spared to defend these old age pension laws against attacks. The laws represent a struggle to protect wage earners against dependence in their old age. In addition to these state laws concerning workers in private industry pensions have been provided for employes of the federal government and for a number of state and municipal civil servants. It would be desirable at some opportune time to have a study made of the principles underlying these pension systems for the purpose of increasing the protection given to government employes.

Inasmuch as the legislation to provide old age pensions is likely to prove a very uncertain source of protection and as the enactment of necessary law would be expensive both as to time and money, we believe that a study ought first to be made of old age pensions as provided by companies and that results of this study should be considered in connection with insurance possibilities.

The old age pension in principle attempts to do the same thing as the policies insurance companies are writing for "assured" incomes. In essence, all forms of life insurance are a method of prolonging the income producing capacity of the individual—whether during old age or after death.

In addition some of the national and international organizations make provisions for old age benefits through their economic organization.

We, therefore, deem it advisable that the problem of old age pension be made part of the larger problem of labor insurance upon which initial report is made to this convention. In order to give unity to our determination of policies it is necessary that we first decide upon the fundamental issue and make decisions upon related problems harmonize with our general plan of procedure.

It is evident that our trade unions must render increasing service to our membership to conform to our growing standards of industrial and social welfare, and the method for securing desired results must be given most careful and searching consideration in order that we establish agencies that will bring dependable and constructive results.

### PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 1 adopted by the Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to proceed to the Canal Zone at the earliest convenient date accompanied by such officials and attaches of the American Federation of Labor as he deemed necessary to make an investigation of labor conditions there owing to various changes detrimental to the wage earners made by executive order.

In accordance with these directions President Gompers proceeded to the Canal Zone, where he arrived January 1, 1924. He was accompanied by W. J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.; A. J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.; George F. Hedrick, President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; Luther C. Steward, President, National Federation of Federal Employes; G. M. Bugnizet, Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; W. C. Hushing, Washington Legislative Representative of Panama Canal Employes.

Eight days were given to the investigation, at the conclusion of which a letter was written to Jay J. Morrow, Governor of the Panama Canal, setting forth the grievances of the Canal employes and urging that certain changes absolutely necessary be made. This letter was presented to Governor Morrow in his office in the Canal Zone on January 7. It was learned that Governor Morrow was to leave for Washington on January 10 and

he was requested to bring about a conference in that city between himself and the labor committee, the representatives of the Canal Zone employes and the Secretary of War.

When the committee returned to Washington a letter to Secretary of War Weeks was prepared and submitted to him on January 31, which contained the following grievances and recommendations:

1. The employes object to the employment of aliens above the grade of laborers or messengers.

We recommend all positions be filled by American citizens or such labor as is covered by the agreement with the Republic of Panama.

2. The employes object to the increases made in the number of positions occupied by officers from the United States military forces in the past two years.

We recommend that the replacement of civilian employes in all departments by military officers be discontinued.

3. Complaints about crowding of commissaries.

We find this complaint justified as set forth before Governor Morrow.

4. Cost of living on the Canal Zone.

We understand that many purchases of supplies for the Canal Zone commissaries are not made as advantageously as by large firms or corporations in the United States, and in addition the goods must be transported over thousands of miles of land and water, which, of course, adds to the cost.

The employes also protest against the dissemination of information to the effect that living costs are lower on the Canal Zone than in the United States and that goods are purchased in army and navy commissaries at cost prices. This statement is not borne out by the report of the Governor of the Panama Canal Zone for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923, as on page 22 under the caption "Commissary System," it is stated the profit for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923, amounted to \$392,806.98.

We submit that the commissaries on the Panama Canal Zone should not be conducted for profit but for the convenience of the workers in the service of the zone and their dependents.

5. Quarters.

This subject was covered in our meetings with Governor Morrow. We would like to add, however, that many of these quarters are not fit for occupancy by Americans and that the photographs that have been broadcasted of the Prado at Balboa (which feature the few concrete quarters on the zone that are the most habitable) do not give a fair or correct idea of the housing facilities of the Panama Canal for its employes and their families.

We believe that a great deal of the discontent of the employes of the canal is brought about on account of the housing conditions. There is no privacy for the employes and their families. The partitions between most rooms and apartments are made of one board thickness and do not go clear up to the ceiling, there being about a two-foot deep lattice from the ceiling instead of the board for the partition wall. It must be realized that with such conditions it might just as well be one large room partitioned off by curtains, as such type of construction would be no more offensive to domestic privacy than the present set up in the buildings that house the employes and their families.

We, therefore, firmly believe that an individual cottage or concrete apartment such as those on the Prado for each employe and his family with sufficient ground space around would be the proper condition and would aid in overcoming many disadvantages existing in being located in the tropical climate on the canal.

6. Vacations.

We favor the present vacations. As laymen, we have come to this conclusion after perusing the writings of authorities high in the medical profession who are all in agreement that the tropics are not healthful for white

men and that they must spend a period of time in a temperate clime in order to maintain their health.

We understand that government officials do not question this point. We wish, however, to point out that the cost of these necessary vacations amounts, to 30 per cent of the annual salaries of the employes.

7. We find many other matters that carry great weight in the aggregate, such as the necessary jitney service entailing considerable expenditure on the part of the employes and the excessively large supply of clothing necessary which is difficult to preserve.

In regard to the jitney service, attention is called to the facts that on the Canal Zone:

(a) There is practically no street car service.

(b) Walking any considerable distance in the tropical heat is injurious and dangerous to white men, women and children, and rarely do even the colored employes walk any considerable distance.

(c) The men and women in the service are required to ride from the abodes to their places of employment and return.

(d) Women making their purchases from the commissaries have to ride of necessity in the jitneys every day.

(e) The minimum fare of the jitneys is 15 cents.

8. Twenty-five per cent over United States government rates as paid in continental United States.

When free rent, etc., was in effect, this percentage was not quite sufficient, but since the withdrawal of the free rent, etc., it is far from being adequate for the compensation of the employes for their services on the zone, and in addition approximately 50 per cent of the employes do not receive that differential even now.

9. Free rent, etc., which had always been enjoyed up to January 1, 1922, by the employes, is, in our opinion something of which they should not have been deprived for the many reasons they, as well as a previous Canal Zone Governor, have from time to time cited.

10. A two-platoon system for firemen is urged.

Secretary Weeks listened attentively to the reading of the letter. He stated that while some of the matters could be taken up at that conference it was better that an answer be prepared in which all the subjects it contained could be answered at the same time. He said, however, that the question of the two-platoon system for the firemen could be adjusted by the officials on the Zone. Later such a sort of system was introduced, but it was not as acceptable as the firemen desired.

Governor Morrow announced that it would be necessary for him to return to the Canal Zone before an answer could be prepared. It was, therefore, June 7 before Governor Morrow had written an answer for Secretary of War Weeks to the complaints made by the labor representatives. The Governor boiled the grievances down to two as follows:

(a) Rent and allied changes and the possibility of an increase in the 25% increment over state rates.

(b) Employment of aliens.

Governor Morrow recommended that the requests of the Labor representatives be refused, and entered into a lengthy argument to combat the evidence submitted by the committee.

Exception was taken by the Labor committee to his conclusions. It was clearly set forth that Governor Morrow in his statements of fact had sustained the major contentions of the committee, and had made clear the justice of the claims made by the committee that there should be either a restitution of the conditions abolished by Executive order or a substitute therefor of a 35% differential between the Canal Zone rates of pay and rates in the United States.

As to the Governor's position on the question of employing aliens, practically all of whom are negroes from the British West Indies, the only comment that can



be made is that it was un-American. Of the 7945 alien negroes on the pay roll 3286 are holding positions above that of laborer and messenger, which in some instances is a violation of the Civil Service laws. They are taking the places of American citizens employed in the building industry and practically in every other class of employment. It was the contention of the labor committee that no aliens, whatever, should be employed on the Canal Zone.

While the Army and Navy are conducting a campaign for preparedness it is strange that they would ignore the fact that on the Canal Zone for every American citizen employed there are nearly four subjects of foreign governments.

The Executive Council recommends that the effort to secure justice for the employes of the Canal Zone be continued until success is attained.

### PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Immediately upon adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Portland, Oreg., the Executive Council considered and acted upon Resolution No. 84, approved by that convention. This resolution set forth the complaint that by reason of lower standards of working conditions and payment for services rendered by the wage earners in the Philippine Islands, many of the products of oriental and other sorts of lower paid labor were being imported duty free and in direct competition with products of the workers in the United States. It likewise contained the recommendation and instruction that the Executive Council should appoint a special committee to visit the Philippine Islands and report on conditions against which complaint was made.

Thoughtful consideration of the resolution led the Executive Council to reach the conclusion that for the time being at least it was inadvisable and undesirable to send a special committee to the Philippine Islands especially in view of the fact that other methods might be invoked before such a comprehensive undertaking should be entered into. Consequently, the Executive Council directed an inquiry to be made of this subject by the organizations directly and primarily interested.

As a result of this inquiry a conference was called for the purpose herein indicated and as outlined in the resolution.

This conference was called on February 11, 1924, at a time when the Executive Council was meeting, thus making it possible for the Executive Council to render such further assistance as the conference might determine.

The following organizations were invited to participate in that conference:

Bakery and Confectionery Workers; Boot and Shoe Workers; Carpenters and Joiners; Cigarmakers; Electrical Workers; United Garment Workers; Hotel and Restaurant Employes; Longshoremen; Machinists; Musicians; Seamen; Tobacco Workers; Typographical Union.

Upon the recommendation of this conference and after further consideration of the entire subject matter, the Executive Council adopted the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby respectfully and earnestly urged to amend the import laws, in so far as they relate to the importation of manufactured products, from the Philippine Islands, to the effect that all manufactured products from the Islands shall be subject to the same import duty provided for and collected from all foreign countries.

*Resolved*, That we respectfully petition and urge the Congress of the United States to forthwith grant the earnest prayer and petitions of the Filipinos—the right to exercise in full, liberty, freedom and self-government.

Nine bills have been introduced in Congress, all relating to the independence of the Philippines. Only two of these bills have been considered by the Committee on Insular Affairs—H. J. Res. 131, by Representative Cooper, of Wisconsin, and H. R. 7319, by Representative Fairchild, of Indiana. The Philippine Commission favors H. J. Res. 131.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the Committee on Insular Affairs and urged the adoption of the resolution for Philippine independence. No action has been taken by Congress up to the present time.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The American labor movement has endorsed and actively supported policies and principles of education which today constitute a comprehensive program of education. The program falls into two main divisions: education of our youth, and education of adults. For the education of America's youth, labor helped to promote and develop our public school system; for adult education, we have advocated and do advocate voluntary agencies and adequate opportunities for all. To put this comprehensive educational program into effect requires central planning and the coordinated activity of all unions affiliated to our Federation.

*Local Committees on Education*

In order to provide permanent machinery for sustained work, your committee has been urging state federations of labor and central bodies to authorize local standing committees on education to cooperate with our committee and to be responsible for carrying on labor's program locally. We have been advised of the appointment of a number of such committees, but not all local bodies have responded. As such local committees are the agencies through which our work must be accomplished, we have sent repeated requests for action and shall continue to urge compliance until a full roster is reported. These committees are to be responsible for all education work both for unions and adults and an educational directory has been printed in cooperation with the Workers Education Bureau of America.

Our committee hopes to constitute a central clearing house so that labor experience with educational methods and developments in each locality may be used for the assistance and service of the labor movement.

*Decisions for Educational Policies*

Upon fundamental principles it is necessary that the national movement make decisions and our central committee must collect the facts of experience upon which decisions are to be based. It is of utmost importance that decisions of policy be made only after careful examination of adequate facts and experience and that local groups consult with the national committee before making final pronouncement upon principles which are general in application or significance.

School organization and methods of instruction are necessarily changing in order to perfect our educational procedure. Again and again the attitude of labor to such changes comes under question and in order to promote most surely the welfare of all our people, it is necessary that decisions be made only in the light of full understanding of the method or principle under discussion and after consideration of all factors and sources of information.

We must seek to achieve that very difficult attitude—impartial judgment influenced only by facts and experience. It not infrequently has happened that a method or a theory has been discredited because wrongly applied or because an interested group excluded certain data or information.

One of the significant and fundamental trends in the educational field of today is that which is attempting to disclose and define those agencies of culture which were ignored by the old classical education and to find in industry and the things of daily life that which will develop habits of constructive and creative thought and bring beauty and harmony into living. It has therefore become of greatest importance that our judgment of new proposals shall be guided by a fundamental philosophy and not hampered by stereotyped standards evolved by the concepts of culture of limited groups. As education grows to more democratic standards of service it will find new currents and higher levels which will more fully represent the educational needs of a greatly diverse group. Necessarily there will be changes and specialization but to confuse such developments with an effort to set up invidious distinctions is to obstruct an agency of real democracy. We must find the method whereby people in all walks of life may share in culture that leads to service and a higher vision of living.

It is in this scientific spirit and with faith in the possibilities of democratic pro-

gress that we propose to invite study of such pressing problems as junior high schools, the platoon or work-study-play system, intelligence tests, etc. Some of these problems local groups have investigated and made reports in diametric conflict, one with another. It is obvious that unity of decision is most essential. We hope during the coming year to study these reports and conditions and facts upon which they were based to determine whether such conclusions represent well-founded or only apparent conflicts.

#### *Teaching of Social Studies*

In continuance of the work begun with the survey of the teaching of social studies, we have sent copies of the confidential report on text books to authors and publishing companies. Communications received relative to this confidential report indicate that the report has served to point out the contribution labor has made to our national progress and social development. We may expect to find the effects of the investigation and report evident in the broader and more unified presentation of national life in future text books. We should expect gradual but definite progress.

#### *Vocational Education*

The labor movement is the agency that can best indicate the relations between work and education and can fittingly insist that the work process shall be permitted to render its full cultural service. For these reasons labor has emphasized vocational problems in education. But in no case has that emphasis been for the purpose of excluding other phases. Rather to add the elements necessary for the development of the whole field of education as a unit.

If labor is to make its specific contribution to this field of vocational education, it is of primary importance that a trade unionist of high standing and repute in our movement be selected for the commissioner of the Federal Board for Vocational Education representing labor. The Senate adjourned without confirming President Coolidge's appointment for this office and we urge that strong presentations be made to the President and to the Senate that only a trade unionist understanding the problems and best interests of the service be appointed to this office.

We further urge that in connection with local administration of vocational education, both state and municipal, the local central body recommend advisory boards upon which labor shall have adequate representation. Such close contacts are necessary not only for the best direction of plans and policies but for the information of the labor movement. Public schools have very generally taken over apprentice training which formerly was under union control; hence it becomes doubly necessary for labor to be identified with the determination of policies for industrial education and vocational training.

#### *I. Trade Education*

We urged upon every national and international organization to provide opportunities for advanced technical education for your membership. Trade manuals and correspondence courses ought to be available for members seeking to improve their craftsmanship.

As elementary vocational training is usually under public school supervision or else is provided by the industry, we urge organizations to secure representation in the agencies controlling and directing this kind of education.

#### *II. Adult Education*

In no field of its educational activity can labor point with a greater measure of satisfaction than to adult education. For in this field are to be found both comprehensive plans and substantial accomplishment. Adult workers' education is the witness that the world of labor and the world of culture that seemed to be drawing apart in our rapidly developing industrialism has in fact found a basis of accord. Because of their reciprocal needs they should be joined in common bond. For no culture which

is achieved without some form of creative labor is worthy of the name culture. And no labor which is uniformed by such cultural standards as service or use or beauty dignifies sustained human activity.

In this linking anew of labor and education, labor has disclosed a vast new opportunity for creative participation not only in the product of education but in its process. For all education whether adolescent or adult is essentially self-education. In labor's untiring advocacy of free public instruction for the children of all the people; in its championship of vocational instruction, continuation schools and night classes, it has conceived such educational agencies as indispensable for the adequate instruction of our youth and has assumed this civic responsibility for the future citizenship of our country. In labor's active participation in the adult workers' educational movement, it has assumed a new civic responsibility for itself. Labor recognizes that adult education is not to be regarded as a luxury for a few nor as the concern for a short period of early manhood but is an indispensable necessity of intelligent and constructive citizenship in democracy. Indeed, it conditions the character of democracy whether it be political, industrial or social.

#### *Workers Education Bureau*

During the past three years the American Federation of Labor has made a distinct and definite contribution to the adult education movement in the United States through the Workers Education Bureau with which it forms an organic part. That organic relationship has been mutually beneficial and is essentially sound. For the principles of voluntary effort and local autonomy which form in part the basic principles of the American labor movement, form as well the basic principles of adult education. Moreover, the educational achievement which has resulted from the reciprocal relationship must stand in refutation to the assertion that labor is interested only in material advantage and not in cultural opportunities.

The 43rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor outlines the practical steps for the development of this movement throughout our country so adequately that we venture to present here again these three specific proposals which set forth with admirable brevity the goal to be achieved and the method to be pursued.

1. That we recommend to the workers of this country, through the channels provided for them by the American Federation of Labor, the establishment of study classes for the free and impartial study of such problems as are of interest to them, and that they avail themselves of the educational advice of the Workers Education Bureau in the organization and conduct of such classes.

2. That we recommend that each State Federation of Labor establish a permanent educational department and provide an educational director to cooperate actively with the Workers Education Bureau in providing adequately for the educational needs of the organized workers in every state in the United States.

3. That we recommend that the National and International Unions, City Central Bodies and other affiliated organizations appoint permanent educational committees to cooperate fully in the development of this movement; and we further recommend that these organizations undertake active affiliation with the Workers Education Bureau.

The response which these proposals have brought from the various bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor has been most encouraging. Forty-one of the leading national and international unions have already undertaken active affiliation with the Workers Education Bureau in the promotion of this educational work representing as it does over seventy per cent of the entire membership of the Federation. Nine state federations have undertaken active affiliation; ten more have taken affirmative action for affiliation or set up educational departments or provided permanent educational committees. Of these, three state federations of Labor have established educational departments and have appointed educational directors. Fifty-one Central Labor

Bodies, District Councils and local unions are in affiliation, while sixty-seven more educational committees have been duly appointed.

#### *Study Classes*

During the past year over thirty thousand adult workers have been actively engaged in studying economic and industrial problems in the various trade union colleges and study classes which now exist in upwards of two hundred industrial centers in thirty states of the union. In the summer of 1924 no less than five different summer schools and institutes were provided for the workers. Over three hundred thousand trade unionists were provided with mass education of one kind or another by illustrated lectures in union halls, addresses, and debates on industrial subjects. Through a popular lecture service prepared under the direction of the Workers Education Bureau and issued fortnightly for publication in the official journals of all the affiliated organizations, a much larger percentage of the entire Federation membership was included in this educational service.

#### *International Conference on Workers' Education*

At the Second International Conference on Workers' Education which was held at Ruskin College, Oxford, England, in August, 1924, President Gompers sent the following letter which was presented formally to the delegates by Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr.:

The participation of Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers Education Bureau of America in the Second World Conference on Workers' Education affords a most welcome opportunity to send greetings from American labor to those gathered in furtherance of a purpose so fundamentally necessary to the progress of the labor movement. Our efforts to make democratic ideals effective in every relation of life have convinced America's workers that only through the revealing unity of higher levels of information can we meet the problems of each distinctive relationship in such a way that all our efforts shall accord with an integrated vision of the possibilities of human life.

In the labor movement we have found that our progress depends upon our adoption and use of educational methods. The same principle we have found equally valid for other problems growing out of group experience whether political, social or economic. So profoundly is the need of higher knowledge revealed in every relationship of life and work that American labor is finding the necessity of maintaining continuous opportunities for information for those of different kinds of experience and attainment. We have now reached that stage in our educational planning where we must give thought to developing broader opportunities for adult education.

We want to make available for all workers and citizens opportunities to develop such capacities, discrimination and self-dependence that each shall be able to make of work and life continuous educational experience, interpreting and broadening the purpose of life itself.

If we would see life clearly and see it whole, we must understand our daily job in its relation to ourselves, to the community, to the nation and to all life. We wage earners want to know how to interpret the mass of experiences and information that crowd our daily lives. We want the kind of education that will enable us to have the sustained purposefulness that comes from understanding our problem and competency to make our own decisions.

Through our trade unions we have been helping to establish such industrial standards as are preparatory to making production processes educational so that our factories and shops may be in spirit and in fact educational enterprises. This is the same purpose we seek to further by regulating the hours of work, increasing our purchasing capacity and securing for ourselves such standards of industrial equity as accord with the self-respect of free workers. As our trade unions become increasingly effective we are disclosing new needs

for educational activity. Because I am appreciative of this tendency and its implications I am glad to send greetings on behalf of American labor to a world-gathering which can do much to strengthen and stimulate workers' education in all countries.

Sixty delegates from twenty nations representing over one million working-class students and five fraternal delegates from international unions were present at this historic three-day conference. The following resolutions were passed by the conference:

1. Formation of Workers' Educational International.

2. International pay for Workers' Education.

To provide funds for—

(a) The collection and compilation of information of interest to organizations concerned with workers' education.

(b) The publication of a review and of other reports, and of translations of publications of use to workers' educational associations.

(c) Assisting the exchange of students, of teachers, and of visitors between different countries.

(d) Assisting the organization of summer schools.

(e) Establishing an International Workers' College.

(f) Meeting office expenses entailed in the foregoing proposals.

3. International Institute for Workers' Psychology.

The International Education Committee elected by the Conference consists of the following: J. W. Bowen (Great Britain), J. W. Brown (I. F. T. U.), C. W. Bramsnaes (Denmark), M. Januix (Switzerland), C. Mertens (Belgium), S. Miller, Jr. (United States) and R. Weimann (Germany).

#### Conclusion

Two conclusion may be made from this impressive record of accomplishments: First, American labor is fundamentally interested in those cultural opportunities which make for an enlargement of vision and the fuller life of the entire citizenship; secondly, upon the development and extension of adult workers' education to the entire membership of the Federation the future of the American labor movement depends.

We hope that in the coming year every labor union and labor organization will authorize an educational agency to assure responsibility for meeting the educational needs of its own membership and to cooperate for the position of general educational understandings and purposes.

MATTHEW WOLL, *Chairman*,  
 GEORGE W. PERKINS,  
 JOHN P. FREY,  
 CHARLES L. BAINE,  
 CHARLES B. STILLMAN.

We recommend the adoption of the report of the Committee on Education. We also recommend that the Permanent Committee on Education and the A. F. of L. Bureau of Cooperative Societies be consolidated into a committee to be known as a Committee on Education and Cooperation.

#### AMERICAN LEGION

Cordial relations between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have been continued throughout the year. Indeed, there has constantly developed a greater spirit of fraternity and natural helpfulness, not founded merely upon an accord in leadership but predicated upon a common understanding of the true purposes underlying our respective organizations.

In the spirit of strengthening the bond of fraternity and of helpfulness the Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor urged the attendance of

and words of greeting and encouragement by President Gompers at the convention of the American Legion, held in San Francisco, Calif., immediately after the adjournment of that convention. This mission was fulfilled and in a most commendable manner. The reception tendered President Gompers and the helpful cooperation that followed as a consequence is indicative of the good judgment exercised in promoting and perpetuating that cordial relationship which exists between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor.

A like invitation was extended to the American Federation of Labor this year by the American Legion. President Gompers found it impossible to respond in person to this evidence of friendship and cooperation. Mr. George L. Berry, President of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistant Union was delegated instead to represent the American Federation of Labor on this occasion and did so in a manner commendable to himself and creditable to the American Federation of Labor.

Reflecting upon the cordial relations having heretofore governed our attitude toward the American Legion, and the beneficial understandings having developed as a consequence we have no hesitancy in recommending a continuance of that understanding and relationship. Indeed we are of the firm conviction that that relationship has been of service not alone to the members of our respective organizations but to our common citizenship and the democratic institutions of our great Republic.

### LABOR AND THE FARMERS

Common problems and mutual needs have many times in the past brought labor and the farmer together in support of constructive measures. Farmers and industrial workers are the world's basic producers and consequently both groups are vitally interested in finding and utilizing the principles that make for continuous progress and well-being of themselves and those they serve.

Realizing the identity of interests of these two great producing groups, certain exploiting organizations have attempted to create dissensions and to spread propaganda misrepresenting opinions within these groups, thereby sowing the seed of lack of confidence.

To defeat such mischievous activity we recommend that from time to time there be conferences between the representatives of the farmers and the representatives of labor, that there be greater publicity for facts, and agreement for cooperation upon mutually satisfactory undertakings, political and economic.

### WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

In accord with the instructions of the Portland convention conferences have been held to develop plans for the better organization of wage earning women. Preparatory to the first conference, an effort was made to ascertain the size of the problem. Our inquiry disclosed that there are approximately 3,500,000 women over fifteen years of age employed in industry of whom about 200,000 are members of trade unions. Two conferences of all national organizations concerned and a number of committee meetings were held in our effort to develop a plan for action and the necessary funds for its creation.

The Executive Council asked for a full report on the conferences and the plan outlining methods by which we hope to inaugurate a campaign for the better organization of women. After considering the whole situation the council felt that because of the very few pledges of substantial support to a separate and distinctive movement confined to organizing women wage earners, it was obvious that general concerted action would be impracticable. Furthermore, the council felt that the plan outlined would inevitably set up a bureau which would be in a position to encroach upon the prerogatives of the internationals concerned and the American Federation of Labor. The council held that this danger could be averted if the work of organizing came under the direction of the executive officers and supervision of the Executive Council itself. Because of the business depression and consequent wide-spread unemployment of the present time as well as the concentration of interest on the political campaign the council felt that the immediate future would not be a wise period in which to launch an extensive organizing campaign

but believed that it should prepare and hold itself in readiness to inaugurate a movement with the cooperation of interested international organizations just as soon as a propitious time should come.

The problem of organizing women in industry presents a perplexing difficulty in that by many of the girls and women such employment is regarded as merely temporary. British experience indicates that the turn-over in women's unions is nearly complete in five years. This means that aggressive organizing work in shops and factories employing women must be continuous. However, the fact that these women leave industry does not mean their influence is lost to the labor movement. As home-makers, as the wives of trade unionists, and in other relationships of life, they have influence through purchasing, in formulating public opinion, and their use of the ballot.

Such women are enfranchised and this is an additional reason why they should understand the labor movement and its purposes. As it becomes increasingly obvious that there is an identity of interest of men and women as workers and as voting citizens, it is evident that our plans for organization and education must be better balanced so as to assure coordination and cooperation of all.

After carefully studying the plans developed in the conferences held during the past year as well as the difficulties of organizing work, judgment and experience compel the following recommendations:

1. That responsibility for organizing women in industry be left in the hands of the Executive Council at the opportune time with the cooperation of international unions to initiate a drive in such localities as to them seem advisable. As this is primarily an administrative function it should be handled as such.
2. That the Federation can promote the organization of women in industry by making available informational sources and material and by carrying on the educational work necessary to better understanding of the problem of women in industry and the necessity for constructive action.
3. And to endeavor to secure the cooperation of all interested in the protection and the promotion through organization of the rights and interests of the women wage earners of America.

#### REPORT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR BUREAU OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

*To the Executive Council:*

Pursuant to custom we submit for your consideration the report of the American Federation of Labor Bureau of Cooperative Societies.

Since the last convention the Bureau has fully discharged all obligations in so far as its limited time and resources permitted. All queries concerning the cooperative movement addressed to the Bureau have been answered, and circulars, documents and other matter in hand have been distributed wherever occasion presented itself.

The true productive cooperative movement is not familiar to or thoroughly understood by a great many of those who feel that some effort in the direction of cooperation should be made. The less knowledge there is of the fundamentals of cooperation the more enthusiasm. If the Bureau has done nothing else it perhaps justifies its existence by guiding misdirected enthusiasm in the right direction and placing before these impatient cooperators a true knowledge of the cooperative movement, its difficulties, its dangers, and the advisability of being perfectly familiar with the productive cooperative movement before attempting to launch the movement in that direction.

At the Portland Convention, 1923, among other things, the Bureau stated:

The insurance business is some indication of what cooperation can do. In the life insurance companies there are fifty billion dollars involved, eight billions of which amount are cash. Forty million policies are in force. These insurance companies are surrounded by state and national laws to such an extent that they do not fail. They furnish millions of dollars to the company owners and employment to a large army of agents whose sole duty is to sell insurance. An insurance company run under the Rochdale cooperative system



would have to predicate its policy on the insurance laws and it could not fail. The enormous cost of maintaining the selling forces and the profits which now go to the private owners of these concerns could and would be turned back to the cooperators in the shape of dividends or to a reserve fund, the possibilities of which are unlimited.

In view of the foregoing and being mindful of the action taken at the Portland Convention by the adoption of a resolution authorizing the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate or cause an investigation to be made concerning the possibilities and advisability of the establishment by the national and international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor of a joint insurance company owned and controlled by organized labor, we have limited this report and recommendation to the statement made and just quoted.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

G. W. PERKINS,  
*Chairman,*  
JOHN H. WALKER,  
*Secretary,*  
ARTHUR E. HOLDER,  
W. D. MAHON,  
ELIZABETH CHRISTMAN,  
JOHN J. MANNING,  
*Bureau of Cooperative Societies.*

#### A. F. OF L. NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

The Executive Council and the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee conducted an aggressive campaign in the interest of Senators La Follette and Wheeler for president and vice-president, respectively, and for the election of a forward-looking Congress.

As the election is not to be held until November 4, after the Executive Council's report shall be in print, it is deemed advisable to wait until the result is known to make a report on the non-partisan political campaign. This will be submitted to the convention as a supplement to the Executive Council's report.

#### TRADE UNION LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The Trade Union Legislative Conference Committee was organized May 26, 1921, for the purpose of uniting all legislative representatives in Washington so that they could work collectively for all measures of interest to labor and the people and against all measures in the interest strictly of the privileged few.

Through the meetings of this conference committee every legislative representative learns what bills are before Congress and which of them should be opposed or supported, and a coordinated program of work is developed.

The formation of the conference committee was one of the most practical moves for beneficial legislation that could have been made by the American Federation of Labor.

#### REPORT ON LABOR LEGISLATION

*Summary of Legislation Considered by the Sixty-Eighth Congress, From December 3, 1923, to March 4, 1924*

##### *Favorable Bills Passed by the Sixty-Eighth Congress*

- H. R. 8143, White of Maine—For protection of Alaskan Fisheries—(Public No. 204.)
- H. R. 7041, Vaile of Colorado—Review of awards for compensation for injuries, government employes—(Public No. 196.)
- H. R. 5855, Reed of West Virginia.—Increase in salaries for police and firemen, District of Columbia—(Public No. 148.)
- H. R. 7962, Lampert of Wisconsin—Extension of District of Columbia rent act—(Public No. 119.)

H. R. 6357, Rogers of Massachusetts—For reorganization and improvement of foreign service of United States—(Public No. 135.)

H. R. 7996, Kiess of Pennsylvania—To regulate and fix wages of employes of Government Printing Office—(Public No. 276.)

H. R. 7995, Johnson of Washington—To limit immigration into the United States—(Public No. 139.)

H. R. 7959, Green of Iowa—Adjusted compensation for veterans of world war—(Public No. 120.)

H. R. 6721, Keller of Minnesota—Increase in salaries for teachers of District of Columbia—(Public No. 188.)

H. R. 5478, Dallinger of Massachusetts—Appropriating \$1,000,000 annually for three years for use of states in vocational rehabilitation work, etc.—(Public No. 200.)

H. J. Res. 184, Foster of Ohio—To limit, regulate and prohibit labor of children under 18 years. (To be ratified by the states.)

### Congress

Because of the non-partisan political campaign of 1922 the Sixty-Eighth Congress proved to be more receptive for remedial legislation not only for Labor, but for the people generally. It is true that there are still a large number of the reactionaries in this Congress, but so many of those who served in the Sixty-Seventh Congress were relegated to private life in that election that those who were reelected did not have sufficient influence to control the members of their respective parties. This inability of the old guard to rule developed in the early days of the organization of both House and Senate.

Labor has no complaint to make against the Sixty-Eighth Congress, as there are a sufficient number of members who are faithful to the people and who will prevent the passage of malevolent legislation, and at the same time enact benevolent legislation.

There were 6,481 bills and resolutions introduced in the House and 3,917 in the Senate.

Many of these bills and resolutions are favorable to the interest of the wage earners and the people generally. Many others are inimical to the interests of the wage earners and the people. *Not one measure opposed by labor was enacted into law in the first session of Congress.* Eleven measures that were approved by the A. F. of L. and in favor of which representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared were passed by both Houses and enacted into law. Many other measures favored by Labor were passed either in the Senate or in the House but failed because of lack of action in the other body. These measures are still on the calendar and some of them at least will be considered at the next session of this congress.

The bill providing for adequate wage increases for the postal employes was passed by both Houses by an overwhelming majority but was vetoed by the President with the statement that a majority of the postal employes were now receiving wages that could be favorably compared with wages for like service in private industry, and further that the bill proposed did not provide for an increase of revenue for the postal service to cover expenses of the proposed wage increase. There is no doubt but that this bill would have been passed over the President's veto and enacted into law but for the fact that the veto message reached Congress on the day of adjournment. A filibuster by Senator Spencer of Missouri prevented consideration of the veto by the Senate. According to the rules a veto must be first considered by the House in which the bill originated and the filibuster in the Senate blocked consideration of the veto message in the House also. We confidently expect that the consideration of the postal employes wage increase bill over the President's veto will be one of the first measures to be taken up by the Congress when it reconvenes and that this bill will be passed over the President's veto and become a law.

### Child Labor

A meeting of the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor was called by President Gompers, the chairman, prior to the reconvening of the Sixty-Eighth Congress. After much discussion and a series of meetings with Senators Mc-

Cormick, Shortridge, Walsh of Montana, and Pepper of Pennsylvania, a form of amendment was decided upon. It reads as follows:

SECTION 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

SECTION 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

Lengthy hearings had been held during the life of the Sixty-Seventh Congress before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Judiciary. The personnel of the subcommittee appointed in the Sixty-Eighth Congress to consider the Child Labor Amendment was the same as that which considered a similar measure in the Sixty-Seventh Congress. Therefore that committee decided to refer to the record and hold no further hearings. In the house, hearings were held before the Committee of the Judiciary, sitting as a whole. Representatives of organized labor offered arguments in favor of the enactment of the amendment. Representatives of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the churches, women's organizations and other organizations were heard in favor of the amendment. The National Manufacturers' Association, representatives of mill owners in the south and Capitalists whose homes were in the northern states but who have interest in the profits derived from child labor in industries in other sections of the country, appeared in opposition to the measure.

The Committees on Judiciary of the House and Senate reported the amendment favorably to the respective houses. Attempts were made on the floor of the House and on the floor of the Senate to emasculate the amendment. Amendments were offered to exempt certain industries and callings. Other amendments proposed were to the effect that 16 years of age should be substituted for the 18-year age maximum proposed in the amendment. All of the proposed amendments were defeated and the amendment was adopted in the House by a vote of 297 to 69. It passed the Senate by a vote of 61 to 23. The amendment is now before the various states for ratification.

#### *Immigration*

In the early session of the Sixty-Eighth Congress many bills were introduced in the House and Senate for the purpose of regulating immigration to the United States. The law limiting the number of immigrants that could be admitted to the United States expired on July 1, 1924.

Representative Johnson of Washington, chairman of the Committee on Immigration, introduced H. R. 7995 which became a law. It provides for a quota limitation based on 2 per cent of the number of residents in this country of the various nationals as computed in the 1890 census. The following exemptions are provided for and those exempted will be admitted as non-quota immigrants:

An immigrant who is the unmarried child under 18 years of age, father or mother over 55 years of age, husband, or wife, of a citizen of the United States who resides therein at the time of the filing of a petition.

An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of, carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denomination, or professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university.

An immigrant who is a skilled laborer, if labor of like kind unemployed can not be found in this country.

An immigrant who is a bona fide student over 18 years of age and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited college, academy.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor asked for a law that would provide for total suspension of immigration for a period of five years or longer. Failing to secure this they obeyed the mandates of the Portland convention by supporting the

measure that would afford the closest approximation of their original demands. Objections were made by various racial groups who held that the law was discriminatory against some nationals and unduly favored other nationals.

Mr. James E. Emery, representing the National Manufacturers' Association, appeared before the committee and suggested in lieu of the proposed law what he was pleased to call "an elastic immigration policy." His idea of an elastic policy was that the employers shall be permitted to go abroad, place men under contract abroad, on wages that would seem satisfactory abroad, and bring them here if it could be shown to a commission consisting of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor that like labor could not be secured in this country. Of course, under the conditions of contracts such as could be secured in distracted Europe at this time "like labor" at the wages for which labor could be secured there could not be found in this country. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor pointed out that the adoption of the policy suggested by Mr. Emery for the Manufacturers' Association would result in driving American labor out of all industry and converting the industrial centers of this country into huge contract labor concentration camps.

The new immigration law provides for rigid exclusion of all Asiatics. The Department of State and the President of the United States urged that this section insofar as it affected Japan be changed and that the provisions of the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" be allowed to remain in force, or, failing that, exception be made to admit Japanese nationals the same as other nationals subject to the quota. The Japanese exclusion provision was assured when Mr. Hanihara, Ambassador to this country from Japan, wrote a letter to the State Department which called attention to the possibility of "grave consequences" if the exclusion measure was passed.

The provisions of the immigration bill dealing with alien seamen are somewhat vague and might have been misconstrued by executives inimical to the provisions of the seamen's law, but for the vigilance of Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union. Mr. Furuseth called attention to the possibility of misconstruing the provisions as contained in the bill and his protest brought such clear pronouncements on the floor of the Senate and of the House from the proponents of the measure that the intent of the provisions dealing with alien seamen can not be misconstrued.

#### *Railroad Legislation—Howell-Barkley Bill*

Experiences with the labor sections of the Esch-Cummins law justified the opposition of the American Federation of Labor and the railroad organizations to those clauses when they were first proposed. The representatives of the railroad organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and representatives of the railroad brotherhoods prepared a bill. This was submitted to President Gompers and by him to the Executive Council. It was endorsed as being a step towards industrial democracy. The bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Howell of Nebraska (S. 2646) and in the House by Representative Barkley of Kentucky (H. R. 7358). It is known as the Howell-Barkley bill. Hearings were held before a subcommittee of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate. Senator Couzens was chairman of the subcommittee. After hearings extending over three weeks the subcommittee reported the measure favorably to the committee and the committee ordered it to be favorably reported to the Senate.

Representative Winslow is chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the House. Many representatives of labor appealed to him personally for a hearing on the Howell-Barkley bill before his committee. He received them with scant courtesy and even went so far as to tell some of them that he did not intend there should be any hearings upon that measure. A committee headed by President Gompers waited upon Chairman Winslow and asked for hearings. He told them the bill would not be considered at that session of Congress; that other measures had precedence over it. It was then determined to invoke the rule adopted in the early days of the session by which 150 members could demand that a vote be taken on the question: "Shall any given measure be taken out of the hands of the committee and considered immediately on the floor of the House?" Upward of 150 members demanded that a vote should be taken on the question of bringing the Howell-Barkley bill on the floor of the House. On a roll call it was determined to take the bill from the Com-

mittee on Interstate Commerce and consider it on the floor of the House by a vote of 194 yeas to 181 nays. The bill came up for consideration and met with determined opposition by reactionary Members of the House who resorted to filibustering in order to prevent a vote upon it. The filibuster was aided by the Speaker of the House, Mr. Gillette, who decided that a measure brought before the House under the new rule could only be considered on "Suspension days," the first and third Mondays of the month. Under that ruling it was necessary for the antagonists of the bill to filibuster only two days in each month. Inasmuch as the nominal leaders of the House led the filibuster, which has been recognized heretofore as a weapon to be used by a minority, it soon became apparent that there was no chance of securing a vote upon the bill in that session. A motion by Representative Sanders of Indiana to "strike out the enacting clause" was decisively defeated, thus indicating beyond a doubt that when the Members of Congress are permitted to vote upon the Howell-Barkley bill it will pass by a comfortable majority. The bill will be considered at the next session of the Congress.

Representatives Cooper and Foster, both of Ohio, introduced bills "to repeal those sections of the Esch-Cummins law that provide for the railroad labor wage board." Each of those bills provide for the revival of a board of conciliation and mediation as in the Newlands law.

#### *Steel Baggage Cars*

Many fatal accidents have occurred in recent years because railroad companies have not seen fit to give their employes the same protection as is demanded by the traveling public. Sandwiched between the steel mail cars demanded by the government and the steel pullmans demanded by the traveling public will be found antiquated wooden baggage cars in which two, three or more employes must risk their lives while rendering necessary service to the public.

At the instance of the legislative representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, aided by the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, a bill was introduced by Representative Denison of Illinois (H. R. 4107) which requires that railroad companies must provide baggage cars constructed of steel or with steel underframes. The bill, like other progressive measures, has been sidetracked by the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the House. Senator Robinson of Arkansas introduced a bill (S. 863) providing for better protection for the employes of railroads in baggage cars. At the request of representatives of labor Senator Robinson substituted the provisions of the House bill for his own measure. The bill as amended was considered by the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate, reported favorably and passed by the Senate. Efforts will be made to secure favorable consideration for this necessary and humane legislation at the next session of the Sixty-Eighth Congress.

#### *Conscription*

Several bills have been introduced in the House and Senate calculated to empower the President of the United States to conscript the labor of the workers whenever the President proclaims an emergency and that the material resources of the country may be conscripted in time of war. The language of the bills was so misleading that the representatives of the American Federation of Labor opposed their enactment. They pointed to the discrepancy of the language in that it was stated that Labor could be conscripted whenever the President proclaimed an emergency, while the material resources of the country could only be requisitioned in "time of war." And further, that in case of requisitioning the material resources a fair profit should be assured the owners of these resources. The bills were referred to the Committee on Judiciary which took no action.

#### *Contempt of Court*

The case of Commissioner Craig of New York, who was sentenced to a term in prison by a federal judge for alleged contempt of court aroused great resentment.

The contempt not having been committed in the presence of the federal judge offended resulted in several bills being proposed in the last session of Congress to differentiate between direct and indirect contempt of court and to require a trial by jury in case of an alleged indirect offense of that nature. None of the bills introduced have been considered by the Committee on Judiciary to which they were referred.

#### *Rehabilitation of the Injured*

Representative Dallinger of Massachusetts introduced a bill (H. R. 5473) appropriating \$1,000,000 annually for three years to extend the law providing for the vocational rehabilitation of persons who have been injured in industry. The money will be apportioned among the states that will appropriate a like amount. This bill became a law. (Public No. 200.)

#### *District Teachers' Wage Increase*

Representative Keller of Minnesota introduced H. R. 6721 providing for better compensation for the teachers in the public schools of the District of Columbia, who have been notoriously underpaid. It became a law. The law gives increases in salaries for all teachers. The Teachers' Union gives all credit for its enactment to the efforts of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

#### *Farmers' Relief*

Many measures were introduced in the House and Senate for the relief of farmers. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the Committees on Agriculture of both Houses advocating the enactment of some adequate relief measures. They stated that the embarrassment of the farmers affected industries all over the country and that though they realized that any adequate aid granted to farmers may have to be paid for in part by the workers, yet they favored such legislation, recognizing the ultimate result would be stimulation of all business and industry. No adequate measure of relief was passed.

#### *Soldiers' Adjusted Compensation*

Numberless bills were introduced in the House and Senate providing for adjusted compensation for soldiers of the World War. H. R. 7959, introduced by Representative Green of Iowa, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, provided for insurance of the veterans of the late war, collectable twenty years from the date of the enactment of the law. There were provisions in the bill to pay men who had served a short time a small compensation in cash.

This bill was passed by both houses but was vetoed by the President. The veto was overridden by a sufficient majority and became a law. (Public No. 120.)

#### *Postal Employees' Wage Increase Bill*

Representative Kelly of Pennsylvania and Senator Edge of New Jersey introduced H. R. 4123 and S. 1898 in their respective houses, providing for increases in wages for the employes of the postal service throughout the country. The wages of these over-worked government employes have never been anywhere near satisfactory. Today they are receiving wages, if computed upon their present purchasing power, of 30 per cent less than pre-war standards.

The bills passed the House and Senate by almost unanimous votes and sent to the President in the closing days of the session. President Coolidge vetoed this measure, giving as his reason; first: That there were no provisions in the bill to take care of the added cost of service; and, secondly: That postal employes were paid as high wages as were the workers in private industry whose occupations are comparable. The veto message was returned to the House too late for any action before adjournment, but there is little doubt but that immediately upon the reconvening of the Congress this bill will pass over the President's veto and become a law.

*Workmen's Compensation*

Representative Fitzgerald of Ohio again introduced in the House his workmen's compensation bill for the District of Columbia (H. R. 487). A companion bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Jones of Washington (S. 488). These bills provide for workmen's compensation for the District of Columbia, the federal employes' compensation commission to administer the compensation with the understanding that that part of the cost of administration that is incurred by the industries outside of the government service shall be charged to the industries served.

Representative Underhill of Massachusetts introduced a compensation bill which would permit insurance companies to underwrite the risk, reap a profit and pay what they could be made to pay.

The American Federation of Labor took the lead in advocating the acceptance of the provisions of the Fitzgerald bill. President Gompers of the A. F. of L. appeared in favor of this bill as did legislative representatives of the A. F. of L., John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, representatives of the railroad brotherhoods and of the local labor movement. The insurance companies were ably represented by Representative Underhill, their counsel and some of the bankers and business men in the District.

There is no workmen's compensation in the District of Columbia at the present time. For years organized labor has been struggling to secure such legislation in the District that will serve as a model for the various states in the union. No action was taken.

*Occupational Diseases*

A ruling by Comptroller General McCarl resulted in a controversy between the office of the comptroller and the Federal Employes' Compensation Commission. The commission had allowed compensation to federal employes who had been incapacitated because of diseases resulting from their employment. Comptroller McCarl refused to honor the vouchers issued by the commission in such cases. To remedy this situation H. R. 7041 was introduced by Representative Vaile and it became a law. It provides that persons suffering from occupational diseases are entitled to compensation.

*Department of Education*

The American Federation of Labor has cooperated with other forward looking organizations in favoring the establishment of a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. Senator Sterling of South Dakota and Representative Reed of New York introduced companion bills (S. 1337 and H. R. 3923) containing such provisions. Action is expected in the coming session.

*World Court*

On February 24, 1923, the late President Harding submitted a message to the Senate containing advice to him from Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes dealing with the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice and advocating that the United States participate officially in this court.

No action was taken by the Senate at that time. In his message at the opening of Congress, December 6, 1923, President Coolidge pointed out that for nearly twenty-five years we have been a member of the Hague Tribunal and had long sought the creation of a permanent World Court of International Justice. President Coolidge pointed out the fact of the present existence of the permanent Court of International Justice and advocated that the United States become a participant in this court. No action was taken by the House or by the Senate until April 7, 1924, when Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania introduced a resolution (S. Res. 204) in which he advocated that the United States government should take the initiative in the establishment of a new court of international relations totally disassociated from the League of Nations. On this resolution hearings were held before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign

Relations of the United States Senate. Senator Pepper was chairman of the subcommittee.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the subcommittee and advocated that the United States become a participant in the permanent Court of International Relations as now established. They pointed out the fact that fifty-four nations are now participants in the permanent court; that it is unthinkable that the nations now participating would consent to the dissolution of the present court and the establishment of a court in accord with the provisions of the Pepper resolution. A great number of people testified before the subcommittee, all in favor of the United States becoming a member of the present Court of International Relations. Hearings were closed. Up to the present time no report has been made by the subcommittee to the whole committee. On May 8, 1924, Senator Lodge, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted a resolution (S. J. Res. 122) proposing a statute for a World Court in accordance with the resolution of Senator Pepper, entirely separate and apart from the present established Court of International Relations. No action has been taken on this resolution.

#### *Tax Exempt Securities*

An amendment to the Constitution was introduced by Representative Green of Iowa proposing that the United States shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes derived from securities issued by the federal, state, county and municipal governments in the various sections of the country. This amendment was reported favorably by the Committee on Ways and Means. It was debated and rejected by the House, failing the necessary two-thirds majority. The vote was 247 yeas and 133 nays.

#### *Convict Labor*

Representative Zihlman of Maryland introduced a bill (H. R. 4809) directing the Secretary of Labor to make an investigation and report on the subject of convict labor in the United States. This bill was referred to the Committee on Labor. He also introduced H. R. 6205 "to further regulate interstate and foreign commerce by prohibiting the interstate transportation of the products of convict labor." No action was taken by the Committee on Labor.

#### *Transportation of Strikebreakers*

Representative Wolf of Missouri introduced H. R. 7698 to regulate the transportation of labor to any point where labor disturbance or strike is in progress. The bill provides a penalty for transporting workers from one state to another for the purpose of replacing men who are on strike unless such men are notified of the conditions under which they are required to work and of the fact that there is a strike or lockout at the point where they are expected to work. It was referred to the Committee on Labor. Hearings were held and representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of other labor organizations appeared in favor of the bill. It was favorably reported to the House by the committee and will come up in the next session.

#### *Immediate Retirement of "Lame Ducks"*

S. J. Res. 22 by Senator Norris proposing a constitutional amendment providing that the terms of president and vice-president shall end on the third Monday in January and that the terms of senators and representatives shall end on the first Monday in January following the election passed the Senate.

Representative White of Kansas introduced a similar resolution (H. R. Res. 93) which was reported favorably to the House but no vote was taken upon it. It will come up in its order at the coming session.

#### *Restricting Constitutional Amendments*

Senator Wadsworth, of New York, introduced S. J. Res. 4 to amend Article V of the Constitution of the United States. Representative Garrett of Tennessee, introduced a companion resolution (H. J. Res. 68). The intent of the proposed amendment



is to make it more difficult to secure any further amendments to the Constitution. S. J. Res. 4 was reported favorably with amendments by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. It was opposed by representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

#### *Blanket Amendment.*

Representatives of the so-called "Woman's Party" induced Senator Curtis and Representative Anthony, both of Kansas, to introduce companion resolution (S. J. Res. 21 and H. J. Res. 75), proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing "that all laws shall apply equally to men and women throughout the United States." The American Federation of Labor recognized in this proposed amendment an attempt to break down all protective laws that have been placed around women to protect the potential mothers of the race. Hearings were held before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Judiciary. The proponents of the bill for some reason best known to themselves did not appear. Opponents of the bill, consisting of many women's organizations affiliated with and working under the direction of the A. F. of L., appeared and stated their objections to this destructive amendment. No action was taken.

#### *Sales Tax*

When the tax bill (H. R. 6715) was before the Senate, Senator Smoot, of Utah, offered an amendment that was recognized as another attempt to establish the principle of the sales tax. Senator Smoot's amendment provided for a tax of one-half of one per cent to be placed on all purchases. This attempt to revive the principle of the sales tax was vigorously fought by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and it was decisively defeated.

#### *Muscle Shoals—Henry Ford*

Representative McKenzie, of Illinois, introduced a bill (H. R. 518) "to authorize the Secretary of War to sell to Henry Ford the Muscle Shoals plants. Several other bills were introduced for the same purpose and were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. The Committee on Military Affairs reported the McKenzie bill favorably, with some few amendments, and it passed the House.

Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, introduced a companion bill (S. J. Res. 12) and it was referred to the Committee on Agriculture of the Senate, of which Senator Norris of Nebraska, is the chairman. Hearings were held before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and it developed that some of Labor's best friends in the Senate, including Senator Norris, were opposed to this measure on the ground that it was not safe to set a precedent of trading away water-power sites to any corporation. The opponents of the bill were in favor of the government completing the plant and then operating it to produce nitrates for fertilizing purposes in times of peace and insuring the production of explosives and other necessary chemicals in time of war. The committee of the Senate had not reported at the time of adjournment of Congress.

#### *Lincoln Day*

Representative Lampert, of Wisconsin, and Senator Ball, of Delaware, introduced companion bills (H. R. 20 and S. 1641) to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday in the District of Columbia. In conformity with instructions from the Cincinnati convention, representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared in favor of the bill before the House Committee on District of Columbia. It was reported favorably in the Senate and passed. In the House it was reported favorably by the Committee on District of Columbia and is now on the calendar.

#### *Porto Rico*

A delegation from Porto Rico, which included Senator Santiago Iglesias, American Federation of Labor representative in Porto Rico, visited the Capitol and at their in-

stance Delegate Davila of Porto Rico, introduced H. R. 6583, to grant more autonomy in civil government for the citizens of Porto Rico. Representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared before the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House and advocated the enactment of this measure.

Senator King, of Utah, introduced a companion bill (S. 2448). This was reported favorably and passed the Senate. In the House the bill was reported favorably with some amendments. It is now on the House calendar.

#### *Reclassification*

In the 67th Congress the Lehlbach bill passed both the Senate and House and became a law. Senator Smoot, of Utah, and Representative Wood, of Indiana, had introduced companion bills that were rejected. It was naturally supposed that the provisions of the Lehlbach bill would be put into force. Application of the bill was placed in the hands of the Personnel Reclassification Board, which proceeded to put into effect more of the provisions of the rejected Smoot-Wood bill than of the Lehlbach bill.

Representatives of the National Federation of Federal Employees protested and Representative Lehlbach introduced H. R. 6896, which is intended to transfer the Classification Board to the United States Civil Service Commission. A companion bill was introduced by Senator Stanfield, of Oregon (S. 3010). The purposes of these bills were endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. The House bill was reported favorably by the Committee on Civil Service and passed. In the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and favorably reported. It is now on the Senate calendar.

#### *Anti-Injunction Bill*

Representative Thomas, of Kentucky, introduced H. R. 3208, which is worded similarly to the British "Trades Disputes Act." While favoring the general purposes of this bill, the American Federation of Labor does not consider it sufficiently explicit to cover judicial precedents and usurpation of power consummated in this country. The bill was referred to the Committee on Judiciary and so far has not been considered.

#### *Compulsory Labor*

A bill was introduced by Senator Spencer, of Missouri (S. 289), calculated to establish a federal court of conciliation for industrial disputes. The title of the bill as quoted above is contradictory. There can be no "court" of conciliation; conciliation in industrial disputes must be entirely voluntary. This bill would make possible the establishment of a so-called "court of conciliation," empowered to call before it parties in dispute, to render decisions, but with no power except the directing of public opinion to enforce its decisions. This bill was referred to the Committee on Judiciary. It has never been acted upon.

#### *Reorganization of Government Departments*

In the early days of his administration the late President Harding appointed a committee headed by Walter F. Brown, of Toledo, to investigate and report on the possibilities of reorganizing government departments so as to make for greater efficiency and economy. The committee held but few meetings and Chairman Brown wrote a report without much consultation with other members of the committee, which consisted of three Senators and three Members of the House of Representatives. Senator Smoot, of Utah, introduced S. 3445 and Representative Mapes H. R. 9629, which embody the report of the committee as prepared by Chairman Brown. No action has been taken on this measure in either the Senate or House.

#### *Militarism in Civil Affairs.*

S. 3007, by Senator Wadsworth, of New York, provides that officers of the United States, civil and military, including retired officers, may at any time be specially assigned

by the head of any department to duty with or in any branch, agency, or political division of the government whenever authorized by the President of the United States. The American Federation of Labor opposed the measure, it being recognized as an attempt to militarize the civil service. No action has been taken.

#### *Conservation of Natural Resources*

Senator Norris, of Nebraska, introduced S. 2790, providing for government utilization of the natural resources of the United States, especially providing that the potential water power of the nation shall be retained by the federal government and not allowed to be preempted for private exploitation by corporations or individuals. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the Committee on Agriculture of the Senate advocating the enactment of this bill. The committee has not reported.

#### *Government Printing Office Wages*

H. R. 7996, by Representative Kiess, of Pennsylvania, providing for a minimum wage for skilled employes of 90 cents an hour, became a law. It provides for negotiations between representatives of the employes and the Public Printer to fix compensation for the various trades equal to or above the minimum rate. Provision is made for an appeal from any decision of the Public Printer to the joint committee on printing of the House and Senate.

#### *Diplomatic Service Aided.*

Representative Rogers, of Massachusetts, introduced H. R. 6357, to provide better remuneration for the minor officials in the foreign diplomatic service of the United States. The salaries have been so meager that only men who had other pecuniary resources could afford to accept a position in the foreign service. The bill was supported by the American Federation of Labor and became a law.

#### *Protection of Alaskan Fisheries*

H. R. 8143, introduced by Representative White, of Maine, would legalize the action of the Department of Commerce in setting aside certain reservations off the coast of Alaska and give exclusive rights of fishing in those waters to the fishermen employed by the large packers, excluding the native and independent fishermen. It also provided that the Department of Commerce, through the Bureau of Fisheries, should be empowered to extend the reservations if it saw fit.

Representative Dan Sutherland, of Alaska, representative of the fishermen's union of the Pacific coast, of the American Federation of Labor, and of the Seamen's International Union appeared before the committee on merchant marine and fisheries and opposed the measure. Because of the opposition, the committee so changed the bill as to protect fully the independent fishermen while it provided for the conservation of the salmon fisheries. In the form in which it came out of the committee it became a law.

#### *Federal Aid in Construction of Roads*

Several bills were introduced providing that the government appropriate sums of money to aid states in the construction of roads and highways. The American Federation of Labor representatives appeared in favor of these measures before the Committee on Roads of the House. H. R. 4971, by Representative Dowell, was reported in the House. It provides for the expenditure by the federal government of \$75,000,000 per annum for two consecutive years. The House has not yet acted on the report of the committee.

### LEGISLATION IN THE STATES

As has happened so often, the advantages accruing to the people of different states have been secured not so much through the enactment of beneficent legislation, but

rather in the defeat of obnoxious and hostile proposals further to hamper and fetter the free activities of the people.

From a reading of the summary below it will be noted that the Workmen's Compensation law has received a great deal of attention during the past year. Organized Labor has been successful both in securing a more favorable law in some respects or else in defeating legislation intending to curtail the effectiveness of such laws. Old-age assistance bills were also introduced in a few of the states; with the exception of Pennsylvania, none were passed.

At the present time only four states have been successful in passing an old-age pension law. These states are Arizona, Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania the Dauphin County Court declared the law to be unconstitutional as violative of the state constitution. The Arizona law was also declared unconstitutional.

Several of our states have had no meetings of the state legislatures since the Portland convention, and this will account for the nonappearance of any report on several states.

While the following is but an incomplete report it will give an idea of the valiant work performed by Labor during the past year.

Our state branches and city central bodies are greatly to be commended for their efforts in securing the enactment of remedial legislation and the defeat of that considered hostile.

**Alabama.**—No meeting of the legislature.

**Arkansas.**—Three extraordinary sessions of the General Assembly were held. Among some of the bills which labor was successful in having enacted into law were those calling for a supplemental appropriation for a tuberculosis sanitarium and one providing for an increased penalty on "wild cat" labor agents who were enticing labor from the state. The Child Labor Amendment was ratified by both houses through the energetic efforts of the Labor movement.

Organized Labor was successful in defeating a proposal which would permit city councils to levy an "occupation tax" upon every person who worked at any trade within the city and also defeated the bill to change the primary election from August to March, which would have deprived a large number of workers from voting in the 1924 primary.

The Arkansas state branch has stopped the working of convicts by private individuals and corporations by winning their suit against the "penitentiary commissioners" and have blocked the establishing of a shirt factory in the state penitentiary.

**California.**—No session of the legislature since the Portland convention.

**Colorado.**—Organized Labor was successful in securing legislation dealing with child labor, prevention of sale of convict made goods, miners' and women's eight-hour day, free employment officers and regulation of private employment offices, false advertising in labor disputes and railway employees' 16-hour day.

Labor has succeeded in preventing a vast amount of anti-labor legislation introduced in the state legislature.

**Delaware.**—Organized Labor succeeded in securing an increase in compensation for a state child labor inspector and prevented objectionable amendments to the present law being enacted. Efforts to incorporate objectionable amendments to the workmen's compensation law by its opponents, were defeated. The state legislature was not favorable to labor and it required the utmost efforts to prevent the repeal of laws beneficial to labor now on the statute books.

**Georgia.**—Among the measures endorsed by organized Labor were the women's industry bill, railroad crossing bill, automatic fire door and the absentee voters bill. The railroad detective bill was opposed. The automatic fire door bill and the absentee voters bill were passed and the railroad detective bill was defeated.

Efforts by the opponents of the Workmen's Compensation Act to amend the present law were defeated.

The legislature failed to concur in the Child Labor Amendment and an amendment to the Georgia child labor act, which would have placed children under 16 years who are permitted to work in mills on an eight-hour basis, was defeated.

The biennial session bill supported by Labor was also defeated.

**Indiana.**—No meeting of the Indiana state legislature.

**Iowa.**—The legislature held a special session for the purpose of recodifying the

state code. Practically every law on the statute books was revised or rewritten, and Labor was affected in one way or another by approximately 100 of them.

Organized Labor was successful in strengthening every law pertaining to labor which was written or amended in any way.

The workmen's compensation law has been strengthened materially and the present labor contract law was amended so as to put an end to prison contract labor in 1927.

Organized labor was successful in strengthening laws pertaining to mines and mining, the health and safety appliance act, the child labor law, a law to make the Labor Bureau more workable and giving the commissioner more power, state employment bureaus and the absent voters law.

The following proposals were defeated through the efforts of labor: A bill which would have declared that labor was a commodity; repeal of the state primary nomination law and registration of voters.

**Kentucky.**—Twenty-three bills of interest to Labor were introduced in the Senate and 32 in the House.

Among the bills favorable to Labor which were passed were a bill for the regulation of script and calling for redemption at par, Workmen's Compensation Law and the reorganization of the Department of Labor.

The following bills in which Labor was interested failed of enactment: Inspection of ropes and scaffolds, automatic fire door, miners' classification, anti-sweat-shop, and old-age pension bills.

Organized Labor was successful in defeating the following inimical legislation: A proposal for film censorship, examination of painters, anti-loan shark bill and a proposal to legalize Sunday work.

**Louisiana.**—In spite of a very reactionary legislature organized Labor made some progress and prevented the enactment of any measure which would have injured Labor.

Among the legislation favorable to Labor which was enacted are the following:

Maximum payment under the Workmen's Compensation Law increased to \$20 per week; a plumbers' license law amending the building safety laws; restriction of injunctions. An act was amended which compels all employers issuing checks or tokens in payment of wages to redeem them in currency when presented and cash demanded.

An anti-injunction measure which would, if passed, prevent the state courts from issuing labor injunctions, was lost.

The Federal Child Labor Constitutional Amendment did not pass the U. S. Senate till about the middle of the session of the state legislature and very little preparation had been made for the fight as it was not expected it would finally pass until too late to present it to the legislature. The enemies of the measure were well prepared and able to rush the measure to defeat. The measure was really defeated by a lobby of women of the state who were trying to pose as friends of women and child workers. They used the argument that it would destroy states rights which of course was untrue. They also introduced a measure to offset the federal amendment. This measure carried educational qualifications and other impossible provisions. After the defeat of the federal amendment they made no further effort to pass their measure which had the endorsement of the various chambers of commerce of the state.

**Maine.**—No meeting since last convention.

**Maryland.**—A measure to amend the present 10-hour law for women in industry and substituted eight hours per day or 48 hours per week as the maximum failed of passage. The so-called blanket women's rights bill was defeated. A bill providing for retroactive and immediate compensation passed the House, but was never reported out of the Senate committee.

The absent voters law, after being favorably reported, was recommitted to the committee and was buried there. A bill permitting an injured workman to secure his own counsel and authorizing the Workmen's Compensation Commission to fix the rate and direct the payment of this counsel, passed both Houses.

A bill providing for the inspection of steam boilers was never reported out of committee.

A bill to require employers to insure in the state accident fund, and which was bitterly opposed by the insurance companies failed of passage.

An effort to abolish contract labor in Maryland and substitute the state use system was defeated.

A bill which sought to amend the 10-hour law for women, permitting a 12-hour day under certain circumstances, was defeated through the efforts of Labor.

A bill which would amend the law now forbidding the working of women in mines, so as to make their services available, was successfully opposed by Labor.

An old-age pension act sponsored by Labor was defeated.

**Massachusetts.**—During the past legislative session 20 beneficial pieces of legislation were enacted, two of which are of great importance. One required the prompt payment of the wages of musicians and of certain casual employes, and the other for the payment of additional compensation for injury under the workmen's compensation law in certain cases, eliminating the waiting period if the injury exceeds four weeks.

Organized Labor was successful in putting through a resolution which will give the voters of the state an opportunity to demonstrate their willingness to have the legislature ratify the child labor amendment.

A memorial was addressed to congress in favor of legislation to prevent the manufacture of shoes in factories owned by the federal government, as well as a memorial favoring increased compensation of postal employes.

Annuities and pensions for certain classes of labor were secured.

An effort to destroy the 48-hour law for women and minors was opposed and defeated.

A bill was introduced relieving from criminal liability persons who employ minors in good faith. This was also defeated.

An attempt to have the legislature given the power to provide for the election or appointment of certain officials, among them the attorney general, clerks of court, and district attorneys, was defeated.

An effort to enlarge the state constabulary met with no success.

Some of the bills favored by Labor which were killed were a petition to regulate the hours of street railway employes, to prohibit operation of one-man cars, regulating private employment agencies, raising the age for compulsory school attendance from 14 to 16 years, and an old-age pension act.

Several bills will appear on the ballot at the fall election and will be up for a vote of the people. Among them are:

Striking out the word "male" in the laws so that women shall be enabled to hold office on the same basis as men; and state law to make it an offense to manufacture or transport liquor.

**Michigan.**—No meeting of the legislature.

**Minnesota.**—No meeting of the legislature.

**Missouri.**—Organized Labor was successful in securing the enactment of laws providing an eight-hour day for children under 16 years instead of the previous 48-hour week law, prohibiting their employment before 7 in the morning and after 7 o'clock in the evening; providing that all passenger trains running in or through Missouri shall be equipped with first-aid kits.

The state industrial inspector was given the power to tear open a mattress whenever in his judgment necessary for the inspection of the material therein.

Among the bills defeated through the activities of Labor were the hair dressers bill, which sought for the establishing of a state board of examiners for hair dressers, which would have seriously injured the barbering industry.

An industrial court bill was also defeated and Labor was successful in defeating six obnoxious amendments to the state constitution, which sought to take away the right of trial by jury and all suits for libel, to destroy the initiative and referendum law, to create a judicial council, and to abolish the state primary law.

**Montana.**—An effort to initiate a workmen's compensation law was prevented from getting on the ballot through the machinations of big employing interests and the insurance companies.

**New Jersey.**—The following bills of interest to Labor were passed:

Double compensation for minors injured in industrial establishments and employed contrary to law, making it compulsory for all employers to carry workmen's compensation insurance and placing nine industrial diseases under the employers' liability act.

Organized Labor was successful in securing the defeat of bills to make it lawful to pay wages by check and to amend the "no night work" bill for women. This latter law is effective December 31, 1924, and the amendment would have nullified it.

Bills favored by Labor which failed of passage were: To amend the home work and child labor laws; to establish old-age pension commission, and to prevent the occupancy of unsafe buildings for manufacturing purposes.

A bill which permitted peaceful picketing and prevented the issuance of injunctions if no violence was committed was defeated, as was a bill providing for a jury trial in contempt cases when the contempt was committed out of the presence of the court.

No action was secured on the efforts to prohibit one-man cars and to prohibit the limiting of apprentices in trades by unions.

Bills favored by the trade union movement, but which were defeated, were: To require automatic bell ringers on locomotives, to regulate the length of freight trains, and to increase children's schooling from five to seven years before obtaining a certificate for work.

**New York.**—Over 3,000 bills were carefully scrutinized in order to ascertain their true intent and the stand which organized Labor would take upon them. There were a number of beneficial amendments to the workmen's compensation law added to the statutes. Though political jugglery several important labor measures were strangled. Among them the 48-hour week bill for women and minors and an important amendment to the workmen's compensation law, amending the law by reducing to 18 days the time in which the insurance carrier must give notice of contest of claim.

Among the legislation which passed and which received the support of Labor were bills to protect tenants against extortionate rents, world war bonus, establishment of school hygiene districts, to prohibit discrimination in employment of public school teachers based on sex, to permit any municipality which develops hydro-electric power to sell such power to local consumers, and to prohibit railroad policemen from doing other than police duty on railroads and require them to be licensed by the Secretary of State.

Labor failed to secure the enactment of a state insurance fund as the only insurance carrier, 48-hour week and minimum wage bills for women and minors, two-platoon system in old third-class cities, a bill to provide free text-books and school supplies for all pupils.

Organized Labor was successful in its opposition to bills having for their purpose a censorship of publications, to restore the state enforcement of the Volstead Act, and to annul the protective labor laws for women.

Organized Labor was unsuccessful in its attempt to obtain a law providing that no injunctions shall be issued in labor disputes unless authorized by a verdict of a jury after ascertaining the facts. A bill amending the anti-monopoly law by declaring labor is not a commodity was killed in the Assembly.

Governor Smith also vetoed five bills which were opposed by Labor. These bills related to the use of inflammable film by inexperienced moving picture operators, to repeal the law permitting non-partisan primary nomination of city officers, seeking to increase fire hazards by abolishing the use of automatic self-closing fire-proof windows, and safety scaffolding law.

Twenty-eight bills opposed by Labor were defeated in the legislature.

**North Dakota.**—No meeting of the legislature.

**Ohio.**—No meeting of the legislature.

**Oregon.**—Organized Labor was successful in defeating harmful amendments to the workmen's compensation law, a measure to provide for group trials and a measure to abolish the offices of the Commissioner of Labor. Labor was also able to defeat a measure restricting the use of the referendum. Labor failed to secure the enactment of a free text-book bill and at the present time has before the people a constitutional amendment to make the workmen's compensation law compulsory and providing for an exclusive state fund. It is believed that this amendment will be adopted.

**Pennsylvania.**—No meeting of the legislature.

**Rhode Island.**—The legislature of Rhode Island has accomplished nothing as yet, since the session has been held up since January on account of a Democratic filibuster to force the Republican majority to agree to vote favorably on the right of the

people to vote as to the holding of a constitutional convention. On September 1, 1924, the child labor law became effective. According to this law a child must be 15 years of age before receiving an age and employment certificate, and then only for occupations which are not considered injurious or dangerous. He must have completed a course of study equivalent to the sixth grade in the public school and he must have passed a standard physical test by a licensed physician. While the new law does not specify the number of hours a minor may work during the week, it prohibits children under 16 years of age from working after 8 o'clock at night or before 6 o'clock in the morning.

**South Dakota.**—No report.

**Tennessee.**—No meeting of the legislature.

**Texas.**—No meeting.

**Utah.**—No meeting of the legislature.

**Vermont.**—No meeting.

**Washington.**—No meeting.

**Wisconsin.**—No meeting.

**Wyoming.**—No meeting of state legislature.

### COMMUNITY SERVICE

The Executive Council again desires to call attention to its report of last year and the resolutions adopted by the convention on the subject of constructive recreation in relation to the needs of working people but especially in relation to the children of America.

The report and resolutions both endorsed the Community Service of the Playground and Recreation Association of America which is striving to aid cities and towns everywhere to do their full duty in respect to the establishment and proper administration of playgrounds, athletic fields and community centers for young and old.

Since the 1923 convention, eleven international and state labor bodies opened their convention doors to a speaker from that Association who pointed out the national need of improvements and extension of community recreation provisions and the ways in which organized labor could help.

The Executive Council again endorses this valuable movement and commends it as worthy of commanding the hearty cooperation of all our affiliated bodies.

In taking part in such work organized labor is recognizing the fundamental value of play in the right development of child life, physically, socially, aesthetically and in its training for sound citizenship. Through supervised recreation we can help to reduce the volume of disease, nervous breakdown and moral delinquency in the United States, thereby in return cutting down the enormous costs of public care of the victims of these troubles.

In respect to the needs of the workers for wholesome recreation we call attention to the fact that so much of industry as carried on today within doors, requires the utilization of only the small muscles for the most part and consists of minute processes, all of which means that on the job the worker gets little sunshine and fresh air, little exercise of the major muscles of the body, the lungs and heart and that he derives meagre, if any, creative satisfaction from his hours of daily toil.

The results of all this are revealed in the mortality statistics for the so-called degenerative diseases of heart, liver, stomach, nerves and kidneys. They are altogether too high and unnecessarily so.

Workers must take more recreation during the greater leisure which they have gained through the shorter work day. Here is their great opportunity to conserve and increase their health, vitality and efficiency and at the same time get more joy out of life. They should make use of every community facility that exists in their cities and actively aid in their extension and perfection until all the people of all ages are served thereby.

### PERSONNEL RESEARCH FEDERATION

The American Federation of Labor has been identified with the Personnel Research Federation since its organization through the auspices of the National Research Council. Up to the present the organization has been able to do little except call attention to



the problems in this field and to direct research agencies to specific problems and to make generally available information of inquiries in progress or the findings of studies. Even such limited work has been definitely valuable.

There are now in the making plans to finance the Federation for sustained and active work. Contributions have been pledged for three years so that a budget is assured permitting the employment of a director and the maintenance of an office.

Planning upon a basis commensurate with the budget now assured, the central office has outlined a number of research undertakings now under consideration which would develop information of direct assistance to labor organizations. All data and findings our Federation office will of course render available to labor executives who in turn can indicate additional fields in which research would be helpful to them.

Since the field of personnel research is closely inter-related with the development of management policies, it is of utmost importance that Labor maintain its present contacts with this research, and widen them as rapidly as may be practicable.

Management in industry is primarily responsible for the profitableness and the productiveness of the undertaking as well as labor policies. The A. F. of L. has, through participation in the work of this research federation, an opportunity to contribute to development of fundamental policies of utmost importance to the well-being of labor as well as to the material progress of our civilization.

We recommend continuation of membership in the Federation and as active participation in the work of the bureau as possible. Our representation on the board of governors should urge trade union representation on those agencies directly concerned with the development of specific research projects.

There is hardly any research undertaking in the industrial field which should not consider the labor element involved for human intelligence in production, whether in planning or in execution, as an irreplaceable factor. With the development of industrial research, it becomes of increasing importance that the labor movement be alert and active to take advantage of all opportunities to participate in this field and to create opportunities where none are offered. Because the labor movement has not at its disposal the large funds necessary to finance research undertakings, it becomes imperative that we avail ourselves of all collective efforts in which we may participate with confidence in the integrity of the purpose and methods of the undertaking, and whenever possible we should participate financially to the extent of our ability.

### INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY SERVICE

This important branch of our work has continued during the year with increased energy and with gratifying results.

The work done through this service could be well increased and we hope it may be so increased as our revenues warrant. It is an avenue of approach to the non-union men and women of our country, a medium through which we are able to present facts and views concerning Labor's work and aims.

"Labor Information," issued from time to time should, we believe, be issued more frequently and forwarded to a larger number of persons. Through this medium the more important issues should be discussed not less often than once each month.

The "News Budget" a medium of reaching the smaller daily papers of the country, has been issued throughout the year with good results.

The exhibit of graphic charts, first displayed at our Portland convention, has been brought up to date. These charts have been distributed to a number of libraries, schools, colleges and universities, and to some extent abroad. Everywhere they have been welcomed as a means of understanding better than before the methods by which our movement works and the great scope of its activities. We believe this exhibit should be revised annually and given as wide distribution as is possible with the finances available for that work.

Through the cooperation of our Information and Publicity Service the International Labor News Service has continued to serve the labor papers of the country, having now 166 publications on its list of clients.

In the broad general work of this branch of our work hundreds of newspaper articles and news stories have been prepared and published, much hostile propaganda has been

counteracted and much of it prevented. We regard this branch of our work, not as an agency of propaganda, but as a channel through which the facts and views of our movement may reach the public in a proper, open and fair manner.

We believe that a great many of our internationals could make more generous use of the help here available; many have already thus availed themselves. Much current information is available and to a limited extent special investigations and special research can be undertaken. More of this can be undertaken as time passes.

We recommend that this work be continued and expanded where possible. International unions have contributed generously to the support of this work and deep appreciation is due them for that timely aid. We believe, however, that this effort should be and must be a regular part of our headquarters activities, though we express the hope that it will continue to enjoy the contributions of affiliated organizations wherever possible.

### THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The official organ of the American Federation of Labor has continued its effective work under the editorship of the president. We commend this work and look forward to its continuance. We regard this editorial leadership as a service to our movement and to all who are interested in the progress of the labor movement.

### A. F. OF L. WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE

This service has continued its valuable work for the labor press. It is issued weekly and furnished to all labor papers free of charge. We commend this work and recommend its continuance.

### THE LABOR PRESS

The labor press of America has improved steadily through the year. We say without fear of contradiction that no other country offers such a volume of labor publications so well edited. We can not refrain from an expression of pride in the constant improvement which marks the progress of American labor journalism. This has been particularly marked during the year just closed. There are in the United States approximately 300 monthly, weekly and daily labor publications with an aggregate circulation of millions of copies.

### LIBRARY

Considerable progress has been made in developing the library of the American Federation of Labor into a standard reference library of literature covering the history and work of Labor.

This literature falls into five departments:

The proceedings of the conventions of the national and international unions and the state federations of labor chronicle the outstanding events in the history of Labor. A reference library of labor literature can not function properly without complete sets of these reports, some of which go back to the middle of the last century. In addition to keeping the current reports available, an effort is being made to secure as many of the earlier reports as possible.

The labor press records the current achievements of Labor. The library should not only have always accessible current files of the official journals, but bound volumes for permanent reference as well. This feature is likewise undergoing systematization.

The labor laws of the United States, the British Empire and all other countries have been largely written through the political influence of Labor's organized economic power. They constitute a valuable index of Labor's growing in the social order of all countries. It is the intention to keep the library's collection of these labor laws up to date and ready for use.

Much of the progress of Labor and important information regarding industrial conditions are found in the reports of the federal, state, and provincial labor departments and bureaus of the United States, the British Empire, and all other countries.

An endeavor is made to have these reports available for use in compiling information relative to Labor throughout the world.

Practically every book written on economics and allied subjects discusses Labor—favorably or unfavorably. A labor library is incomplete without the more important works in this field. The collection of these books is maintained as complete as finances will permit.

The labor movement should have a central library complete in each of the departments enumerated. With the cooperation of the affiliated organizations and trade unionists generally, authors and publishers of books, the A. F. of L. will be able to develop such a library. The contribution of books to our library will be a valuable investment for all concerned, as the library becomes increasingly a service agency for students and members of the labor movement.

Cataloguing the mass of documents so as to have the library's information ready accessible is a major task. It is facilitated by the extended use of printed cards furnished by the Library of Congress.

Another important work devolving upon the library is preparing the analytic subject index of the *American Federationist*. It is proceeding as rapidly as conditions permit.

### HISTORY, ENCYCLOPEDIA AND REFERENCE BOOK

The second volume of the American Federation of Labor History, Encyclopedia and Reference book was on the press at the writing of this report. It contains all the important matters considered by the American Federation of Labor conventions for the years 1919-23, both inclusive.

These five years show a marvelous gain in the strength of organized labor and its ability to stand the most severe attacks. It is a record that can not be surpassed by any labor movement in the world. Every member of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated unions may well feel proud of the record made.

### RESIGNATION OF JOSEPH F. VALENTINE—ELECTION OF JAMES WILSON

It is with regret that we record the resignation of Joseph F. Valentine as vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. As vice-president Brother Valentine served the American Federation of Labor from 1905 until August, 1924. There is no man in the labor movement who has given more earnest, devoted, loyal, faithful service to the cause of the toilers than has Joseph F. Valentine.

For some time his health has been failing. Because of that he felt impelled to tender his resignation, and though it was not our desire to have him sever his official relations with the American Federation of Labor, yet under the circumstances we could follow no other course than to conform to his wishes.

Under the provisions of Article IX, Section 9, of the constitution, it devolved upon the Executive Council to fill the vacancy. Brother Valentine's resignation was tendered at our meeting in August and we thereupon selected as vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, James Wilson, president of the Pattern Makers' League of North America.

### BOILERMAKERS—PLUMBERS

The officers of both organizations laid before your Executive Council their respective claims to jurisdiction over the erection of economizers. We referred the dispute to the executive boards of the two organizations involved for the purpose of making an effort to reach an adjustment, and that if they failed to reach an agreement that they so advise the Executive Council, pledging themselves for their organizations to abide by whatever decision the Executive Council might render in the case.

Thereafter the presidents of both organizations requested a modification of our action, to limit the conferees to three members of each executive board, this for reasons of economy and expediency. We agreed to that proposition. The conference was held on June 12, but no agreement was reached. President Franklin, for the boilermakers, stated that the position of his union is that the question should be either determined

by mutual agreement between the two organizations at interest or submitted to an arbitration board, such as proposed by the boilermakers to the plumbers.

President Coefield, for the plumbers, requested the Executive Council to render a decision.

During the course of the discussion before the Executive Council it was brought out that when this dispute was first brought to our attention, both organizations informed us that they would abide by our decision. However, because of the technical features of the question in dispute, we were insistent that the two organizations should make an effort to reach an agreement among themselves.

We considered the subject matter from every side as presented in the evidence submitted by both parties and thereupon we declared:

In the controversy existing between the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters over the erection of economizers, the decision is that in the opinion of the Executive Council the work belongs to the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

#### TEAMSTERS—RAILWAY CLERKS

The jurisdictional dispute between these two organizations arises by reason of conflicting claims as to employes of the express companies who work as drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen, and garage employes other than mechanics and helpers. At our request Vice-President Valentine met in conference with the representatives of both organizations and endeavored to secure a mutually satisfactory understanding and agreement. He was not successful in that effort.

Again during the Executive Council meeting August 1-11, the representatives of both sides were requested to meet in conference and James Wilson was selected by us to represent the American Federation of Labor. The conference lasted practically all day. Both sides were afforded the fullest opportunity to present their respective claims of jurisdiction.

Brother Wilson thereupon reported to your Executive Council then in session that it was impossible to reach an agreement, although the representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks admitted that they had accepted to membership drivers, chauffeurs, and helpers. Your Executive Council therefore declared:

That jurisdiction over the men involved in this dispute properly belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America; that both organizations be notified to this effect and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be instructed to disassociate from its membership all drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen, and garage employes who are not mechanics, and helpers (the term helpers meaning all men who load and unload wagons and trucks), by transferring them to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, or disassociate them from membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

#### TEAMSTERS vs. STREET AND ELECTRIC RAILWAY EMPLOYES

President Tobin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers entered a complaint with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes was infringing upon the jurisdiction of the Teamsters.

The Executive Council at its August meeting instructed President Gompers to arrange for a conference between representatives of both organizations.

The conference was arranged for and held at A. F. of L. headquarters, on August 21, 1924, with Secretary Frank Morrison representing the American Federation of Labor.

It was agreed by the conference that the officers of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, should submit on or before the first of October to President Mahon, a written statement of their jurisdiction complaint against the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway

Employees, and that the conference adjourn to meet again on October 20, 1924, at A. F. of L. headquarters for the purpose of reaching an agreement if possible in regard to jurisdiction.

The arrangement asking President Tobin to specify the grievance was complied with and conference met again on October 20, but failed to reach an agreement.

#### **MACHINISTS, ELECTRICAL WORKERS AND BLACKSMITHS VS. STREET AND ELECTRIC RAILWAY EMPLOYES**

Complaint was made by President O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes was encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Brotherhood of Blacksmith, Drop Forgers and Helpers, and the Executive Council at its August, 1924, meeting instructed President Gompers to communicate with President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes requesting an early conference for the purpose of adjusting the jurisdictional disputes.

A conference was held August 21.

The representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes stated that they had no authority to meet the representatives of the Electrical Workers or the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, as the correspondence from the American Federation of Labor to their office only mentioned the International Association of Machinists and as no specific complaint had been filed by the Electrical Workers or Blacksmiths at the headquarters of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, they were only authorized to meet in conference with the representatives of the International Association of Machinists. In order that there might be an opportunity for an adjustment between the Street Car Employes and the Machinists the representatives of the Electrical Workers and Blacksmiths agreed to withdraw from the conference. Secretary Morrison, representing the A. F. of L., and President O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department (upon request of both organizations) met with the representatives of the Machinists and Street Railway Employes and continued the conference.

The conference agreed that representatives of both organizations meet in Boston on or before the 10th of September, 1924, for the purpose of making an investigation of the present jurisdictional dispute, and the representatives be authorized to endeavor to reach an agreement upon the points in dispute and submit their findings to the executive officers of both organizations, and the representatives of both organizations recommend the adoption of any agreement that may be reached to their respective organizations.

Representatives of the two organizations met in Boston on September 3, but failed to reach an agreement.

The representatives of the International Association of Machinists notified the officers of the American Federation of Labor that the convention of the International Association of Machinists instructed its delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to bring their complaint to the attention of the El Paso (Texas) convention of the A. F. of L.

Notice of the action of the International Association of Machinists' convention was transmitted to the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes.

#### **HATTERS—CAP MAKERS**

It is gratifying to report that the jurisdictional controversy between the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America has been adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties.

An agreement was reached between the officers of the two organizations and on October 14 under the terms of that agreement and by action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America made application for reinstatement in the American Federation of Labor. The charter was re-issued on that day.

Later at our meeting at headquarters October 23, 1924, the representatives of both organizations appeared before your Executive Council and requested that the agreement which had been reached by them on that date be substituted for the agreement of October 14. That agreement is as follows:

*Jurisdiction Agreement*

Entered into Between the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America

The jurisdiction of the two organizations in the headgear industry shall be as follows:

(1) The United Hatters to have full jurisdiction and control over all the factories making men's fur, felt, wool, straw or panama hats—trimmers and operators of same—and over all the factories making entirely and exclusively women's and children's fur, felt, wool, hand-blocked velvet, panama and body hats.

(2) The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers to have full jurisdiction and control over all the factories making men's, women's and children's cloth hats and caps and ladies' headgear made of cloth fabrics, straw, combinations, varieties and novelties.

(3) The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers agree to waive any proposition with regard to a system of free transfers for themselves to shops under the control and jurisdiction of the United Hatters. The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers hereby definitely declare that they have no desire to enter into the shops specified under Section 1.

(4) In order not to deprive members of the United Hatters of North America who may so desire of the opportunity to work in the millinery shops during the busy season, we hereby agree to a system of free transfer cards under which members of the United Hatters shall be able to work in the shops specified in Section 2 while retaining their membership and standing in their own organization. The same shall apply to members of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers with regard to such work as is specified in Section 2, whenever such work is done in factories specified in Section 1.

(5) Both organizations agree to cooperate to bring all such factories under the jurisdiction of the respective international unions.

Agreed to and signed this 23rd day of October, 1924.

UNITED HATTERS OF NORTH  
AMERICA

By (s) M. F. GREENE  
*President*

(s) MARTIN LAWLOR  
*Gen. Sec'y-Treas.*

UNITED CLOTH HAT AND CAP  
MAKERS OF NORTH AMERICA

By (s) MAX ZARITSKY  
*President*

(s) M. ZUCKERMAN  
*Gen. Sec'y-Treas.*

**BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES—ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS**

The officers of the Building Service Employees appealed to the Portland convention against the decision of the Executive Council approving the application of the International Union of Elevator Constructors for jurisdiction over elevator operators and starters. The convention referred the appeal to the Executive Council.

This case was on the schedule for consideration by our Executive Council at our meetings in May and August. The representatives of the Building Service Employees, although duly notified, failed to attend any one of these meetings, whereupon at our August meeting we declared:

In view of the fact that the representatives of the Building Service Employees International Union have defaulted in the matter of appearing for a hearing, having been given an opportunity to present their case before the meetings of the Executive Council at Montreal and postponed there until the Atlantic City meeting to give them an opportunity to be heard, it was decided that the Executive Council reaffirm its previous decision and action in this case.

### EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION—STEAM ENGINEERS

The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers made application for extension of jurisdiction over marine engineers. The National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association withdrew from affiliation to the American Federation of Labor in February, 1923. The officers of both organizations came before your Executive Council in support of their respective claims. The Marine Engineers and the International Longshoremen's Association protest against the extension of jurisdiction.

### CLEANERS, DYERS AND PRESSERS

At the Portland meeting of the Executive Council a decision was rendered under which a charter as a directly affiliated union was granted to the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union of Chicago, Illinois. This local formerly held charter from the American Federation of Labor but in 1912 upon application of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, that locals of Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers be transferred to them, this application was concurred in by the Executive Council and so reported to the Rochester convention.

In 1916 a jurisdiction question developed between the Laundry Workers and the Tailors in regard to the jurisdiction over dyers. It was mutually agreed by both organizations to leave the subject to the decision of the late John Golden, who was then President of the United Textile Workers. President Golden's decision was that jurisdiction over those employed in the work of dyeing, pressing and cleaning in laundry establishments belongs to the Laundry Workers' International Union. This award was signed on behalf of the Journeymen Tailors' Union by Thomas Sweeney, Walter Gibbons and H. N. Young, on behalf of the Laundry Workers' International Union by Harry L. Morrison and by John Golden. It was endorsed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and by the Baltimore Convention.

The Executive Council reported to the Baltimore, 1916, convention that the Chicago Local had filed an appeal to be reaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor. This appeal was denied by the Executive Council. The Baltimore Convention approved the decision of the Executive Council with the proviso that the "Executive Council be authorized to act in this matter in such a way as shall appear to be for the best interests of all concerned," thus modifying its own position and placing the matter entirely in the hands of the Executive Council.

Last year the local of Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers of Chicago again appealed to the American Federation of Labor to be reaffiliated as a directly affiliated local. It had ceased to pay per capita tax to the Journeymen Tailors' Union and was functioning as an independent organization. Hearings were held before the Executive Council at which representatives of the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers and the Journeymen Tailors' Union appeared. At the Portland meeting, after giving exhaustive consideration to the question, and the fact of the expansion of the cleaning and dyeing industry which now embraces work on products such as furs, gloves, ladies' garments, shoes, carpets, etc., coming under the jurisdiction of various National and International organizations, the Executive Council decided that "for the best interests of all concerned" the application of the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Local of Chicago be approved and that it be reaffiliated as a local union holding charter direct from the American Federation of Labor. The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America filed an appeal from this decision, upon which a hearing was granted before the Executive Council. This appeal was not sustained by the Executive Council and the decision was adhered to that Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Unions should receive charters direct from the American Federation of Labor.

### PAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Pan-American relations have continued harmonious and helpful during the year. Through our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor we have been able to be of assistance to the oppressed workers of other countries in the Western Hemisphere and to cement the fraternal relations between the organized workers of the various countries.

Our friendly relations with the workers of Mexico have been materially helpful to the wage earners of both countries. In connection with the single problem of migration back and forth across our southern border, the friendship of the two labor movements has been a distinct advantage on both sides of the line. Where governmental diplomacy alone might easily enough provoke distrust and friction, the understanding possessed by the workers on both sides of the line and their confidence in each others integrity have resulted and will, we are sure, continue to result helpfully.

Our movement is at present not affiliated with any other international organization and we can not refrain from expressing the thought that it is just as important that we should preserve this bond and develop its helpful possibilities as that we should have any other possible international affiliation, desirable as such other affiliation may be.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor, which has its headquarters in the American Federation of Labor building in Washington, D. C., and of which the president of the American Federation of Labor is also president, has during the year been helpful in many instances in Latin American countries. Good will and understanding between the American people and the peoples of many other countries have been promoted and strengthened. This is true in the case of Panama, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Colombia, Nicaragua, Mexico and some other countries. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has several times interceded with the American State Department in behalf of better understanding and in an effort to solve misunderstanding and disputes.

With some show of reason it may be suggested that the problems of foreign relations are only remotely related to our great trade union problems, but in reality our movement is most intimately affected by our foreign relations. Every condition of labor, political and economic, in Latin America is of concern to us and has a bearing on our own domestic problems.

It is reported to us, for example, that much of the machinery in important industries in Mexico is so antiquated that it can not be operated in such a manner as to provide a living wage for the workers. As a last desperate method of escape from such intolerable conditions the Mexican workers have resolved to desert such industries and already ten thousand have deserted the Mexican textile industry to find employment either in other industries or on the land. Our own wage earners can not escape the consequences of such a condition and they can not shirk their legitimate responsibility in connection with the resulting problems.

Still another element enters into the situation. The organized labor movements of Latin America will somewhere find affiliation with an international movement. If they can not find it with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, supported by the American Federation of Labor, they will seek and find it elsewhere and we shall have in all Latin America the threat of European domination—a threat which constantly looms on the horizon and which has thus far been held ineffective because of the friendship, influence and fraternal relations which the American Federation of Labor offers.

The agents of radical and revolutionary European organizations have been and are at work seeking to destroy among Latin American workers their confidence in the American Federation of Labor and its constructive, democratic principles and policies. They have made little if any headway, but if the American Federation of Labor were to withdraw, or even to diminish its interest and activity they would find a fertile field. The result of the domination of European radical and revolutionary philosophies among the labor movements of Latin America can only be imagined, but that it would be disastrous must be conceded.

In continuing our helpfulness in this direction we are holding the line for democracy throughout the New World and it is in no sense exaggerating to say that the effect of this great effort on future world history will be tremendous.

We have faith in our principles. We know that democracy offers the one hope for all workers and we feel in duty bound to carry that faith and that hope to all who will listen. We recommend a continuance of our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor and of all possible helpful activity in every opportunity for rendering assistance to the workers of Latin America and in every opportunity for developing understanding between the labor movements, the governments and peoples of all American Republics.



## NICARAGUA

Because of a recommendation calling for action on the part of the American Federation of Labor and because that recommendation was complied with, we submit here the report of Mr. Hartwell L. Brunson, containing findings arrived at on a mission to Nicaragua for which he was commissioned by the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Brunson was asked to undertake this work after an appeal had been received from the workers of Nicaragua for assistance. The death of the reactionary president had brought into office a progressive administrator who, as vice-president succeeded to the presidency. Under the new president, Bartolme Martinez, labor was being given its first free and fair opportunity to organize. In addition, President Martinez desired to present to the Nicaraguan congress recommendations for laws that might be helpful to labor. The American Federation of Labor, the Pan-American Federation of Labor and Mr. Brunson as its representative, were helpful in this respect.

On Oct. 5 an election was held in Nicaragua in which the labor and progressive forces were successful in electing their candidate to succeed President Martinez who, under the constitution, was not eligible to reelection.

We feel that the good offices of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in sending its representative to Nicaragua to be helpful in strengthening the organizations of the workers helped to make it possible to consolidate their forces in such a manner as to bring success on the political field in a country where such success means infinitely more than it could mean in a country like our own. Mr. Brunson's report here follows:

Washington, D. C., July 29, 1924.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Chairman*,  
Executive Committee,  
Pan-American Federation of Labor,  
A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.  
DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

Pursuant to the understanding reached at the conference held in your office at noon on May 6th, arrangements were completed with Mr. Solamon de la Selva and the undersigned sailed in company with him on June 5th for Nicaragua. Stops were made on the way to Nicaragua at Port au Prince, Haiti, Panama, C. Z., and Puntarenas, Costa Rica, arriving at Corinto, Nicaragua, on June 26th. The stops at Port au Prince and Puntarenas were of very short duration and therefore no opportunity was afforded to make any definite contacts or investigations. At Port au Prince we did, however, have the opportunity to exchange greetings with M. Pierre Hudicourt and Mlle. Elvire Bayard.

*Panama*

In Panama City, where eight days were spent awaiting a boat for Nicaragua, several very interesting conferences were held and two well attended meetings were addressed; one of carpenters and the other of the Panamanian Federation of Labor. Many questions were asked in the latter meeting concerning the situation in the Canal Zone with respect to the employment of Panamanians in the operation of the Canal. This situation with which I am sure you are familiar, is not easy of solution and is one which the Pan-American Federation of Labor can not properly deal. No legitimate complaint can be levied at any government for employing its citizens, in preference to citizens of other countries, on its public works.

*Nicaragua*

Arriving at Corinto, June 26th, we were advised that the President was sending his private car down to the port for the convenience of the Mexican Minister, who arrived on the same boat and ourselves. Therefore, on the following day, June 27th, accompanied by a reception committee of

the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor we proceeded on the President's car to Leon, the largest city. Large groups of workers greeted us at every stop enroute. These groups were all eager for information. At Chenandega an unusually interesting lot were gathered and varied questions and expressions were offered. Arriving at Leon about 5.00 p. m., a gathering of one thousand or more greeted us and accompanied us afoot to the hotel some twelve blocks or more away. At the hotel open-air addresses were made by both Mr. Selva and the undersigned. In the evening a formal reception was tendered us at the Workers' Club.

On Saturday morning, June 28th, we proceeded on the President's car to Managua, the Capitol. There again we were met at the station by an immense crowd of workers and other citizens, and accompanied by them to the Hotel Central, where informal reception was held and group discussions indulged in. On Sunday morning, June 29th, the President received us at the Palace or White House. Exchange of greetings and an explanation of the purposes of the Mission followed. The President, with his cabinet present, expressed great satisfaction and assured that he would do all in his power to aid in the accomplishment of these purposes. He expressed a conviction that the reforms and development which the country needs and must have, depends upon the common people—the workers—and upon the extent to which they can be organized economically. On Monday evening, June 30th, I attended a session of the Camara de Diputados—the lower house, where a proposed revision of the election law was under consideration. This proposed legislation, so necessary to a fair and full exercise of the ballot by the common people, and fully concurred in by the State Department of the United States Government was rejected by a vote of 21 to 20. In other words, 21 of the deputies were against the people and for the special interests who are responsible in no uncertain degree for the present unsatisfactory conditions in the country. It is my understanding that the Senate is more completely opposed to the particular reform—having 15 for the Special interests as against 9 for the people.

Without the passage of this or similar legislation or Constitutional amendment the vote this fall can not be representative of the people. This point will be dealt with at more length later in the report.

On Tuesday evening, July 1st, there was a gathering of the workers and other citizens at the theatre. President Martinez attended. The undersigned and others made addresses which were enthusiastically received.

During the remainder of the week many conferences were held with the various groups of Managua and some representatives who came from nearby towns and villages.

On Saturday, July 5th, another conference was held with President Martinez, at which time he suggested that an early return of the undersigned to the United States would be of great advantage to the workers' movement in Nicaragua in the way of informing the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor on conditions, the remedies of which would be prejudicially affected by delay. I decided to take the next boat, sailing July 8th.

On Sunday, July 6th, I visited Granada in company with Mr. Selva and one member of the Committee of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor, Tranguilino Saenz. We were met at the R. R. Station by the largest and most enthusiastic gathering of the trip. As the train stopped the first of 21 shots were fired. After the salute we proceeded afoot to the center of the city some 18 blocks and gathered in the theatre. More than 2,000 persons packed the house. Addresses of welcome were responded to and the Mission explained as at other points. Granada is the stronghold of the opposition to Labor and the reforms for which Labor stands, the home of the family of dictators who have held the reins of governments for the past 15 years. Both in numbers and attitude the workers of Granada demonstrated in this meeting that they are conscious of the chief causes of their present difficulties,

and clearly indicate what would happen if there were to be a free election.

We left Granada early Monday, July 7, stopping at Chinandega about 2 p. m. for the afternoon and evening. Here quite a large crowd met us at the R. R. Station and escorted us to our hotel, informal reception was there held and in the evening a meeting of one thousand or more was held in the theatre. In this city there exists two very distinct groups of labor, organized on materially different lines and principles but they were united on the occasion of our visit as far as its purposes are concerned.

Early on Tuesday, July 8th, we proceeded by train to Corinto and embarked the same day for return trip. Arriving in Panama, Saturday morning, July 12th, we passed through the Canal and left Cristobal at midnight Sunday, July 13th, arriving in Cuba, Thursday noon, July 17th.

#### *Situation in Cuba*

Our contacts in Cuba were limited to representatives of the printing industry in Havana, which is the dominating factor in the groups of communes. These organizations are bitterly opposed to the plan of the American Federation of Labor and the policy of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. They were invited to send delegates to the next meeting of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Mexico City next December but expressed doubt that any such action would be taken by their organizations. It was learned from these individuals that the Railroad Unions have federated and that such Federation contemplates sending representatives to the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention.

We left Havana, Friday afternoon, July 18th, and arrived at Baltimore, Tuesday morning, July 22nd.

#### *Summary of Situation in Nicaragua*

The "societies" of labor in Nicaragua number upward of 20 independent organizations. They range in purposes all the way from surely "aid societies" to craft union, but even the latter partaking somewhat of the former.

All of the organizations have more or less distinct partisan political views. There is little or no united political action among these organizations; nor is there any united or cooperative economic action. United political action is of vastly more importance to the workers of Nicaragua than is purely economic action for their troubles are largely distressing economic conditions brought about by dishonest government in the hands of self-serving officials who work hand in hand with Wall Street.

The only hope of redeeming the country for the people therefore is through a united strong labor movement capable of wielding its strength in undivided political and economic action. This is the first step—solidify the various groups into a federation—The Federacion Obrera Nicaraguense.

Of equal importance, in both time and character, is the law governing the right and opportunity to vote. The present election law was drafted by a representative sent down there by the United States Department of State. It provides for registration of all voters during the month of March in election years. It provides that the registration books shall be open from 8 a. m. to 4 p. m. *every Sunday* during that month in *every* Canton (precinct). It is alleged upon reliable information that the law was not carried out in approximately 186 cantones, or that the people of these localities had no opportunity to register and hence no opportunity to vote.

This matter was put up to a Special Session of Congress in the form of a bill to remedy the situation which amounts to a disfranchise of a considerable portion of the people. The United States State Department is in accord with the legislation proposed and Charge de Affairs, Mr. Thurston, so advised the Nicaraguan Government when the bill was under consideration by Congress. Notwithstanding the Congress refused to enact the Bill.

Unless these at present disfranchised people are permitted to vote in

the coming election there is danger of a continuation or return to power of class rule, nationally, and continued social and economic unrest, which may at any time develop into violent resentment. With the opportunity available to all of the people to vote there is every reason to believe that an administration will be elected which would be acceptable to the great majority of the people and peaceful social order assured in Nicaragua.

A fair election in Nicaragua is the issue of the hour with the workers there. It means all to the Labor Movement of the country. It should be the purpose of the American Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor to use all legitimate and proper means to make such possible.

It is therefore my recommendation that the State Department be made acquainted officially with the facts as they have been obtained from the common people—the disfranchised workers, for they in the main are the ones who will not be able to vote under the present situation, and that every assistance be rendered the workers of Nicaragua in their struggle for economic and political freedom.

Fraternally submitted,  
(Signed) H. L. BRUNSON.

#### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO GREAT BRITAIN

Peter J. Brady and Edward J. Gainor, fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress submit the following report:

In accordance with the action taken by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Portland, we attended the 56th annual Congress of the British Trades Unions held in the City Hall, Hull, England, September 1 to 6. Notwithstanding heavy losses, the result of continued trade depression, the membership of the Congress stood at 4,328,235, a slight decrease from the 1923 figures of 4,369,286. The number of delegates who attended was 724, as against 702 who were at Plymouth, together with the following additional fraternal delegates, who were present:

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—J. A. McClelland, International Association of Machinists.

International Federation of Trade Unions—J. Oudegeest, L. Jouhaux.

International Labor Office—M. A. Thomas.

Cooperative Union—Watson Boyes, J. P.

All Russian Council of Trades Unions—Messrs. Tomskey, Lepse, Amosoff, Gorbatcheff and Dogadoff.

It was the first Trades Union Congress held since the coming into power of a Labor Government. As a result there was added strength and dignity to the gathering, members of Parliament were numerous among the delegates and an occasional Ministers of the Crown. The leading men of the movement were absent, having been elevated to high office and were guiding the destiny of the British Empire. Younger and equally able men filled their places.

President Purcell said the year 1924 marked some important changes in the history of the trade union movement. It was the centenary year of British Trade Unionism and the Congress paid tribute to the pioneers of the movement. Few realized at Plymouth he said, how soon the Labor Government would come into power and that within four months, forty of the delegates would be in Parliament, and that twelve of their number would become ministers.

No party and no Government in their period of office had done so much for the workers as the Labor Government, he said. He hoped, however, the Government would soon concentrate on the program for which the Labor party had been called into being. It was clear, too, that the Labor administration being a minority Government could be turned out at any moment

by the opposition. Therefore, Brother Purcell pointed out that the economic organization was basic, pleading for closer and more efficient workers' organization in industry saying:

"As surely as we lift our eyes from the workshop to gaze entirely at Parliament, so surely do we weaken and dissipate our strength in the very place where capitalism for eight, nine and ten hours every day hits us hardest and hurts us most."

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress submitted its report. One significant paragraph of their report insisted on the essential importance of trade union organization as follows:

"Political organization far from being an alternative to the trade union movement, is its natural corollary. The Political Labor movement had its origin in the British Trades Union Congress, and the best safeguard of our political liberties is to be found in the vigilant and active trade union movement."

The agenda before the Congress was a heavy one, consisting of 105 resolutions, as against fifty-six the previous Congress. All resolutions were printed in one pamphlet and a similar resolutions grouped under different sections to simplify consideration.

Among the most striking decisions was the unanimous adoption of the Workers' Charter, a reaffirmation of decisions of past Congresses with the object of beginning an immediate campaign for realization of the program which includes:

"Nationalization of land, mines, minerals, railways; a legal maximum working week of forty-four hours; a legal minimum wage for each industry or occupation; adequate maintenance of unemployed; training facilities for adults during industrial depressions; proper housing; full educational facilities to be provided by the State from the elementary schools to the universities; maintenance and compensation for industrial accidents' diseases; pensions for all at the age of 60; pensions for widowed mothers and dependent children.

These are the things it was pointed out which the Labor Government will have to attempt to bring about in order to fulfill its obligations to those who created it.

Among the more important resolutions adopted were the following:

"Congratulating the Government on the negotiations of the Anglo-Russia Treaty of Aug. 8. Power vested in the General Council was extended and the executive given authority to intervene in industrial disputes, on a card vote which showed 3,608,000 for and 259,000 against. This means that the executive can organize moral and material support in strikes and lockouts."

The General Council was instructed to call a special Congress to decide on industrial action immediately there is danger of war, so that the trade union movement may do everything in its power to prevent future wars.

An organization campaign among the 560,000 rural workers, to obtain a legal minimum wage and 48-hour week was decided on.

Instructing the General Council to devise a plan for organization by industry, by a scientific linking up of existing unions to amalgamate unions with rival jurisdictions and in every way effecting better coordination of work.

The Congress reaffirmed its opposition to compulsory arbitration.

The London *Daily Herald* was voted additional support as the official organ of the Congress. A year ago it was apparently dying but by an immediate contribution of funds and the activity of thousands of volunteers the paper was rescued and now is almost self-sustaining. A goal of 2,000,000 circulation has been set for it.

Since the Plymouth Congress of a year ago, a group of British Communists similar to the Foster clan in this country were busily boring from within, with the ultimate intention of destroying the British trade union movement. Under the leadership of Tom Mann, just prior to the Hull Convention, they had their "National Minority Conference," composed of

"branches of trade unions, unemployed workers, workers committees" and nondescript groups.

The British Trades Union Congress was quick to reject dictation from this Communist organization. Resolutions inspired by them were quickly defeated on the Convention floor. The Communists were hostile not only to the Congress itself but also to the Labor Government, which had shielded them at every turn and was prepared to face defeat in Parliament, for its leniency to a Communist editor charged with seditious activity. No better example of the lack of scruple of this band could be found. Once more they bit the hand that fed them.

The Russian delegates, despite their connection with the Red Trade Union International which has inspired the boring process in the trade unions of the world, were cordially received. Yet the responsible labor leaders of Great Britain made it plain to them, that their dictatorial methods would not go in a democratic country.

C. T. Cramp, National Union of Railwaymen, was the first to warn them. James Sexton, M. P., in one of the most humorous speeches of the session contrasted the attitude of the Soviet government in coming hat in hand to beg a loan from capitalist Britain with their bragging at home. It was evidence he said of the futility of their attempt to create "an artificial Communist oasis in a world-wide desert of private enterprise."

"We have heard from Moscow," he continued "that twenty-five men have been appointed to govern the world. That is a case of the three tailors of Tooley Street magnified into twenty-five. There were to be avowed pacifists parading in Moscow in generals' uniforms, with swords at their sides invested with military honors."

The British delegates were disappointed in not getting much information from Tomsy, who spoke at great length, on the conditions of the Russian. He said there were twenty-three centralized labor organizations. But with respect to their Soviet principles, dictatorship and minority rule, he remarked that they "would not give up ideas for which they had paid in blood."

One innovation of the Congress was the ban on airing jurisdictional disputes on the floor. Controversies of this nature are vigorously contested. In the future the unions go before committees. A report is made to the subsequent Congress on progress of negotiations or failure of any union to come to an agreement.

Your delegates were impressed with the statesman-like character of the Congress and the evidence of the close contact between economic organization and the Government itself. It was evident though that to achieve its bold legislative aims, the workers of Great Britain would have to have not 190 but 490 members and absolutely dominate the British Parliament.

As delegates of the American Federation of Labor we were cordially received, their welcome being further evidence of the close bonds of kinship and aspiration between our brothers in Great Britain and our own movement.

#### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO CANADA

The following report was submitted by W. W. Britton, fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress:

The convention was called to order on Monday morning, September 15, by President John McGuire, of the London Trades and Labor Council.

The report of the Dominion executive officers contained many items of interest, particularly that pertaining to unemployment. The report shows a conference had been held on September 3 and 4 in Montreal to deal with the question of unemployment. This conference agreed upon certain remedies, the most particular one are as follows:

"That all federal, provincial, municipal government work now under construction to be continued with a full complement of employes during the winter months.

"That all federal and provincial government work that has been provided for during

the past session of the different parliaments should be immediately undertaken and continued during the winter months with a full complement of employes.

"That inasmuch as the federal government has during the past few years had in contemplation the construction of certain public buildings, for which plans and specifications are already in hand, that we recommend that they be asked to call for tenders at once on such of this work as can be proceeded with.

"Further, that the greater the number of hours worked per day on all work undertaken the smaller will be the number engaged, and inversely, the shorter the hours the greater the number who will be provided with some earnings to tide them over the period of scarcity of employment and it is recommended that this policy be adopted.

"That a national committee be appointed consisting of representatives of federal and provincial governments, for the purpose of determining where necessary work can be initiated to best relieve unemployment, and to find ways and means for financing the proposed work, this class of work to be commenced as soon as possible."

#### *Emergency Relief*

"The conference is satisfied from representations placed before it that in certain provinces a considerable amount of unemployment at present exists, and that we must anticipate its being materially aggravated during the winter months."

#### *Report of the Executive Council, 1924*

"Under these circumstances we feel that some definite understanding should be had between the various bodies concerned as to the lines along which such a condition should be handled.

"The conference desires, therefore, to recommend that where after full and careful investigation emergency relief is found to be necessary, that such relief should be extended. The expense involved to be borne by the federal, provincial, and municipal authorities involved, on the basis of 50 per cent, by the municipality, the balance of 50 per cent to be taken care of equally by the federal and provincial government concerned.

"After hearing representations respecting the work carried on by the committees appointed under the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act, we feel justified in recommending to the federal government that these advisory councils be properly constituted and their activities be placed on a working basis and continued during the coming winter.

"The existing conditions are being aggravated by the present policy of bringing immigrants to this country who are drifting to our industrial centers as casual laborers, without possibility of employment. Immediate action being necessary to correct this condition, we urge upon the federal and provincial governments that all such immigration shall be immediately regulated until it is proved that there is a reasonable demand for labor and that it is possible of being absorbed.

"It was with the desire to bring some measure of immediate relief to a number of those directly affected by unemployment that Labor took part in this conference and the most valuable result undoubtedly will be the publicity which will aid in bringing about a realization on the part of all citizens of their responsibility in dealing more effectively with this urgent question and which will in turn force action of a definite nature from those in authority to give effect to the resolutions adopted."

#### *Report of the Dominion Executives Concerning the Industrial Disputes Act*

The Congress had endeavored to secure certain amendments but was unable to do so. The report shows that not only has the amendment been fought by organized labor, the Industrial Disputes Act being for the third time objected by the Senate, but the constitutionality of the entire act has been challenged in the courts. The report also dealt with the matter of injunctions and recommended that the Congress continue its efforts to eliminate the use of injunctions. The Industrial Disputes went on record to secure legislation to eliminate their usages.

Concerning the question of old-age pensions, the report showed they were unable to secure legislation. The convention directed the provincial executive to press the question of legislation to provide old-age pensions.

Another part of the report entitled, "American Federation of Labor, International Unions"; report states as follows:

"Our relations with the American Federation of Labor and the international unions affiliated thereto were of a most friendly nature, and your executive takes this opportunity of expressing their appreciation of the assistance rendered in the organizing of the workers in this Dominion."

Concerning the eight-hour day, the convention went on record as follows:

(1) That we reiterate our demands for legislation to give immediate effect to the eight-hour day for all government employes and those engaged on government works.

(2) That we urge upon the Dominion government to insert in all fair wage contracts a clause limiting the hours of work to eight in the day.

(3) That the incoming provincial executives urge their respective legislatures to enact eight-hour day legislation, as has already been done by the British Columbia legislature.

(4) That the Dominion government be requested to take such steps as will ensure the views of organized labor being properly presented to the Supreme Court when dealing with the defining of the jurisdictional rights between the federal government and the provinces.

A separate part of the report entitled "A Review of Provincial Legislative Progress," and the result of legislation in the different provinces, is covered as follows:

*Workmen's Compensation.*—Amendments in Nova Scotia allow cities to insure fire fighters under the Provincial Compensation Act. New Brunswick amendments provide a number of regulations for strengthening and levying assessments for reducing allowances payable to non-residents and enabling boards to withhold payments to those leading immoral lives.

Quebec has appointed a commission, which has held hearings in a number of cities, at all of which organized labor has presented its claims. In Ontario slight amendments have been made to the act governing the method of payment to non-residents and increasing payments to children, whilst provision has been made to allow the board to institute re-training of injured workmen. The bill introduced by the government, which would have materially changed the entire act, was withdrawn after vigorous protests by organized labor. Manitoba has established a joint committee of five employers, five workers, and five others to study the changes requested by employers and organized labor. Alberta has increased payments to children and also increased the scale of payment to injured workers from 55 per cent to 66½ per cent.

*Child Labor.*—British Columbia raised the age of both boys and girls to 15 before they are allowed to enter industry. This is the same as the compulsory school age. Saskatchewan has enacted regulations to control the placing of children in foster homes and Manitoba has raised the age of employment to 18 years.

*Hours of Labor.*—Nova Scotia amended the Mines Act to provide for a maximum of eight hours at the coal face. British Columbia has passed an eight-hour law. Ontario approved a resolution favoring the eight-hour day in principle, but withholding application until other provinces are ready to enact legislation.

*Mining and Factory Inspection.*—Slight amendments relating to boiler inspection of portable saw mills have been passed in New Brunswick, and in British Columbia the Mining Act amended, strengthening the provisions relating to notification of accidents.

*Fire Fighters.*—Acts establishing the two-platoon system for fire fighters and one day's rest in seven have been obtained in British Columbia and Alberta, though the Alberta Act only comes into effect after sanction by a plebiscite.

*Draft Conventions of International Labor Office.*—Resolutions formally accepting conventions (a) concerning unemployment (b) fixing the age of admission of children to industry; (c) the employment of children during the night; (d) concerning prevention of unemployment and extension of education, etc., in agriculture have been passed in Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia, whilst Saskatchewan also includes the convention declaring the right of agricultural workers to organize.



*Election Acts.*—An act to allow for election by transferable vote has been passed in Alberta. Proportional representation has been extended to all the province of Manitoba, while legislation concerning advance polls has been passed in Manitoba and Ontario.

*Minimum Wage.*—Minimum Wage Act has been amended in Alberta so as to allow of the control of overtime rates and the regulation of work of apprentices.

*Miscellaneous.*—Miscellaneous legislation enacted includes an act to control the employment of female workers in restaurants, etc., in British Columbia; and act to make wage collection easier in Saskatchewan, and to increase the amount that may be collected to \$100 in Ontario.

Regulation of private employment agencies in Saskatchewan; amending Public Service Superannuation Act in Ontario; providing for small land holdings for mill workers in New Brunswick; changing early closing law from 7 to 6 p. m. and the control of stock issues in Quebec, and an act providing for voluntary registration of trade unions in Quebec. It will be noted that this act has some very peculiar provisions as to citizenship, right of married women to organize, etc. A resolution extending the provisions of the fair wage clause to the development of water power and timber resources has also been passed in Ontario.

#### *Resolutions.*

There were 68 resolutions presented at the convention, dealing with various subjects; the most important of which were those concerning the eight-hour day, unemployment, immigration, amalgamation, legislation, Canadian autonomy; and also one concerning a liquor issue, two concerning the provincial executives holding government positions, several dealing with the postal workers' strike, and two dealing with the use of injunctions during strikes.

Concerning the question of immigration, a resolution was brought in asking that the Congress take some action with the Dominion government to get a statement from the United States, and naturalized Canadian citizens should have the same entry rights to the United States as a Canadian-born citizen, protesting against the new immigration laws as put into effect by the United States on July 1.

This resolution was adopted; also a resolution on immigration protesting against what was termed the "yellow peril of British Columbia," claiming that thousands upon thousands of the yellow race were settling in British Columbia and at many points were practically in control.

Another resolution was introduced by the Toronto Labor Council delegate, asking that the Dominion Congress take steps to convene a conference between the International Federation of Trades Unions and the Red International of Moscow in order to arrive at a common international program and plan of action. The report of the committee on this resolution is as follows:

"Because the Moscow reds have sent out instructions to bore from within and to destroy our present labor organization in Canada, the resolution committee recommends nonconcurrence."

The report of the committee, after considerable debate, in which about 44 communists jointly supported the resolution, the rest of the convention voted in opposition and the resolution was defeated.

Another resolution called for autonomy of the Canadian trades unions, withdrawing from the A. F. of L., and setting up their own organization. The committee reported non-concurrence in this resolution. Strange as it may seem, being the extreme to the other end, the communists unitedly supported this resolution, but the report of the resolution committee recommending non-concurrence was adopted.

Another resolution requested the Dominion to go on record in favor of unemployment insurance. This resolution was endorsed, and an appeal is to be made to the government for the enactment of laws to provide insurance suitable to the condition of the country.

The resolution to prevent the Dominion officers from holding government positions was also defeated.

The postal workers' resolution was adopted, calling upon the government for the

dismissal of all strike breakers and return to work of all former employes in the postal service.

A resolution was passed, almost unanimously, to go on record in opposition to the Ontario Temperance Act and declare in favor of government control of the sale of beers and liquors.

Concerning the uses of injunctions in labor disputes, a resolution was introduced that would require the Trades Congress to arrange provincial or national monster demonstrations of trade unions by one day's cessation of work and parades on that day. This clause in the resolution was defeated and the Dominion executives directed to do all within their power to secure legislation that will eliminate the injunctions.

The majority of the resolutions before the convention were passed without debate. These included resolutions for development of the natural resources of Canada, publicity to give to foreign countries the real facts of employment conditions in Canada, a fair-wage law for Quebec similar to that now functioning in six other provinces, making farming-out of work by the Canadian railways illegal, appointment of the minimum wage commission in Quebec, and extension of scope of Compensation Act to all workers.

On Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock fraternal delegates addressed the convention including Fraternal Delegate Brownleaf from England, Miss Leslie from New York City, representing the women workers of the United States, and your humble servant of the A. F. of L.

On Friday at 2 p. m. was the election of officers. President Moore had some slight opposition, inasmuch as the communists ran a candidate against him. The total vote was Moore 156, Buck 44.

Secretary Draper was elected by unanimous vote, and Brothers Simpson and Mercen, of Toronto, and Brother Foster, of Montreal, were elected as members of the Executive Board. Brother John Colbert, of the street railway employes of London, was elected as fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. This election of officers practically completed the convention.

The convention was very insistent on legislative matters and showed a determination that they are going to secure the legislation required by the workers of the Dominion.

Your delegate met with a very cordial reception and the A. F. of L. had a host of friends at this convention. This particularly includes the officers of the Dominion, all of whom send their best wishes which will undoubtedly be conveyed by their delegate to the El Paso convention.

I want to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks and appreciation to the delegates of the Portland convention for the honor conferred upon me as fraternal delegate to the Dominion Trades Union Congress.

#### A. F. OF L. ORGANIZERS

The work of our salaried and volunteer organizers has been of the highest order during the year. They have fought continuously against the forces hostile to our movement and they have helped materially to force back the tide of ignorance. They have brought many new members into our movement. They are constantly a tower of strength and we desire to most warmly commend their efforts.

#### LABOR DAY AND LABOR SUNDAY

While we believe that Labor Day and Labor Sunday were this year more generally observed than in the preceding year, we feel impelled to call attention to the failure on the part of many labor organizations to properly observe Labor's own holiday.

If we are to maintain Labor Day as a national holiday of distinctly labor character, dedicated to and devoted to the wage earners, we must observe the day everywhere in a manner befitting the intent of the day.

We urge that there be a revival of the old spirit in labor demonstrations. We call upon the wage earners everywhere to observe Labor Day by the holding of great mass meetings, by holding great open-air gatherings wherever possible, at which there may be speakers who will bring a helpful and inspiring message and where there may be fraternal intermingling of our people. We urge that parades be held in every

community. There has been a tendency to abandon the holding of parades, but we regard this as a serious mistake. The organizations of labor ought to demonstrate their solidarity, their pride in their unions, their strength of numbers and their devotion to American ideals in great parades on each Labor Day.

These parades and these great mass meetings and demonstrations ought to be entered upon with a spirit of enthusiasm that would not only make them successful from the standpoint of numbers, but that would make them carry conviction and inspiration to all observers. If we fail to properly observe this great holiday we can not expect that it will be preserved. It is a day set apart in our keeping and we must each year render an account of our stewardship.

We call upon the organizations of labor throughout our Republic to observe the coming Labor Day as it properly should be observed. Let there be no American community in which there is not a great demonstration entered into by all wage earners. Labor Day is our day and we must keep it so. Let it be in every city and hamlet a day upon which a great message of hope and cheer is carried to all people by the organized toilers of our land.

### CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages we have presented a resume of much work performed. We hope it may be found that we have presented helpful and constructive suggestions for future effort.

The hope of our movement lies in the combination of that splendid idealism which always has marked our course and a program of constructive measures which take into account the practical needs of our time and the actual conditions under which we must work.

No movement in the whole world is today more firmly knitted together, more united in thought and spirit or more determined to press forward toward still better times, still more freedom and still finer lives.

The organized labor movement must ever point the way to those who are unorganized, it must ever lead those who have no voice with which to plead their own case, it must ever be the inspiration and the hope of the great masses of our people.

A great trust is placed upon us; a great mission is ours to fulfill. We must fight onward unceasingly. There can be no halting and no hesitation. Only in continuous effort and achievement is there hope of maintaining those liberties and blessings which we have; only so can we justify our movement and fulfill its solemn obligation to humanity.

We conclude this annual report with an exhortation to every union man and woman to bring to our movement the best possible service, the highest possible hopes, the finest possible idealism and enthusiasm. Our movement is the hope of humanity; and humanity must not hope in vain.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

*President.*

JAMES DUNCAN,

*First Vice-President.*

FRANK DUFFY,

*Second Vice-President.*

WILLIAM GREEN,

*Third Vice-President.*

T. A. RICKERT,

*Fourth Vice-President.*

JACOB FISCHER,

*Fifth Vice-President.*

MATTHEW WOLL,

*Sixth Vice-President.*

MARTIN F. RYAN,

*Seventh Vice-President.*

JAMES WILSON,

*Eighth Vice-President.*

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

*Treasurer.*

FRANK MORRISON,

*Secretary.*

*Executive Council,*

*American Federation of Labor.*

Vice-President Duncan announced that copies of the report of the Executive Council would be distributed, and that later a supplemental report would be made.

President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison read the following list of subjects assigned by President Gompers to the appropriate committees:

**Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council**

Workmen's Compensation Laws.  
Railroad Labor Legislation.  
Old Age Pensions.  
Philippine Islands.  
Labor and the Farmers.

**Legislation—**  
Railroad Legislation — Howell-Barkley Bill.  
Workmen's Compensation.  
Occupational Diseases.

**Referred to Committee on Resolutions**

Industry's Path of Progress.  
Labor and the Courts.  
Legal Information Bureau.  
Banking and Credit.  
Insurance.  
Panama Canal Zone.  
A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign.

**Legislation—**  
Conscription.  
Contempt of Court.  
Soldiers' Adjusted Compensation.  
Restricting Constitutional Amendments.  
Anti-Injunction Bill.  
Compulsory Labor.  
Reorganization of Government Departments.  
Militarism in Civil Affairs.

**Referred to Committee Organization**

A. F. of L. Organizers.

**Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies**

Community Service.  
**Referred to Committee on Education**  
Child Labor Constitutional Amendment.  
Report of Committee on Education.  
Local Committee on Education.  
Decisions for Educational Policies.  
Teaching of Social Studies.  
Vocational Education.  
I. Trade Education.  
II. Adult Education.  
Workers' Education Bureau.  
Study Classes.  
International Conference on Workers' Education.  
Conclusion.  
American Legion.  
Report of American Federation of Labor Bureau of Co-operative Societies.

**Legislation—**

Child Labor.  
District Teachers' Wage Increase.  
Department of Education.  
Personnel Research Federation.  
Information and Publicity Service.  
The American Federationist.  
A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.  
The Labor Press.  
Library.  
History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book.  
Labor Day and Labor Sunday.  
Conclusion.

**Referred to Committee on State Organizations.**

Woman in Industry.  
**Legislation—**  
Lincoln Day.  
Porto Rico.  
Federal Aid in Construction of Roads.  
Legislation in the States.

**Referred to Committee on Legislation.**

Abolish Convict Labor Competition.  
Trade Union Legislative Conference Committee—  
Favorable Bills Passed by the Sixty-Eighth Congress.  
Congress.  
Immigration.  
Steel Baggage Cars.  
Rehabilitation of the Injured.  
Farmers' Relief.  
Postal Employees' Wage Increase Bill.  
Tax Exempt Securities.  
Convict Labor.  
Transportation of Strikebreakers.  
Immediate Retirement of "Lame Ducks."  
Blanket Amendment.  
Sales Tax.  
Reclassification.  
Conservation of Natural Resources.  
Diplomatic Service Aided.  
Protection of Alaskan Fisheries.

**Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.**

Pan-American Relations.  
Nicaragua.  
American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegates to Great Britain.  
American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegate to Canada.  
**Legislation—**  
World Court.

President Gompers: As in previous years, and for now nearly thirty years, there has been an interchange of fraternal delegates between the British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. The interchange of these visits of fraternal delegates has gone on, unbroken except

for one year during the war, when it was regarded as imperative that we should all, as nearly as possible, remain at our respective tasks and depend upon good will to maintain our fraternal relations.

At this juncture I shall simply, without further ado, introduce to you the fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress and present to each one of them the official badge of the American Federation of Labor. I herewith present Brother A. B. Swales, of the Engineers, President of the British Trades Union Congress, and his associate, Brother C. T. Cramp, of the Railway Men; also Brother John Colbert, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

And now, for the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor, perhaps of any organized body of wage earners as trade unionists, we have with us a delegate from the German Federation of Trade Unions, Brother Peter Grassman, Vice-President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany. Brother Grassman will, at a convenient time, and if agreeable we may set the time now, when he and the other fraternal delegates will address the convention. I have had conference with these gentlemen, and they are of the opinion that on Wednesday morning at about 10:30 o'clock would be most convenient. I ask the convention whether that time is agreeable, and if so, that a motion to that effect be made.

Vice-President Duncan moved that the special order of business at 10:30 o'clock Wednesday morning be the addresses of fraternal delegates. The motion was seconded and carried.

President Gompers presented to each of the delegates a convention badge. He then presented Mr. Walter Mashkie, the secretary and interpreter for Fraternal Delegate Grassman.

President Gompers: At this juncture I think it would be most appropriate that the delegates to this convention should show a feeling of reverence and regard for the men and women of labor who have fallen by the way since we last met in Portland, Oregon.

There is probably no organization on earth which fails to give expression to a feeling of sorrow and regret at the loss of men and women within their ranks. Shall heroes of the world's struggle be confined to those who bear arms and on the field of battle fall, and shall we fail to give expression to the sorrow we feel at the loss of those who have fallen upon the field of industry? We have lost a number of our most active, faithful men and women within the last year. In honor of their memories, in honor of their service, the lessons they have taught to us and to those who are to follow, the example which they have shown deserves some recognition, and I call upon the officers and delegates and visitors to this convention to rise and in silent reverie for a moment pay homage to the memory of our departed men and women of labor.

The entire delegation arose and remained standing with bowed heads for one minute.

Delegate Bonney, Railroad Telegraphers, moved that the last statements of President Gompers be shown in the minutes of the convention. The motion was seconded and carried.

President Gompers: The chair desires to call attention to the fact that a resolution was adopted to receive the officers and delegates of the convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor, which opened in Juarez today. It is necessary that the body of the hall be reserved for the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, and the visitors other than those in official capacity will please repair to the gallery and make room for the delegates from the Mexican Federation of Labor who will visit us.

When the delegates from the Mexican Federation of Labor were announced, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor arose and greeted them in a most cordial manner. The El Paso Municipal Band played the Star Spangled Banner and El Grito de Guerra.

The Mexican delegation was led by the band of the 50th Regiment of the Mexican Army, which played a mili-

tary march as they entered, and later played "Honor al Merito" and other selections.

President Gompers: Men and women of labor of Mexico, thrice welcome to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Ten years ago no such united gathering could have taken place between the workers' representatives of Mexico and those of the United States.

Time, circumstance, experience, have demonstrated to us that if you and we and those whom we represent shall maintain the high ideals of organized labor of our respective countries, nothing but fraternity, good will and mutual interest will serve the people of both Republics.

In the by-gone days adventurers and profit-mongers have taken advantage of situations to stir up ill feeling on both sides of the line. We believe, and time has verified this belief into a conviction, that if the men and women of toil of Mexico, and the men and women of toil of the United States were organized and manifested good-will toward each other, the profit-mongers would be driven back and good-will established among the peoples and the nations which we have the honor to represent.

We have established this good will and fraternity. It is an honor to us, and it is a privilege for us to have helped in the establishment of this better situation between our respective countries, our respective peoples, and among the organized workers of both Republics. I shall not attempt here at this time to recite even the recent history of Mexican labor affairs, but I cannot refrain from at least making reference to this fact, that out of the organized labor movement of Mexico has come the manifestation of a democratic Republic in your country.

Mexico! Obregon, Calles, Trevino, and Morones united to make Mexico. The bullet that found lodgment in the body of that great Mexican leader, Luis Morones, was a blow aimed at the democratic Republic of Mexico.

I could take much more time and perhaps not add anything material to

what I have submitted, but in the name of the men and women who toil in our country, the spirit of the men and women of this convention interpreting the hopes and the ideals of American workers, I bid you and your associates welcome to this convention, and wish for you all success in the attainment and achievement of the hopes and ideals of Mexican toilers and Mexican statesmen and patriots, that we may live to help in the peace, not only of our two countries, but in the peace of the whole world.

I have the honor and the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. Juan Rico, the president of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. JUAN RICO.

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the American Federation of Labor convention, and members of the sixth convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor: Before Brother Ricardo Trevino, the general secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor, will officially address you, I want to take advantage of this important moment to call attention to the tragic accident that happened in Mexico, the intended assassination of Brother Luis N. Morones and to say to Brother Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and to all the delegates here assembled, representing the organized labor movement of the United States, that the organized labor movement of Mexico is proud of its strength, because it has achieved what strength it has today through the co-operation, the experience and the advice of Samuel Gompers, and also through the co-operation of the various organizations that compose the American Federation of Labor.

I wish to say that it is an incontrovertible fact that the organized labor movement of Mexico, side by side with the organized labor movement of the United States, is going firmly ahead towards the establishment of definite peace and good will between both nations, because we are firmly convinced that our first duty as Mexicans is to go side by side with the civilization of the United States of North America, because it is that civilization that will save and protect the liberty of the world.

I wish that all the delegates here assembled who represent the men and women who help produce the wealth of the United States would take back to their homes when they return the

heartfelt greetings of the organized workers of Mexico to the organized workers of the United States of North America, because we firmly believe that in the course of time, as the centuries go by, the names of the United States of Mexico and the United States of North America will be ever united.

President Gompers: It now affords me great pleasure, as it is a most pleasing opportunity and duty, to present to you Brother Ricardo Trevino, general secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. RICARDO TREVINO

Brothers, ladies and gentlemen: First of all, in the name of the Mexican Federation of Labor, I must express our profound thanks for the welcome that the delegates to our Sixth convention have received from you. The words and the expression of Brother Gompers have been sanctioned by the welcome accorded us. You can feel absolutely sure that the hearts of all the men that you saw come into this hall were filled with emotion, and you can also feel sure that the minds of these men represent the emotions of those men whom they represent back in Mexico.

It cannot be otherwise, because each and every member of the organized labor movement of Mexico knows that there are in the United States men and women whose hearts beat in unison with those of the men and women of Mexico. Since we initiated this fraternity and this good will between the organized workers of both countries, the organized workers of Mexico have learned to establish a line of demarcation, a line of distinction between the American toiler, our American brother, and the American exploiter who, back in Mexico, does nothing else but exploit the very blood of the Mexican workers. And we have also learned that this American exploiter, who in the mines of Mexico or the oil fields of Mexico, exploits the Mexican worker, is the very same man that exploits the American worker in the United States.

And it is because of these things that we have learned through experience that we come to you with our hearts full of love for you, because we know that we are all striving to reach the same goal. But we still know something else; we also know that during our struggles, when often we have lost our own blood and our own lives in the struggle with our exploiters, we have seen with deep satisfaction how, in the United States, the strong voice of Brother Samuel Gompers has been raised in defense of our ideals and in co-operation with our struggles in Mexico.

Brother Gompers was saying, "Otre-

gon and Calles, Trevino, Rico, Morones, all united in defense in Mexico!" But with a great deal of enthusiasm we will add that the representatives of the new Mexico were united with the organized labor movement of the United States. It could not be otherwise. During the last reactionary revolt intended to prevent in Mexico the establishment of the new government we, the Mexican workers, knew that while we were fighting against our enemies in our own country we were defended to the limit by Brother Gompers in the name of the organized labor movement of the United States.

I do not wish to tire you, but I feel it my duty to add to my statements the following: That the struggle of the organized labor movement of Mexico and of the organized labor movement of the United States against the group of men, the group of capitalists that reside in the United States and who are now the strongest financial force in the world, is not a struggle of the Mexicans or a struggle of the Americans, or a struggle of even only the Pan-American countries, it is a struggle for the workers of the world. Even if this group of men to which I have reference are again to arm the traitor's hand as it was armed in the attack against Brother Morones, we wish to say that we have strong men of labor in Mexico, and of that strongest leader that we have in Mexico should happen to fall by the wayside, they will let everybody know that each and every one of the organized labor movement of Mexico is behind him and willing to take up the fight.

From the first moment that we entered the struggle of the organized workers in Mexico we knew that our individual liberty, our own lives would have to be sacrificed, and we now warn everybody in Mexico who is the enemy of the organized labor movement that every one of those who went into that struggle will be happy if they will lose only their lives in defense of the workers of our country.

And not only that, but if Morones, the strongest chief we have, should be done with, that will not throw fear into our hearts. It is just the opposite, it will give us greater energy to continue the fight. There is only one thing that would perhaps throw a little fear in us, and that would be if the unfortunate moment should come when we should lose the friendship of the organized workers of the United States. But we are sure that will never happen and that all the attempts and all the intrigues of our enemies are destined to failure.

One more word—In the name of the organized workers of Mexico I wish to again repeat our heartfelt greetings and to give you the assurance that we will continue in the fight for the liberty of the workers of the world.

**ADDRESS OF MR. JOSE W. KELLY.**

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention and the Federacione de Nacional de Mexicano: Brother Gompers says that I do not need any introduction, so we will proceed without an introduction.

I have been especially honored today in being commissioned by the Mexican Federation of Labor to bring to you the fraternal greetings and sincere good wishes of the organized workers of Mexico.

Fourteen years ago there was another convention held at El Paso, on the bridge between El Paso and Juarez. This convention was attended by all of the military pomp and glory of both countries. It had as its chief attraction the presence of the then President, or Dictator, of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, and the then President of the United States, William Howard Taft. These gentlemen felicitated each other on the wonderful civilization, and progress of their countries.

While this convention was going on a movement was being born in Mexico. In the out of the way places, in the small towns and in the larger towns like Mexico City, groups of men and women were gathered with a definite object and goal in sight. That movement was the organized labor movement of the Republic of Mexico, whose representatives you have with you as delegates today.

Naturally, like all labor movements in the beginning, this one was weak, and they turned to the only source from which they could gain strength, assistance, co-operation, counsel and help—the American labor movement as represented by you here today. And so we are holding a joint convention of the delegates from Mexico and the delegates from the United States, and I am commissioned to present to you the greetings and the good will of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and especially to greet, in the name of that Federation, our Brother Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor.

Others that we want to especially mention and thank at this time for their assistance and co-operation are Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor; Chester M. Wright, John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union; Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; and William H. Johnston, of the Machinists' Union.

In closing, we want to thank every delegate and officer of the international organizations and the membership of your unions, for the splendid co-operation given to us in the last three years, during the time when we were trying to bring the message of the Mexican workers to the American workers, members of your unions.

President Gompers: I am going to ask the representatives of labor of Mexico, Canada, Great Britain, the United States, and last, but not least, of Germany, to hold hands in peace and determination to maintain that peace.

The request of the president was complied with, the representatives of the several movements clasping hands, and the entire assemblage joining in an enthusiastic demonstration that lasted some little time.

The Mexican delegates responded by saying: "Hurrah for Gompers! Hurrah for Morones! Hurrah for the Mexican Federation of Labor! Hurrah for the American Federation of Labor!"

C. A. Vargas, Spanish language secretary of the Pan-American Federation, and C. N. Idar, general organizer for the American Federation of Labor, interpreted the addresses made by several of the speakers.

The following representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor were seated on the platform with the officers: Ricardo Trevino, Reynaldo Cervantes Torres, Samuel O. Lindico, Juan Rico, Pedro M. Chavez, Abraham Sarabia, Eduardo Moneda, Fernando Rodarte, Ignacio E. Rodriguez, Pedro Rivera Flores, Juan B. Fonseca, Esquel Falcedo, Carlos L. Gracidas, Cayetano Perez Ruiz, Marcos R. Fris-tan, Vicente Lombardo Fole-dano, Salvador Alvarez, Eulalio Martinez.

**RESOLUTIONS**

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to committees:

**Labor Party**

Resolution No. 1—By John T. Wood, George H. Cartliff, George Chadwick, delegates of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters:

WHEREAS, We, the members of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, do not agree with the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor desist from the non-partisan policy and adopt direct political action, such as an exclusive Labor Party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.



**Labor Party**

**Resolution No. 2—**By the International Molders' Union of North America delegation:

WHEREAS, In the struggle between the organized workers and the employers it has become more and more apparent that the power of the government is being used on the side of the bosses, as witnessed by the infamous Daugherty injunction against the Railroad Shopmen, the abolition of the Federal Child Labor Law, and Women's Minimum Wage Law, and many other similar acts; and

WHEREAS, To protect our interests we workers must so organize ourselves in the various governmental bodies, which are now almost entirely controlled by the employing interests; and

WHEREAS, To protect our political interests, we must have a political party of our own, the prevailing political policy of labor being incapable of getting the best results; and

WHEREAS, The workers in many other instances, notably in Great Britain, have built powerful labor parties, which exert tremendous influence in their respective governments; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare that labor must form a political party of its own, based upon the trade unions and including all working class political organizations, and herewith instructs the Executive Council to take the necessary steps to form such a party; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That in order to permit this action, the American Federation of Labor Constitution shall be herewith amended by striking out Section 8, Article III.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Organization of All Steel Workers in One Organization**

**Resolution No. 3—**By the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

**RESOLVED,** That our delegate to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor request the different organizations who claim jurisdiction over certain crafts in the steel mills, relinquish such jurisdiction, so that all men in the steel mills shall become members of one organization. Also that we request the support of the A. F. of L. and the labor movement in general to give us such moral support as is compatible with our welfare and their interests, to the end that the steel industry be thoroughly organized.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**To Petition Governor of California to Grant an Unconditional Pardon to Thomas Mooney**

**Resolution No. 4—**By the International Molders' Union delegation:

WHEREAS, Time, the great healer of wounds and impartial explorer of human events, has, in the great legal tragedy known as the Mooney case, heaped circumstance on circumstance, fact on fact, confession on confession, and accumulated irrefutable evidence, not available during the trial, leading to the almost universal unprejudiced opinion that Thomas J. Mooney is innocent of the crime for which he is imprisoned at San Quentin State Prison; and

WHEREAS, The trial judge and appellate justices, the members of the jury, with but one exception, and all the material witnesses in the case, also with but one exception, are convinced that they contributed to the commission of irreparable error in the conviction of an innocent man, and now regret such action and would undo the wrong, if it were within their power; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of California has settled the law of the State, declaring the legal impossibility of granting a new trial and advising and recommending to the defendant his only recourse under the constitution and the laws of the State being an application for a pardon at the hands of the Governor of the State; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled, that we believe in the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney of the crime charged against him, and having faith in the people of California and their government, in their fairness and love of justice, we do hereby most sincerely and earnestly petition the Hon. Friend W. Richardson, Governor of the State of California, to grant an unconditional pardon to Thomas J. Mooney, and thus in a measure right the wrong done to him and vindicate the verdict of public opinion.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing That Organizations Provide Rules That Their Members When Working at Other Trades Shall Join the Organizations of Such Trades**

**Resolution No. 5—**By the International Molders' Union of North America delegation:

WHEREAS, The members of a number of the affiliated organizations have obligated their members when working at other trades than their

own to become members of the trade union organization of such trades; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor use its influence to the end that such rules shall be brought into effect in all of the affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**To Prevent Use of Government to Force Collection of Russian Accounts Due United States Citizens.**

Resolution No. 6.—By the International Molders' Union delegation:

**WHEREAS**, The present Russian Government has withstood all attacks launched against it, not only by enemies within its own boundary, but the attacks of hostile governments as well, for the period of more than five years; and

**WHEREAS**, Many European and other governments have established commercial relations with the Russian government that have proven not only mutually profitable to all such countries, but by such action they are enabling the Russian people to secure the access to foodstuffs, medicines, machinery, and other commodities which are sorely needed in their reconstruction work; and

**WHEREAS**, The present administration at Washington has thus far failed to open official commercial relationship with Russia, and by such action seriously handicaps and discourages efforts to establish commercial intercourse; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That if such a commercial treaty be entered into between the United States and Russia that under no circumstances shall the United States government use any form of coercion or force to collect any bills due to American merchants, manufacturers or banks.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Jurisdiction**

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America is infringing upon the jurisdictional rights of the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, and other organizations, affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

**WHEREAS**, After numerous confer-

ences we find that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes persist in claiming jurisdiction over all persons employed in the street and electric railway industry, including mechanics properly coming under the jurisdiction of several metal trades organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the jurisdictions of the metal trades organizations referred to above, be and are hereby fully recognized; and, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes stand instructed to discontinue its efforts to induce or accept for membership, employes coming under the jurisdiction of other affiliated organizations; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes stand instructed to transfer all metal trades mechanics now holding membership in that organization, to their proper metal trades organizations.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

**Conference to Adjust Differences With Whitehead-Hoag Company**

Resolution No. 8.—By James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

**WHEREAS**, The Whitehead-Hoag Company of Newark, N. J., manufacturers of badges, buttons and novelties, reduced wages in June of 1921, March, 1922, and again in April, 1922, affecting their employes affiliated with the following international unions: Metal Polishers' International Union, International Association of Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, Iron Trade Council of Newark, and vicinity; and

**WHEREAS**, This firm was declared antagonistic to organized labor by the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

**WHEREAS**, This firm has continued to run an open shop, and have been and are now employing strikebreakers; and

**WHEREAS**, This firm is constantly endeavoring to convince the general public that they are fair to organized labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The facts are that the only agreement this firm has is with the Allied Printing Trades; and

**WHEREAS**, This firm is now sending out to the trade letters claiming they are still a union concern for the reason that they are entitled to the use of the Allied Printing Trades label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the Executive Council to call a conference of representatives of all unions involved and representatives of the Allied Printing Trades, for the purpose of trying to bring about an adjustment of the grievances, and in case of the firm refusing to settle, that all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to refuse the use of their label in the future to the Whitehead-Hoag Company of Newark, N. J.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.  
**Jurisdiction**

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate Frank Thompson of the Coopers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There has been in effect a verbal working agreement between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Coopers' International Union of North America regarding the building and erecting of tanks since February 7, 1916, which provides that the Coopers are to build the tanks and the Carpenters to build the platforms and roofs; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America did not consistently live up to the agreement made with the Coopers' International Union of North America. The Coopers' International Union of North America instructed their delegate to the thirty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Buffalo, New York, November, 1917, to introduce the following resolution, and the American Federation of Labor records show that instructions were compiled with:

**Resolution**

Resolution No. 119.—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union of North America:

RESOLVED, That this convention direct that signed agreement be entered into between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Coopers' International Union of North America, and approved of by this convention, and lived up to by both organizations; and

WHEREAS, This resolution was referred to the Adjustment Committee of the thirty-seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the Adjustment Committee's report on resolution was to have the entire matter referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to arrange for a conference of both parties within ninety (90) days for adjustment, and if occasion warrants it an

agreement be drawn to safeguard jurisdictional rights of both parties; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Adjustment Committee was concurred in by the thirty-seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor, the international representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Coopers' International Union of North America met July 15, 1918, at the general office of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Indianapolis, Ind.; and

WHEREAS, In the course of the debate it developed that at the date of July 15, 1918, no disputes exist. The conclusions arrived at are as follows:

1. If a local controversy should arise in the future it shall be referred to the president of the two organizations for adjustment.

2. In order to avoid future trouble the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America proposed amalgamation of the Coopers with the Carpenters. The representatives of the Coopers claim a matter of that kind would have to be ratified by their members. It was agreed that the general officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America propose terms and conditions leading up to amalgamation.

3. It was further agreed that one of the general officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America attend the next convention of the Coopers' International Union to be held in New York City, September, 1919.

WHEREAS, The Representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America did make a proposition of amalgamation to the Coopers' International Union at the Coopers' New York Convention, held September, 1919, and said proposition of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was not accepted by the Coopers; and

WHEREAS, There had been no case of infringement of the jurisdiction of the Coopers by the Carpenters that had not been adjusted according to agreement, that the Coopers would build and erect the tanks and the Carpenters the platforms and roofs. It was quite a surprise to the Coopers' International Union when authentic information was received that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America had issued a charter to Tank Makers in the City of Chicago, Ill., that were known as Local Union No. 193 of the Coopers' International Union of North America. This Local Union of Tank Makers and Erectors, No. 193, were granted a charter by

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the Coopers' International Union of North America in 1903 and have been in continuous good standing with the Coopers' International Union, until after a charter was granted them, October 1, 1924, by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. These same Tank Makers in Chicago, Ill., have worked under a signed agreement with their employers, endorsed by the General Executive Board of the Coopers' International Union, and there is at this date a contract in effect covering wages and conditions, also granting use of Coopers' Union Label, which they have used for years, that does not expire until May 31, 1925; and

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union sent letters of protest to General President Wm. L. Hutcheson and General Secretary Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, protesting against the Carpenters and Joiners taking over any of the Local Unions of the Coopers' International Union that are engaged in the manufacture and erecting of tanks; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have ignored this protest, and, it being a clear case of abrogating their agreement with the Coopers' International Union of North America, also a violation of the decision and instructions of the thirty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, direct the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to cancel charter or charters issued by that organization to Tank Makers and Erectors, and also direct that the agreement that has been in effect between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Coopers' International Union of North America be lived up to, namely, that the Coopers manufacture and erect tanks and the Carpenters build platforms and roofs.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Organization of Bank Clerks**

Resolution No. 10 — By Delegate Ernest Bohn of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York:

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 11, dealing with the unionizing of bank clerks in New York, was unanimously adopted by the forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon; and

WHEREAS, The deplorable conditions under which the bank clerks work, the long hours and the low pay, are causing them to revolt, and, according to the representatives of the

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, large numbers of them realize that only through organization can they improve their conditions; and

WHEREAS, While denying a living wage to their employes, the big banks pile up huge profits, twenty-five national banks in New York City in thirteen months ending October, 1924, averaging a profit of 33 per cent on their capital stock, earning close to 34 million dollars, and these and other banks are members of the American Bankers' Association and enjoy the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, The big banks maintain open shops, and with few exceptions deny to their employes the right to organize, and intimidate them against joining the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, under penalty of dismissal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-fourth annual convention of the A. F. of L. at El Paso, Texas, that the action of these bankers in refusing to concede to their employes the right to organize, and refusing the principle of collective bargaining, be condemned, and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to give all possible aid and support to the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646, in its work of organizing the bank clerks, and, further, to appeal to all workers, labor organizations and progressive-minded business men to patronize banking institutions employing union clerks.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**To Declare Holland Furnace Company Unfair**

Resolution No. 11 — By delegation representing International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Holland Furnace Company's foundry in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is on strike; and

WHEREAS, The efforts to organize the Holland Furnace Company's foundry in Holland, Mich., met with the company's bitter, active hostility; and

WHEREAS, In connection with this effort to organize members of the Molders' Union were mobbed, its organizers driven from the city by mob action, local members assaulted, and the son of one of the members kidnaped; and

WHEREAS, The city authorities, apparently dominated by the Holland Furnace Company, declined to take any steps to protect the citizens of Holland, Mich., who were members of the International Molders' Union; and

WHEREAS, Every effort to bring about a friendly understanding with the Holland Furnace Company has re-

sulted in failure, the last statement made by the company to the president of the International Molders' Union being that they would "continue to operate an open shop;" and

WHEREAS, A number of State Federations of Labor and a large number of Central Labor Councils have declared the Holland Furnace Company to be unfair, because of its attitude toward the International Molders' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare that the Holland Furnace Company is unfair because of its open, active hostility to the International Molders' Union, and that the officers of this department be instructed to convey this information to all of the affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

#### Organization of Women Office Workers

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York:

WHEREAS, The forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon, adopted Resolution No. 10 unanimously, dealing with the subject "Women in Industry;" and

WHEREAS, A very large number of women are employed as office workers who should be educated along trades union policies and ideals; and

WHEREAS, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646, has been making every effort to induce these workers to join their union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at El Paso, Texas, that the Executive Council and the international unions assist in organizing women office workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

#### Ratification of Child Labor Amendment

Resolution No. 13 — By Delegates Thomas H. McMahon and Sara G. Conboy, of the United Textile Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States is now before the several States for ratification or rejection; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to have three-quarters of the forty-eight States ratify same before it becomes a law; and

WHEREAS, Many attempts are being made to destroy or kill this very

humane amendment to our laws by powerful interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this forty-fourth convention of the A. F. of L., pledge our solemn word to use our every effort to place on the Federal statute books a law which will compel backward child labor law states to observe common decency toward children in mill, mine and factory.

Referred to Committee on Education.

#### Representation for Interested Organizations in Determination of Legislative Programs

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate E. A. Moses of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors:

WHEREAS, Suggestions for state or national legislative action are at times the subject of consideration by the Executive Council or other official bodies of the American Federation of Labor, vitally affecting the welfare of certain affiliated organizations; and

WHEREAS, Such legislative matters have been taken under consideration, and a program for action outlined without giving due advance notice to those affiliated organizations which would be affected thereby; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be furnished advance information, outlining any contemplated state or national legislative program, and an opportunity afforded for such affiliated organizations to be represented in any conferences or other meetings at which these matters are discussed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Application of Cloth Hat and Cap Makers for Change of Title to Include Millinery Workers

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate M. Zuckerman, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America:

WHEREAS, The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers adopted at their last convention, held in May, 1923, the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, There is fair promise that every question as to our jurisdiction over the millinery trade will be entirely eliminated within the near future, since the United Hatters have already declared a desire to relinquish all claim of jurisdiction over the millinery trade; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That as soon as the final settlement will be reached the incoming general executive board shall take the necessary steps to change the

name of our international union so as to include the millinery workers in the title of our organization;" and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its session held in Montreal in May, 1924, adopted the following decision:

"The decision of the Executive Council is that jurisdiction over all millinery workers be given to the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, in view of the fact that the executive officers of the United Hatters of North America have stated before the council that the Hatters have freely relinquished jurisdiction over these workers. This will include the two locals that the United Hatters of North America have pledged themselves to keep within their organization;" and

WHEREAS, In accordance with the above, a final settlement has been reached between the United Hatters and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor grant the request of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers that the name of the organization be changed to include the millinery workers in the title of the organization; to wit, that this organization be known as "Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union."

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

**Proposing That A. F. of L. Institute Legal Investigations of Assaults Made Upon Union Members When Engaged in Trade Union Activities**

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Chas. H. Franck of the Central Trades Council of Mobile, Alabama:

WHEREAS, Members of Unions as well as regularly appointed and designated representatives of National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, engaged in the lawful pursuit of expounding the purposes and principles of Trade Unionism, or endeavoring to bring about peaceful adjustments of existing grievances between employer and employes are often the victims of vicious and murderous attacks by agents in the employ of those opposed to industrial freedom; and

WHEREAS, Those made the object of such assaults and attacks by mobs or hired thugs and are by themselves often helpless and unable to secure the conviction or apprehension of those guilty, or recover by legal action such damages as they are justly and legally entitled to, owing to the great expense; and

WHEREAS, The victims of these assaults are many times permanently

crippled and henceforth unable to follow their trade or calling as a result of the attacks and brutal treatment received at the hands of the thugs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby authorized and instructed to conduct a careful and thorough investigation immediately upon receipt of information of any attack upon a Union member engaged in performance of his or her duty; that the said Executive Board is authorized and directed to engage such competent aid and assistance, legal or otherwise, as may be needful and necessary—extend needful aid and assistance to the member attacked; that those found to be implicated be prosecuted to the full extent of the law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the said Executive Board shall have power and authority to accumulate a special fund from which the costs shall be paid, by appeals to the membership of the American Federation of Labor and donations received from members.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Requesting A. F. of L. to Assign One or More Organizers to Southern States**

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Chas. H. Frank of the Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama:

WHEREAS, Just as there have been periods during which great strides have been made in the development of industry in the East, West and North, so, it is apparent that a similar period is now at hand with reference to the South; and

WHEREAS, It is of the utmost importance that no legitimate means be left untried to organize the tens of thousands engaged in the many industries in the South. The time to start is now. The united efforts of all International Unions should be coordinated in a general organizing campaign in every section of the South; and

WHEREAS, The Alabama State Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Birmingham during the month of May (1924) adopted a report recommending that the American Federation of Labor assign one or more of the Federation Organizers permanently in the South, believing that with the aid of the organizers, having permanent headquarters in some centrally located city as Birmingham or Atlanta, the work could and would be stimulated, new interest aroused, new local unions formed, etc., the Central Trades Council of Mobile, Ala., recommends for adoption by the American Federation of Labor, the following:

RESOLVED, That the industrial

awakening of the South calls for increased activity in organized labor activities on the part of every affiliated National and International Union and to assist in promoting the Union cause and movement, the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to appoint or assign one or more American Federation of Labor organizers for work in the States lying east of the Mississippi River and that Birmingham or Atlanta be designated as the permanent address of the said organizers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Proposing that American Federation of Labor Compile Information in Regard to Location of Labor Temples, Costs and Methods of Financing**

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegate Chas. H. Franck of the Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama:

WHEREAS It is a matter of record that the American Federation of Labor favors and encourages the erection of labor temples, the American Federation of Labor does not, however, in any manner undertake to inject itself into the question as to the advisability of building or acquiring a temple in any locality, believing that this is entirely a matter for the union membership to decide, nor does the Federation assume any liability for the success or failure of the ventures; and

WHEREAS, All too often the erection of a labor temple is undertaken in localities without giving the subject the thought and study it deserves and hence, while those promoting the project are sincere and honest, the venture becomes more of a hindrance than a help to the cause of organized labor, and while the project has been undertaken at a time of temporary industrial activity, it later on becomes a heavy load to carry, causing all too often discord, strife and dissension and suspicion, and

WHEREAS, It is essential that there should be available accurate data on the subject of labor temples, for the guidance of those in organized labor's ranks who may be impelled to promote erecting or acquiring a labor temple; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to secure from all available sources full information bearing on the subject of labor temples — where located, how promoted, under what plan, the cost, amount of money subscribed, amount of indebtedness, the form of indebtedness, the cost of maintaining the temple, etc.; that this information be carefully compiled and tabulated and

printed in pamphlet form for distribution to officers of labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to ascertain the present status of existing labor temples in territory covered by the Federation, for the purpose of devising some plan whereby the temples may be safeguarded from falling into the possession or ownership of those opposed to organized labor and by so devising a plan insure the union membership against great property loss, discouragement in co-operative efforts and prevent loss of interest in labor union activities.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

**Recommending That National Unions Require All Members to Fulfill Legal Requirements for Citizenship and Become Voters**

Resolution No. 19.—By Delegate Chas. H. Franck, of the Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama:

If ever the Government of the United States is to be restored to the People, it is of the utmost importance that the great mass of the people should exercise their right of the ballot. The wage earner of all must be shown the necessity of being a voter. Members of the unions must not be permitted to drift along. They should be taught without delay the need and necessity of them, of all people, being able to exercise their birthright. To this end it is recommended that the American Federation of Labor urge upon the affiliated unions, the adoption of a rule making it compulsory for every union member to become a legal resident of the community in which they reside. The following resolution is suggested:

RESOLVED, That the need of Union members being qualified electors of their states is of the utmost importance to the future well being of the Nation and its people and it is recommended that all International Unions incorporate in their constitutions and by-laws a provision whereby members must become voters in the community wherein they reside. That failure to become a qualified voter, if the member is or has been a resident the requisite length of time, shall be cause sufficient to penalize such a member. International Unions insist that aliens become citizens. It is just as important that native born Americans should be legal voters for, without the right to vote, citizenship loses its greatest blessing.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**To Re-Affirm and Urge Adequate Postal Service Wage Standards**

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Straup, R. L. Ritter, T. Grant Woodward of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swarts, Chas. E. Duffy, John T. Mugavin of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, After an extended investigation and most thorough consideration of the question of postal pay standards, the Sixty-Eighth Congress, with only nine dissenting votes in both Houses, passed a bill (S. 1898), which provided for wage increases for the postal workers; and

WHEREAS, This wage bill was subsequently disapproved by the President and returned to Congress, where action on the presidential veto will be taken when Congress reconvenes on December 1, 1924; and

WHEREAS, Every reason advanced heretofore by the postal employes for their pay increases applies today with equal force and logic and from evidence at hand public opinion is practically a unit in support of this meritorious measure; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor

movement, in common with all elements in our country that are concerned with an efficient postal service, actively and effectively supported the postal employes in their petitions for higher wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in forty-fourth convention assembled, reaffirming its endorsement and advocacy of an adequate postal service wage standard—both as a requisite for a dependable agency to serve the public and in simple justice to faithful workers—urges the Congress to speedily enact S. 1898; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to mail at once a copy of this resolution and action thereon to each member of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

President Gompers: The benediction is pronounced, and this convention will stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The convention adjourned at 6:00 o'clock p. m.



## Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

El Paso, Texas, November 18, 1924.

The convention was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m. by President Gompers.

### Absentees

Pickett, Zuckerman, Bryan, Hogan, Crough, Lewis, J. L., Murray, Yarrow, Hannah, Burke, J. P., Freeman, Drum, Barry, Barringer, Finlay, Iglesias, Short, Townsend, Bowen, L., Bland, Cabral, Bland, Bruns, Gill, Gentry, Hughes, F., Saether, Costello, Ferns, Laylor, Bower, Wood, Dale, Abrams, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Williams, Camous, Cokely, Brasfield, Browne, Portway.

### Report of Committee on Credentials

Delegate McKeon, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Upon the request of the chairman of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation, we recommend that the following delegates be seated:

John Snyder to take the place of Paul J. Morrin.

W. E. Reddin to take the place of M. J. Cunnane.

Upon telegraphic request received from John J. Scannell, secretary of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, we recommend the seating of George Allen as delegate from the Michigan State Federation of Labor.

Your committee have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity—Joseph P. Ryan, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates named were seated.

### Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business

Delegate Nicholson, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in El Paso, Texas, November 17, 1924, submit the following report:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m.; reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30 p. m.

Rule 2. If a delegate, while speak-

ing, be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention. The committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least thirty delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll-call has been

taken and all delegates present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll-call ballot has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

#### Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session, which shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of committee on credentials.
3. Report of officers.
4. Report of regular committees.
5. Report of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Chairman,  
G. H. NICHOLSON, Secretary,  
EDWARD I. HANNAH,  
HUBERT S. MARSHALL,  
DAISY A. HOUCK,  
R. L. RITER,  
J. J. SCULLEY,  
EDWARD CROUCH,  
GEORGE H. CARTLIDGE,  
FRED FLANDREAU,  
M. J. CUNNANE,  
F. G. STECKER,  
WILLIAM KOHN,  
JOHN COLLINS,  
J. P. McLAUGHLIN,  
MICHAEL J. BROWNE,  
W. R. WALDREN,

Committee on Rules and  
Order of Business

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams addressed to the officers and delegates of the convention:

"The Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion extends greetings to the American Federation of Labor at their 1924 annual convention. Our organization has always favored legislation that favored labor and opposed legislation that opposed labor. May success attend all your endeavors.

"MARVIN GATES SPERRY,

National President,

"Washington, D. C."

"Atlantic City, with its splendid hotel accommodations, famous boardwalk, excellent convention facilities, and variety of other attractions, would welcome privilege of entertaining your association in nineteen twenty-five. Confident of our ability to make your meeting here stand out in history of

American Federation of Labor as one of most pleasant memories and profitable accomplishments. T's invitation subscribed to by mayor, city commissioners, chamber of commerce, and hotel associations.

"Atlantic City Convention and  
Publicity Bureau."

Secretary Morrison also read the following message from Rev. Robert O'Loughran:

"The Rt. Rev. Bishop Schuler, Bishop of El Paso, has arranged a solemn pontifical high mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral at 10:30 a. m. on Sunday, Nov. 23. At this mass a special sermon will be preached on "The Catholic Church and Labor." The members of the American Federation of Labor are invited to attend this mass."

Secretary Morrison read the list of committees and asked for reports. The chairman of each committee announced that no report was ready.

President Gompers: The chair desires to call attention to the fact that an invitation has been extended and will be considered by the convention regarding a trip to Mexico City to participate in two events. One is the inauguration of President Calles of Mexico, and the other the convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. There is a disposition to try to give all the attention and time necessary for the transaction of our business of the convention of the American Federation of Labor; also having in mind the desire to accept the invitation and such numbers of the officers and delegates to attend the inauguration of President Calles and the convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

If some of the delegates, or all of them, care to participate in these proceedings in Mexico City, it will be necessary to apply ourselves to our business in hand with all the expedition possible, consistent with a fair consideration of the importance of our business.

I therefore desire to prevail upon the committees of the convention to proceed with their work as expeditiously as possible and give their matters full consideration, but not waste a minute unnecessarily. The committees are not in a position to report now but we ought to have an intermission

to give them an opportunity to organize and to work.

An opportunity will now be given for the introduction of resolutions. Resolutions may be introduced during the day and up until 10 o'clock tonight. After the convention adjourns, resolutions will be accepted at Room 435, Paso Del Norte Hotel.

**REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE**

Delegate Dunachie, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:  
Greeting:

As your auditing committee, duly appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor as provided by section 4, article 3 of the constitution, we herewith submit for your consideration and action the following report:

We have examined and audited the books and records of the American Federation of Labor covering all fiscal transactions for twelve months, beginning September 1, 1923, and ending August 31, 1924.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

**RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand August 31, 1923 .....	\$224,276.16
Per capita tax .....	\$366,504.94
American Federationist .....	77,991.50
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals ..	\$34,084.28
Refund of strike benefits .....	294.00
	34,378.28
Initiation fees .....	10,218.60
Reinstatement fees .....	275.75
Supplies .....	6,753.97
Special assessment, freight handlers .....	391.50
Interest:	
Bank deposits ..	5,024.21
U. S. Liberty Bonds .....	1,600.00
Canadian Victory Loans .....	825.00
	7,449.21
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L....	6,593.44

Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	1,840.45
	\$512,397.64
Total receipts.....	\$736,673.80

**EXPENSES**

General .....	\$412,902.27
American Federationist.....	63,961.08
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions .....	17,241.00
Special assessment, Feight Handlers .....	400.46
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions..	5,523.52
Total expenses.....	\$500,028.33
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1924.....	\$236,645.47

**RECAPITULATION**

In General Fund.....	\$ 35,513.91
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions .....	201,131.56

Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1924. \$236,645.47  
**Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested**

The bank balances of the secretary and the treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in the Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates .....	100,000.00
On deposit in the Indiana National Bank, subject to check .....	79,645.47
Liberty Bonds .....	40,000.00
Canadian Victory Bonds....	15,000.00
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison, \$	8,761.78
Outstanding checks	6,761.78
	2,000.00
Total .....	\$236,645.47

With respect to the U. S. Liberty Bonds and the Canadian Victory Bonds, as listed in this report, note is made of the fact that these were not presented at the time the auditing committee was in session, but it is understood that a certificate showing that they are on deposit as noted in report will be presented at the convention by

Vice-President Duffy and committee.

Minutes of the Executive Council of October 20 to 25, 1924, were presented to the auditing committee and we noted that the following resolution was adopted:

"That Vice-President Duffy be authorized to appoint two representative trade unionists at Indianapolis to be associated with him and jointly to examine into the bonds, securities and other funds in the possession of the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and that the three jointly make affidavit as to their findings and have it in the possession of the President of the American Federation of Labor at the El Paso convention in November, 1924."

The Auditing Committee approves of the action of the Executive Council in safeguarding the securities of the Federation.

To the Auditing Committee, Forty-Fourth Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, El Paso, Texas:

Brothers:

The undersigned, accompanied by Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, visited the Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., on Nov. 5th, 1924, and examined the accounts of the American Federation of Labor. We certify to the following:

#### Certificates of Deposit

1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	\$ 5,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	5,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	5,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	5,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
1 certificate Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. ....	10,000.00
Total .....	\$100,000.00

#### Liberty Bonds

1 Fourth Liberty Bond No. 1527 .....	\$10,000.00
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1 Third Liberty Bond No. 1287 .....	10,000.00
1 Second Liberty Bond No. 482 .....	5,000.00
1 Second Liberty Bond No. 483 .....	5,000.00
1 Registered Liberty Bond No. 2721 .....	5,000.00
1 Registered Liberty Bond No. 2722 .....	5,000.00
Total .....	\$ 40,000.00

#### Canadian Victory Bonds

1 bond No. L001313 .....	\$ 5,000.00
1 bond No. XX000925V .....	5,000.00
1 bond No. XX000926V .....	5,000.00
Total .....	\$15,000.00

#### Checking Account

Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check Aug. 31, 1924 .....	\$53,225.92
In transit between Washington, D. C. and Indianapolis; deposited September 2d, 1924, as per attached statement by vice-president of Indiana National Bank .....	26,419.55
Total .....	\$79,645.47

#### Recapitulation

Certificates of deposit .....	\$100,000.00
Liberty bonds .....	40,000.00
Canadian Victory bonds .....	15,000.00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, subject to check .....	79,645.47
Total .....	\$234,645.47

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,

2nd Vice-President of the A. F. of L. and Gen. Secy. U. B. of C. and J. of America.

JAMES C. SHANESSY,

Pres. Journeyman Barbers' Int. Union

THOMAS I. HUGHES,

Secy.-Treas. Int. Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

State of Indiana, County of Marion, ss.:

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5th day of November, 1924.

JOSEPH O. CARSON,

Notary Public

My commission expires Jan. 25, 1928

Indianapolis, Ind. Nov. 5, 1924.

Mr. Daniel J. Tobin,  
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir: This is to certify that the balance on your treasurer's account of the American Federation of Labor at the close of business Aug. 31, 1924, as shown on our books was \$53,225.92 and that there was a deposit made on Sept. 2, of \$26,419.55, making the bal-

ance at the close of business Sept. 2, \$79,645.47.

Yours truly,  
G. F. PATTERSON,  
Vice-President

**German Trade Union Fund**

Contributions from international unions, national unions, state federations, city central bodies, local unions, trade unionists and friends, for the sustenance of the trade union movement of Germany. This appeal was issued on Dec. 12, 1923, by order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The total contributions from Dec. 14, 1923, to and including Aug. 31, 1924, were \$27,007.54, and the expenditures from Jan. 2, 1924, to and including Aug. 31, 1924, were \$27,007.54, the account being squared on Aug. 31, 1924.

**Recapitulation**

Contributions from Dec. 14, 1923, to and including Aug. 31, 1924 .....	\$27,007.54
<b>Expenditures—</b>	
Hermann Kube, treasurer, General Federation of German Trade Unions..	\$23,283.45
*Otto Wels, Social Democratic party of Germany	1,600.00
*K. Heinze, president Fur Workers' Union of Germany .....	1,000.00
*Th. Reinacker, president Leather Workers' Union of Germany .....	100.00
Postage, printing and envelopes .....	1,024.09

Total expenditures from Jan. 2, 1924, to and including Aug. 31, 1924.. \$27,007.54

An itemized report of this fund has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

\*Note. — These amounts were forwarded as per requests of contributors.

We have examined all records and find them correctly reported.

**Fund for Publicity Purposes**

Contributions received from international unions upon request of President Gompers, for publicity purposes, showed receipts from Feb. 3, 1923, to and including Aug. 31, 1924, \$11,995.00, and expenses from March 26, 1923, to and including Aug. 31, 1924, \$2,406.23, leaving a balance on hand Aug. 31, 1924, amounting to \$9,588.77.

**Recapitulation**

Total donations, Feb. 3, 1923, to Aug. 31, 1924.....	\$11,995.00
Total expenses, Mar. 26, 1923, to Aug. 31, 1924.....	2,406.23

Balance on hand Aug. 31, 1924 .....

\$9,588.77

An itemized report of the receipts and expenses will be printed in

pamphlet form and a copy mailed to each contributor at the conclusion of this campaign.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Contributions to American Federation of Labor, National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee Fund**

Appeals were issued April 7, and Aug. 13, 1924, by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. for contributions to assist in carrying out the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention, to defeat candidates for office hostile to the trade union movement, and elect candidates who may be relied upon to support measures favorable to labor. The amount received in response to the appeal to carry on the 1924 political campaign from April 9, 1924, to and including Aug. 31, 1924, was \$4,174.97, and expenses from July 11, 1924, to and including Aug. 31, 1924, were \$1,948.51, leaving a balance on hand Aug. 31, 1924, amounting to \$2,226.46.

**Recapitulation**

Total donations, April 9, 1924, to Aug. 31, 1924.....	\$4,174.97
Total expenses, July 11, 1924, to Aug. 31, 1924 .....	1,948.51

Balance on hand Aug. 31, 1924 .....

\$2,226.46

An itemized report of the receipts and expenses will be printed in pamphlet form and a copy mailed to each contributor at the conclusion of this campaign.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Fund for Promoting and Advancing Co-operation**

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing co-operation upon the plan of the Rochdale Co-operative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including Aug. 31, 1924, \$4,367.78, and expenses from Feb. 6, 1919, to and including Aug. 31, 1924, \$2,171.51, leaving a balance on hand Aug. 31, 1924, amounting to \$2,196.27.

**Recapitulation**

Total donations April 1, 1918, to Aug. 31, 1924.....	\$4,367.78
Total expenses Feb. 6, 1919, to Aug. 31, 1924 .....	2,171.51

Balance on hand Aug. 31, 1924 .....

\$2,196.27

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to

headquarters. Additional report will be completed when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

#### American Federation of Labor Building Fund

Balance on hand Aug. 31,	
1923 .....	\$9,166.36
Receipts .....	27,314.90
Total receipts .....	\$36,481.26
Expenses .....	27,624.67

Balance on hand Aug. 31,	
1924 .....	\$8,856.59

#### Recapitulation

Receipts .....	\$36,481.26
Expenses .....	27,624.67

Balance on hand Aug. 31,	
1924 .....	\$8,856.59

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank,	356.59
Mount Vernon Savings Bank,	
interest bearing certificates (4 per cent) .....	3,500.00
Federal Farm Loan bonds (4½ per cent) .....	5,000.00

Balance on hand Aug. 31,	
1924 .....	\$8,856.59

(See page 30, Executive Council's report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance—\$8,856.59—invested and deposited as follows:

Federal Farm Loan bonds, bearing 4½ per cent interest .....	\$5,000.00
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates at 4 per cent .....	3,500.00
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., at 3 per cent interest subject to check .....	\$375.59
Outstanding checks..	19.00
	<u>356.59</u>

Total .....	\$8,856.59
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We also personally inspected and counted the Federal Farm Loan bonds in the safe deposit vaults of the Mount Vernon Savings Bank of Washington, D. C., amounting to \$5,000.00, and the \$3,500.00 certificate of deposit and bank book, and found them correct.

#### Securities in Hands of Treasurer

U. S. Liberty Bonds—	Par Value
Second Issue, No. 482 .....	\$ 5,000.00
No. 483 .....	5,000.00
Victory, No. 1210 .....	10,000.00

Third issue, No. 1287 .....	10,000.00
Fourth issue, No. 1527 .....	10,000.00

Total .....	\$40,000.00
Canadian Victory bonds .....	15,000.00

Total .....	\$55,000.00
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The attention of the delegates is invited to the condition of the Federation. Despite the strong efforts of the open-shoppers and anti-propagandists, we maintained our organizations, and in many instances made gains.

In being conducted by President Gompers and Secretary Morrison through the beautiful home of the Federation, it speaks volume for those who had the foresight to erect such a magnificent structure. We observed the work of Secretary Morrison and his able assistants, and we highly commend them for the efficient manner in which the affairs of the Federation are conducted and the manner in which the securities are safeguarded.

Your committee desires to express our appreciation to President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and their assistants for their untiring efforts in assisting us with the affairs of the audit.

Fraternally submitted,

JOHN F. DUNACHIE, Chairman,  
JAMES P. McKEON, Secretary,  
JOHN J. DOYLE

Auditing Committee.

A motion was made and seconded to approve the report of the auditing committee.

President Gompers: There is one remark the chair desires to make. The President of the American Federation of Labor does not appoint the auditors. The constitution provides that the president of the federation shall select three international union officers, who in turn shall each select one of their delegates-elect to this convention to constitute the auditing committee. That is the way this committee on audit was constituted. Three organizations were selected, and it has been my desire—and I have carried it out as best I could—that the honors or the opportunity might go around to the officers and the delegates-elect to be upon the auditing committee as well as upon the committee on credentials.

It is intended that as far as possible the auditors should be removed from any influence which the president or other officer of the American Federation of Labor might have. With that explanation, the question is before the house.

The motion to approve the report of the auditing committee was carried.

**President Gompers:** The chairman of the local committee, Brother Moran, desires that the announcement be made that tomorrow morning, immediately after the adjournment of the session, a group picture of the officers and delegates to this convention will be made. It is the desire that all the delegates and officers, and, for that matter, all the visitors might be in attendance, so that a group picture of the delegates and friends in this convention may be made.

At this juncture, and it being mutually convenient, we shall have submitted to us some remarks of an interesting nature. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, taking into consideration the limited time and the conservation of time, could not extend the courtesy of the convention floor to as many as would like to have addressed us. However, there are some who have been accorded that privilege, and at this time I take pleasure in presenting to this convention Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

**Address of Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr.**

President Gompers, delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and friends:

There is an ancient parable of a man who was going for a journey into a far country, and he called his servants unto him and gave unto the first five talents, unto the second two talents and unto the third one talent—to each according to his several ability. And you will recall that when he returned he summoned these servants before him for an accounting of their stewardship, and that he was angry with the servant who had merely buried his talent in the ground. For nearly nineteen hundred years this parable uttered by the gentle Carpenter of Nazareth has exemplified the

principle of stewardship whether applied to the individual or to organized groups of individuals.

A year ago at Portland, the forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor gave to the workers' education movement in this country and to the Workers' Education Bureau which I have the honor to represent, as generous and whole-hearted support as I suppose you have ever given any educational undertaking. You gave the full five talents, and I am here to make an accounting of stewardship to the men and women of the American labor movement who conferred that trust upon us thirteen months ago.

In the report of the Executive Council to the Portland convention you will remember the detailed statement that was made of the purpose and services of the Workers' Educational Bureau. It was a thoroughly adequate statement of the precise way in which the bureau is prepared to promote adult education within the American trade union movement under labor's own auspices. In that report it was recorded that there were fourteen national and international unions, five state federations of labor, and thirty-four central bodies and local unions throughout the country, that were actively supporting the work of the bureau. That was an appreciable gain in affiliations since the Cincinnati convention the year before.

The Portland convention gave added impetus to this whole endeavor for adult workers' education. In the statesmanlike report prepared by your committee on education which was adopted unanimously by the convention, the whole future of the American labor movement was considered as dependent in large measure upon the education of the membership. This emphasis on the need of adult workers' education had a profound reaction in the local lodges and organizations of labor from one end of the country to the other. For you appealed not only to national and international unions, state federations and central bodies to undertake active affiliation, but you also gave encouragement to the establishment of workers' study classes for the free and impartial study of economic and industrial problems by members of organized labor.

What has been the result of your educational appeal? By the first of January, 1924, the number of affiliations from national and international unions had nearly trebled, and those from state federations had more than doubled, as had central and local unions throughout this country.

But more than that, my friends. The trade union movement of this country became so interested that in one local trade union college permanent educational directors were established under their direction, that in two more state federations acting directors of education were employed

while in two district councils and in one local trade union college permanent educational directors have been established?

Generally speaking the whole workers' education movement in the United States has been lifted up by your convention action from a local to a national undertaking. From over two hundred centers in thirty states came requests, some old but many new, for information literature, advice about teachers and teaching methods. During this period since you adjourned the Portland convention sine die, I estimate that over thirty thousand workmen and women in the spirit of complete equality have been engaged in consecutive study while approximately 300,000 have been reached through mass education.

In the field of the publications of the bureau, also, we feel particularly gratified at this time to be able to report to you that with untiring energy, critical skill and complete understanding of the American trade union movement, of the members of the members of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. George W. Perkins, Mr. Matthew Woll and Mr. John P. Frey, who have served on our editorial board, it has been possible for us to continue the publication of the Workers' Book Shelf, which was created primarily to become a kind of library for the working man of this country.

It was our particular privilege during this past year to publish in the Book Shelf for the postal workers' organizations of this country, a study of that vast government undertaking—the postal industry. It is a most important and carefully prepared record of the postal industry in this country.

Shortly after the railway department of the American Federation of Labor began that highly constructive effort for extending the field of collective bargaining upon the Baltimore & Ohio railroad system, they came to the Workers' Education Bureau to assist them in preparing a textbook for the membership of the railway organizations of this country. We are able to report at this time that we have practically completed this study of the history and development of the transportation industry in this country, and the general principles of co-operative railroading. Mr. Jewell and some of the other representatives of that department will be glad to testify at this time, I am sure, that this educational project is going to lay the foundation among our railway workers of an understanding, and an appreciation of the role of that great industry in the development of our country, never before accomplished.

We have also been consulted by a number of trade unions about the preparation of histories of their own organizations. We have been able to make studies and to prepare a num-

ber of special reports and services for the permanent educational committee of the American Federation of Labor.

So great, indeed, has been this response to the work which we have been doing that it is possible to report to you at this time not only these tangible achievements of our collective endeavor, but that at the present time there are in active affiliation with this bureau seventy-five per cent of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, through their national and international unions, state federations of labor, central and local bodies. In the face of such a record can anyone deny the intention on the part of the American trade union movement to make this whole effort for adult education among their own membership not only something to which they give passive endorsement, but a thing to which they are giving the most active, the most loyal, the most devoted kind of support?

There is another phase of adult workers' education to which it is appropriate at this time to refer. It is the international aspect. The chairman of your educational committee has suggested that it might be of interest to the delegates at this convention to have a brief report at this time about the international conference on workers' education, which was held at Ruskin College in Oxford, England, this last summer.

This second international conference was of extraordinary interest. It brought together the representatives of something over a million working-class students who were actively engaged in different study classes and trade union colleges in twenty-three different countries of the world. For many of us this conference revealed the tremendous possibilities of this whole workers' educational movement in the field of international relations. For here there were meeting on English soil, for the first time since the war, the representatives of the German and Austrian workers' educational movements with the representatives of the other nations of the world. In other words, workers' education was providing a platform upon which working men and women of good will of all countries could meet together and discuss the problems and concerns which were of mutual interest to them and to the welfare of mankind.

In addition, then, to creating standards for an international workers' educational movement, this conference went on record in favor of the exchange of students and teachers of the workers' educational movements in the various countries, so that in the future our international relations might be built not on mutual distrust and force, but on mutual understanding and good will.



May I add a word about the development in Europe of a phase of this whole workers' educational movement which does go to the roots of this whole question. It is in the development of the summer schools, where working men and women have been coming together in the spirit of equality as seekers of the truth, to try and see if it is not possible to create a better understanding of international relations. For if working people are to take a more active part in international affairs, they must learn more about them.

At the great international summer school which was held at Vienna this summer, representatives of eighteen different countries came together—many of them members of the new parliaments of Europe, as well as trade union leaders, editors and teachers, to study the governments and institutions of the various countries. I was invited to lecture on "American History and Government and the American Trade Union Movement." It was a very high privilege. Here were men and women who were thinking through the problem of establishing a United States of Europe, patterned after the United States of America. They were profoundly interested in the whole story of our rise from a land settlement to a world power. They were thrilled by the story—and it is a thrilling story—of our great adventure of building a democratic community in a great wilderness in the western world, during these past one hundred and forty years. They are looking to our country, to our institutions, to our movements, to see what there is of value, what there is of suggestion for their own movements and their own country.

And if you had seen the eagerness with which these students gathered together in this great international summer school to learn about our great country and about our American trade union movement, I think you would have felt the same sense of pride and humility that I did. In the presence of such keen interest it was not difficult to interpret what it seems to me are the great ideals of America and of the American trade union movement.

This interpreting the peoples of the various countries one with another is a part of the service of workers' education to better international relations. Such interpreters are needed.

There are too few men and women who go to Europe, who can do interpret to the people of Europe what the great aims and ideals of our American democracy and our American labor movement are. It is of the utmost importance that we give the most emphatic encouragement to the development of such interpreters from the trade union movement, who can come together and sit down and ex-

plain without passion, without partisanship, without prejudice, what it is that lies at the heart of the movements of these two countries. This is the path of peace. This may become the people's part in peace.

In the light of the goal which we all seek, and in the face of what seems to be an apparent need, would it not be an appropriate thing for us to consider at this time the advisability of creating some kind of international exchange scholarships which would enable representatives of the American trade union movement each year to attend some of these trade union colleges or summer schools in the different countries, in co-operation with the European trade union movements?

I could not help feeling yesterday afternoon, President Comper, at that very impressive joint celebration with the Mexican Federation of Labor here, what a bond of mutual understanding could be established between these two movements if the American trade union movement could set aside each year a certain sum for the creation of some international scholarships between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Nothing would be a better guarantee of the kind of amicable relationships that we desire in the future than by laying at the present time an educational foundation for that future.

I wonder if you realize what a position of moral leadership the American labor movement holds at present in Europe. It was apparent wherever I went on the continent this summer, talking to representatives of the trade union movement in the various countries. It was the direct result of your act of friendliness to the German trade union movement during the period of their greatest need. You literally saved the German trade union movement from extinction by your gift. But the moral effect of your gift was even greater. Trade unionists of Europe had a renewed sense of the deep-rooted feeling of loyalty, interest and devotion on the part of the American trade union movement to the trade union movement of Europe.

This great convention is convened during National Education Week, which is set apart each year to record our belief in the need of universal education, that we may enjoy the freedom of our democracy. In his message to the American people for this education week, the president of the United States has said "Education has come to be nearer the hearts of the American people than any other single public interest." This I suppose would find agreement among our citizenship throughout the country; for education has come to be regarded in our day not as the means for our emancipation but as the evidence of our freedom.

Upon the successful correlation of education and democracy not only conditions the future of our government, but in large measure conditions the future of the world.

It has sometimes been said that the cure for democracy is more democracy, but I have wondered at times whether the cure for democracy may not be more education. And I am very sure that those who are engaged in the field of educational reform would agree that the cure for education at times is not more education, but more democracy.

There is perhaps no better way to conclude these remarks than to recall to your minds the great words of one of the poets of American democracy, Walt Whitman, who said: "The invincible city is the city of friends. By the same token, the invincible nation is the nation of friends; the invincible world is the world of friends. The workers' educational movement all over the world is seeking to become an invincible movement, because it, too, is a movement of friends."

President Gompers: May I take a moment of your time to say that when Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., to whom we have had the great pleasure and honor of listening to just now, was selected to go to Europe to mingle with and participate in the conference of delegates of the workers' education departments and bureaus of European countries. I felt it a privilege to give to him a letter of introduction to a number of men to whom probably he might not have had an entree otherwise.

Not from Mr. Miller himself but from others who were in Europe at the time mingling with the men who participated in these summer schools and international educational gatherings, this testimonial has come with increasing interest and emphasis, that is, that no man in recent times has gone to Europe and so successfully and clearly interpreted the American commonwealth, the make-up of our American Republic, the American labor movement, and the American Federation of Labor, than did Mr. Miller. I shall not attempt to deliver an eulogium upon the services which he has

rendered; time and opportunity do not afford, but I cannot allow the occasion to pass by without calling attention to the deep sense of obligation that I know we feel, that I know I feel, for the service he has rendered our cause.

In the lobby of this splendid structure in which we are meeting, there are two exhibits, one of them of the American Federation of Labor, how it functions, a part of its personnel, the machinery of how it works and operates, and how it undertakes to serve the cause of labor and justice and freedom and democracy and humanity, another, the exhibition of the work of the Workers' Education Bureau. It is worth while visiting and spending an hour in looking over the exhibits of both these institutions. I commend them to your very serious consideration, and personally I want to repeat the deep sense of obligation which I am sure the convention feels, and which, I want to add, as part of the convention, I feel, for the splendid service performed by the Workers' Education Bureau and by Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr.

The chair desires to call to the attention of the officers and delegates and visitors that we have decided to reciprocate the visit paid to us yesterday, that is, that we shall proceed to Juarez, Mexico, this afternoon and pay a fraternal visit to the Mexican Federation of Labor in session.

You are respectfully requested to wear your badges so as to experience no trouble in returning, because, I think, while we all love Mexico, we probably have a little preference for Uncle Sam's home. Arrangements have been made to leave this hall for Juarez at 3:45 this afternoon.

Delegate O'Connell (James) moved that the rules be suspended and a recess taken until 2 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 11:45 an adjournment was taken to 3 p. m. of the same day.

## Second Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock p. m., Tuesday, Nov. 18, by President Gompers.

### Absentees

J. W. Kline, M. W. Martin, Frank E. Cook, Laging, Obergfell, John Sullivan, Morrin, Cunnane, Gauld, Zuckerman, M. J. Browne, McNulty, O'Connor, Chas. Murphy, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Woll, Baer, Kerwin, Schamp, Kaufman, E. E. Clark, Moorhead, S. C. Hogan, M. J. Kelly, Pattison, Crough, John L. Lewis, Phillip Murphy, Thomas Kennedy, Peter Smith, Hedrick, Yarrow, Hannah, Coefield, Fallon, Frank J. Kennedy, Rau, Berry, Higgins, Make, John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Basky, Cashen, Thos. Sweeney, Soderberg, Manion, R. H. Johnson, McMahon, Walden, Freeman, Drum, Lawson, John Barry, Finley, Iglesias, W. M. Short, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Cohen, Gentry, Estill, O'Dell, Andler, Cantrell, Costello, Scanlan, Roy Cox, Franck, Ferns, Spaugh, Laylor, Bower, Hourigan, R. T. Wood, Dale, Harte, Abrams, Dodne, Mansfield, Shaw, Lee A. Williams, Camous, Cokely, Brasfield, George Browne, Portway.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate McKeon, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

In accordance with the telegraphic request from the Ponca City, Oklahoma, Central Labor Union, we recommend the seating of Bonny Childs, 1 vote.

JOHN F. DUNACHIE, Chairman,  
JAMES P. McKEON, Secretary,  
JOHN J. DOYLE.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Secretary Morrison: Arrangements have been made for the delegates to take street cars and cross the international bridge to the place where the customs officers are stationed. The Mexican Federation delegates will meet us there and march to the hall in Juarez.

At 3 o'clock the delegates, officers and visitors proceeded to the cars which were to take them to the international bridge. They were accompanied by the El Paso Municipal Band. Upon reaching the center of the international bridge the delegates alighted and were met by the officers and dele-

gates of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor and President Rico of the Mexican Federation of Labor exchanged greetings. Both delegations then proceeded to Juarez to attend the joint meeting of the two Federations. The marching delegations were led by a detail of mounted Mexican police. Next in line was the handsomely uniformed band of the Fifty-Fifth Battalion of the Mexican Army. Next in line the officers of the Mexican Federation and the officers of the American Federation marched, followed by a band of boy musicians, who are being trained by the city of Juarez. Following this band the delegates of both federations, men and women, marched side by side to the Tivoli Theatre in Juarez, where the joint session was held. Midway in the parade the Mexican and American flags were carried. Along the line of march the people of Juarez, including the children from the schools, greeted the delegates as they passed.

The joint session was called to order at 4:15 o'clock p. m. by President Juan Rico. President Gompers and the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor were seated on the rostrum, together with the fraternal delegates from Great Britain, Canada and Germany, and the following representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor: Jose Guterrez, Eduardo Moneda, Cervantes Torres, Canuto Vargas, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Lombardo Toledano, and Samuel O. Yudico.

Roberto Haberman and C. N. Idar acted as interpreters and translated the addresses into English and Spanish respectively.

President Rico, after calling the joint convention to order, delivered the following address:

**ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT JUAN RICO**  
Comrades, delegates to the sixth convention of the Mexican Federation of

Labor: I address myself first to you, because the delegates from the United States all know the brothers of the federation that I am going to present to you—Brother Grassman, representing the workers' movement of Germany; Brothers Cramp and Swales, representing the British Trades Union Congress; Brother Colbert, who represents the Canadian Trade Union movement. I salute effusively and fraternally these four representatives of the working class movement from abroad.

And, although he is so very well known by all the members of the national proletariat, I present also the great fighter of North America, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

To the members and delegates of the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor I give the warm and fraternal salute of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

I am fulfilling my duty in talking to the delegates to the sixth convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor about our distinguished Brother Gompers, not only as a worker but also as a leader. His has been a long and fruitful life. He began life as a tobacco worker, and he has dedicated all of that life, with humility and with enthusiasm, to the service of the proletariat, not only to the service of the North American proletariat, but to the service of the proletariat of the whole world, and principally to the proletariat of Mexico.

When in our country there reigned brutally the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz and when our organizers of the libertarian movement used to be captured in the United States, it was the voice of Brother Gompers, strong and full of authority, that always opposed these prisoners being sent to death, because that is what it would have meant had they been returned to the Mexican authorities at that time.

And when in 1913 the territory of Mexico was swept by the troops of the United States, Brother Gompers, with that same force, opposed himself against that outrage. When in 1916 Pershing's expedition entered into our country, once more Mr. Gompers spoke for our liberty.

If all these brilliant achievements were little, if all this demonstration of resolution and of love were not sufficient, Mexico had a still more imposing proof when, just about a year ago, the last counter-revolutionary movement began in Mexico, he was one of our most important, one of our most forceful assistants. It was the powerful activity of Gompers that was capable of getting from the government of the United States a frank assistance that saved the Mexican revolution, and, due to that, we can be here with you today in the beautiful city of Juarez, the one that always extends its welcome, where we can

talk freely of our desires and our ambitions.

And that Gompers truly loves liberty we can see very plainly in his virtue, in his great patience, tolerating during a half century the attacks of capitalists and of workers of bad faith who have tried to oppose the great working class movement of the United States which is presided over by Samuel Gompers. They have always said that movement is a yellow movement. It is not true. If he were much younger than he is he surely could not inject a more vivid and more red-blooded spirit into the working class movement of the United States. He has made the frontiers disappear, and he will be with us presiding at the great Pan-American convention of labor.

I take the liberty of interpreting the libertarian ideas of the workers of the United States, which are without any doubt the same to which the proletariat of Mexico also aspires. I can tell you that all we seek is liberty, that we seek our liberty with American liberty, something that is more in conjunction with our way of being, without imitating other working class movements in other parts of the world that pretend to impose themselves as the dictators of liberty, just as if it were possible to establish liberty through dictatorship.

To conclude, sisters and brothers and representatives that are present in both convention, I ask from the assemblage great applause for our guest, Comrade Samuel Gompers.

At the close of President Rico's address both delegations arose and applauded vigorously. They remained standing and as President Gompers arose to speak they applauded for more than a minute.

#### ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS

Mr. President, fellow working men and women, friends, visitors, all: I wish that I were capable of expressing the sentiments of the men and women of labor who have honored me so long. May I say this: I do not want you for a minute to believe or imagine that your words of praise of me and what I have tried to do swerve me. Not at all, but I would like to impress upon your minds the thought which I know lodges in your hearts and in your minds. All that I have done or all that I have tried to do is because the men and women of labor of my country have given me the opportunity of service; and if I have been able to give service to my fellows it is because I believe that the men who have been given the opportunity to serve owe to the labor movement that service.

That which I have tried to do is ex-

pressive of the heart and soul of American labor, and I know that in every nook and corner of the United States and Canada there courses through their souls and bodies the hope for universal peace, fraternity and brotherhood; and therefore let me interpret the very encouraging or appreciative remarks made by your honored president and our friend as being the sentiment of the rank and file of the American labor movement.

All that has been said in praise of my activities results from the spirit, the devotion of the American Federation of Labor for the working people of the whole civilized world. The American Federation of Labor is organized for the purpose of abolishing wrong and establishing right, the abolition of wrong and the establishment of right not alone for the United States or for North America, for wherever there is a wrong there is a work for us to do, wherever there is a right not yet attained there is work for us to do. Recognizing that the people of Mexico were enduring tyranny, injustice, brutality, was it not our duty to try to help the people of Mexico to redress their wrongs and attain their rights?

In our work we come to you today to reciprocate the fraternal visit and salutations of your visit to us in our convention yesterday. Being now upon Mexican territory I cannot refrain from calling attention to two men of United States who have helped in your early struggles in this movement, John Murray and James Lord. They are not here to speak for themselves. I want to keep the memory of these heroic men alive.

For my associates on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the delegates to the convention of our Federation, I speak in appreciation of their hope, their aid, their assistance in every struggle in which the working people and the masses of the people of your Republic shall be engaged. And in doing that we shall stand, not behind you, but shoulder to shoulder with you in the great struggle.

You have, Mr. President, dignified this last demonstration of a few months ago as a revolution; I call it a rebellion against democracy. For a struggle for freedom, for justice, for humanity, the whole ideals of progress—call it a revolution. This movement of a few months ago was aimed at the overthrow of the democracy of this Mexican Republic.

You are in your sixth annual convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and for your deliberations we give you our earnest hope that they may be conducted with spirit, with harmony, and for the progress and

success of the great mass of the working people of Mexico, to bring into the work, the homes and the schools of the people of Mexico light, life, hope, happiness and progress. When we find, as we do find, that the government of your Republic is in harmony with the constructive intelligent progress of the great mass of your people, it is entitled to your constant support.

I shall not take up more of your time except to say that you have the spirit of men who love freedom. Go through the highways and byways of Mexico and carry into the homes of labor the life and spirit which you have in your hearts and souls. Let the great mass of the working people of Mexico understand that their hope for their own future and for that of their children and children's children lies in the well organized labor movement of your country.

Let the courageous men and women of Mexico, though in the ranks of labor, understand that if they have the intelligence and courage to stand for right and freedom you will support them to the end. And let the men who are about to take the reins of government at the behest and command of the Mexican electorate understand that their courage and fortitude will receive the whole-hearted support of the labor movement of your country.

Let these men, the officers of your labor movement of Mexico, understand that they have your support and your help in every emergency which may arise; and let the great rank and file at home, when you go to your respective cities and towns carry the message that this movement of labor is for labor, for justice, for freedom and for humanity. And let me couple the hope for the successful termination of your congress with a message of the spirit of the men and women of labor of the countries here represented, a message of hope and good will, health, strength and long life, to the Mexican labor movement, to the Mexican Republic, to the mutuality of good will among us all, and for the long life of Louis N. Morones, the leader of Mexican labor.

The following telegram, addressed to President Samuel Gompers, was read by Mr. Haberman:

It is impossible for me to assist in the labor conventions which are being celebrated in that city, also in El Paso, by the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor. I call upon you, my dear and respected comrade and friend, to show you my gratitude for your loving message of the day before yesterday and to request you to please salute, in my name, the working class in the United

States represented by the American Federation of Labor over which you preside. To you, Brother Gompers, whose spirit of service is a guide and an interpreter of the cause of liberty, of justice and of democracy to the workers of North America, I express the sentiments of fraternity which move me and which I have for the element which is most representative of that great nation. Tell them, in my name, of the great happiness and thanksgiving which I have in my heart for the help we have always obtained from the workers of North America and more particularly from you, given to us in days of great crisis for the cause of the Mexican proletariat, to help us fight within its own sphere of action the treachery of De La Huerta and others. At the same time I want to express to you how pained I am not to be able to be with you today. This is nothing more than another of the tricks of fate which are so inherent in our great fight. I cannot be with you to salute with all the force of my heart and with all the fibres of my being the delegates of the American Federation of Labor when they cross the frontier of my country. Now that the harmony of the United States and Mexico has been sealed by this demonstration I take the liberty to say it will show the working classes of the whole world how to acquire love and sacrifice. As I am so pained and so sad not to have the honor to celebrate with you the great success which has come from our international relations for which we have worked so long and for which the comrade who will never be forgotten, John Murray, worked, so, Brother Gompers, and the group of dear and excellent friends and brothers that are prominent leaders of the American Federation of Labor, I ask you again to please use your powerful voice and talk in my name to your comrades. I want to also thank you, and I want you to thank in my name the members, for the way you have received our president-elect, General Plutarcho Elias Calles, that man who is at the head of the movement, who has given his life and his future to the class of disinherited ones, the class of the distressed; without any vacillation he has gone forth with only the pride of humanitarian ideal, that ideal of tomorrow that will shine with democracy and justice. I also beg of you to please tell your brothers that I hope they will think of me in the minutes when my brothers of the Mexican Federation of Labor clasp hands with fraternal love with the delegates of the American Federation of Labor. And please, all of you, accept my deep wishes for the definite triumph of our cause.

Fraternally,  
LOUIS N. MORONES.

The original telegram was in Span-

ish and was translated by Mr. Roberta Haberman, who said before beginning to read: "Of course you all know what happened to Brother Morones. He was set upon by representatives of the capitalists and shot down in cold blood in the chamber of deputies in Mexico City. Fortunately, he is recovering and is now out of danger."

At 6:30 o'clock p. m. the joint session was adjourned.

#### RESOLUTIONS

##### Urging Full Rights of Citizenship With Self-Government for the People of the District of Columbia

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal, Photo-Engravers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The people of the District of Columbia do not enjoy the rights and privileges of American citizenship, in that they are not permitted to have a voice in the conduct of affairs of said District of Columbia, nor any voice in the conduct of affairs of our nation; and

WHEREAS, These residents are denied the opportunity of giving to this republic the benefit of their thought and consideration on problems of intimate concern to the city and nation; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, as a firm believer in American ideals, American institutions and American principles of self-government, feels that a grave injustice is worked against the residents of the District of Columbia when they are denied the right to govern themselves, in keeping with fundamental American principles; and

WHEREAS, There are bills pending in the Congress of the United States which aim to remedy this manifest injustice to the half-million people of the national capital of the greatest nation on earth; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention in the city of El Paso, Texas, State of Texas, in forty-fourth annual convention, endorse and give its united support to any bill or bills which grant to the people of the District of Columbia the right for self-government, with the full right of citizenship, as such right is enjoyed by citizens in other parts of our great nation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor oppose any measure which does not propose to grant full citizenship, in the right for local self-government, to the people of the District of Columbia; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this reso-

lution be sent to the Senate and House committees on District of Columbia and each of the trade union legislative representatives in the national capital.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Protesting Use of the U. S. Army or Navy to Make Collections for American Citizens Upon Investments in Foreign Countries**

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Modern wars are begun largely through pressure by and influence of the international bankers; be it

RESOLVED, That while we freely grant any American citizen the right and privilege to invest his capital in any country of his choice, we most emphatically protest against the use of our army or navy to collect either the principal or the interest of such investments when collections are no longer possible through legitimate channels.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Opposing U. S. Government Joining League of Nations or World Court**

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The League of Nations is apparently preparing to assume the role for which it seems to have been created—that is, as a super-government especially designed to prevent the extension of human freedom; and

WHEREAS, In the matter of freedom for seamen, the international labor organization, functioning under the League of Nations, is now taking steps to establish an International Seamen's code to govern the seamen; and

WHEREAS, It is seriously proposed in the before-mentioned International Seamen's code to perpetuate the serfdom of seamen, wherever it now exists, and to restore it where an enlightened public sentiment has made the seamen freemen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in forty-fourth annual convention assembled, that we hereby earnestly and emphatically protest against our Government becoming entangled with either League of Nations or the so-called World Court.

Referred to Committee on International Relations

**Endorsing Senate Bill for Enforcement of Seamen's Act**

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Scarcely any of the provisions of the Seamen's Act of 1915, except the freedom sections, are permitted to function, and the latter sections are functioning only because their enforcement depends, not upon the administrative departments of the government, but upon the seamen and the courts; and

WHEREAS, The sections of the seamen's act providing for greater safety of life at sea have become virtually dead letters, to-wit: Able seamen's certificates are issued promiscuously; rules and regulations interpreting the language test have been so construed that a trained parrot can easily qualify; the watch and watch sections have been mutilated by the federal courts, an appeal is now pending in the U. S. supreme court; and

WHEREAS, The organized American shipowners, taking advantage of the world depression in ocean shipping, have attempted, by the use of the blacklist, compulsory registration of all seamen in scab shipping offices and enforced use of a grade book, to break the American seamen's spirit and weaken their resistance to the re-establishment of slavery; and

WHEREAS, The situation described herein openly invites disasters at sea, with accompanying heavy loss of lives, against which the seamen's act was especially designed to guard; and

WHEREAS, Senate bill 2222 was drafted and introduced to remedy the grave condition referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in the forty-fourth annual convention assembled at El Paso, Texas, that we most emphatically protest against the non-enforcement of the Seamen's act and heartily endorse senate bill 2222, in order that freedom for seamen and laws for safety of life at sea may be respected and enforced.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Request for Conference to Adjust Jurisdiction Dispute Relative to Awning Industry Between Upholsterers and Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union, Chicago**

Resolution No. 25—By delegate William Kohn of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Upholsterers' International Union of North America has

since its inception had jurisdiction over awning workers; and,

WHEREAS, The members of Local Union No. 9 of Chicago affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union, and whose members are mostly awning workers, have suffered a loss of work; and,

WHEREAS, The members of Local Union No. 9 have been intimidated by members of Local Union 14872 of the A. F. of L., known as Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers; and,

WHEREAS, The sign and bulletin board hangers claim jurisdiction to hang awnings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to arrange a conference between the contending parties, with an object in view of bringing harmony and peace in the awning industry of the city of Chicago.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Urging Affiliated Organizations to Contribute Necessities of Life to Evicted Miners in West Virginia and Kentucky Districts**

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Fred Mooney of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers of District No. 17 of West Virginia and District No. 23 of Kentucky are engaged in a life and death struggle to obtain renewals of wage agreements which expired March 31, 1924; and

WHEREAS, In some communities in District No. 17 the struggle dates back for three and one-half years, imposing hardships which are indescribable, because of wholesale evictions of miners from the only habitations they have ever been permitted to call homes; and

WHEREAS, These evictions have necessitated the establishment of barrack and tent colonies located upon land leased by the United Mine Workers, and these strikers are facing the rigors of winter with nothing to shield them from the elements but tents and board shacks; and

WHEREAS, These strikers are sorely in need of clothing, shoes and school books for children, many of whom are of school age, and their numbers are being augmented daily by others who are becoming disgusted with the open shop system and low wages; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of the United Mine Workers of America are doing everything in their power in both districts to care for these men, women and children, in an effort to reduce their suffering to a minimum, but in spite of the monthly ex-

penditure of fabulous sums for food, tents, barracks, medical attention, attorney fees, etc., their ability to meet the situation has been and is being taxed to the limit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor appeals to all international unions, state federations of labor, central bodies and local unions, to collect clothing and shoes and to contribute funds where such contributions can be spared and forward same to Will C. Thompson, secretary-treasurer District No. 17, box 1332, Charleston, W. Va., and H. H. Vincent, secretary-treasurer District No. 23, Central City, Ky.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the said international unions, state federations of labor, central bodies, and local unions, at the earliest possible date.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

**Urging Support of A. F. of L. Publicity Service**

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate William Kohn, International Upholsterers' Union:

WHEREAS, The two old parties in the recent election, particularly the Republican party, by the use of slush funds, were able to confuse the voters on the issues of the campaign through widespread propaganda in their press; and

WHEREAS, Labor's candidates had only the agency of the labor press, the information and publicity service, international labor news service, and the A. F. of L. news letter, to aid them; and

WHEREAS, Our press services were handicapped by lack of funds, but favored by brilliant and devoted service of its editors and staff, with the result that labor's political views were never more clearly stated or more widely published; and

WHEREAS, This broadcasting of labor's political program has increased the prestige of our leadership and demonstrated the integrity of the spokesmen of the American Federation of Labor, with the result that increased respect is held for the political power of the organized workers; and

WHEREAS, This wholesome result was made possible by the courageous and outspoken utterances of the A. F. of L. national non-partisan political campaign committee, in answering the propaganda of our adroit political foes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in forty-fourth an-



nual convention assembled, that we commend the officers, editors and the staff engaged in the vital work of disseminating information about our movement, for their brilliant and devoted service at a most critical period, that we urge all unions to give this important function to the Executive Council the fullest financial and moral support, and that we pledge ourselves to expand these activities, with the knowledge that the trade union movement will be richly rewarded, as the result of the better understanding of labor's aspirations that will result from this essentially educational and public service.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Proposing Endorsement of Bill for Extension of Time for Government to Consider Recommendations for Awards of Honor to World War Veterans**

Resolution No. 28 — By Delegates Jerome Jones, Georgia Federation of Labor, and Robert E. Gann, Atlanta Federation of Trades:

WHEREAS, In April, 1923, our government ceased to consider recommendations for the award of medals of honor, distinguished service medals, distinguished service crosses, to veterans of the world war;

WHEREAS, Senator Harris of Georgia introduced bill S. 1866 during the last Congress, for the extension of time one (1) year, for the consideration of proper recommendations;

WHEREAS, This bill was read twice and referred to the committee on military affairs, but could not get the endorsement of the Secretary of War;

WHEREAS, The passage of this bill will not cost the government any appropriation, but will recognize a just debt of gratitude to those who served with distinction and valor in time of her dire need;

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always stood behind all just legislation, and especially felt a close relationship for fairness to the soldiers of the world war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor indorse this measure, through the legislative committee, and do all in its power to facilitate justice to those who served the nation; that a copy of the resolutions be sent Senator Harris of Georgia.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

**Protest of Metal Polishers Against Attitude of the Eugene Beringhaus Company, Cincinnati, Ohio**

Resolution No. 29.—By Delegates W.

W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Eugene Beringhaus Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, manufacturers of barber chairs and distributors of barber supplies, did deliberately and maliciously violate and abrogate their union agreement with the International Metal Polishers' Union No. 68, said signed agreement having ten months to run, and declared for the open shop by discharging all union polishers, buffers and platers on but five minutes' notice, and is now sending their work to non-union shops to be finished; and

WHEREAS, Every effort towards a settlement by this firm has been rejected; the committee from Local No. 68 acting; a committee from the Metal Polishers' International Union, consisting of the international president, general secretary and officers of the local union also met with the flat refusal; a committee including the international organizer and business agent of the Barbers' International Union was turned down, and the efforts of the grievance committee of the Central Labor Union of Cincinnati met a like fate; and

WHEREAS, On Saturday, September 6, James Shanessy, president of the Barbers' International Union, requested a conference with the international officers of the Barbers' Union and the Beringhaus Company; this was also refused; and

WHEREAS, This company openly stated that "dollars and cents was their aim, they cared not how their employes or their wives or children lived, just so long as they made greater profits," and were frank enough to say that they would be able to make greater profits with the work done in nonunion shops and they proposed to keep those profits themselves; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor convention assembled, declare this firm antagonistic to organized labor, and that all national and international unions, state branches, city centrals, local trade and federal unions, be so notified.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**To Notify All Affiliated Unions That the Label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is Not Recognized by the A. F. of L.**

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Gus Soderberg of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Union Label stands for honesty in its relation to the public; and

WHEREAS, The public in general do not know the difference between various union labels; and

WHEREAS, An organization known as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is using a label not recognized by the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to notify all unions connected with the A. F. of L. that the label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is not recognized by the A. F. of L. and should not receive the patronage of organized labor, or friends of the labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

**Provisions for Guaranteeing Democratic Administration of Sterling-Reed Education Bill**

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate F. G. Stecker of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its St. Paul convention in 1918 instructed its Executive Council to initiate and support federal legislation appropriating one hundred million dollars to be apportioned by a federal department of education, if one is created, or that failing, by a federal board upon which organized labor and education shall be represented, such fund to apply only to the payment of salaries of public school teachers in a state (including teachers of physical education and of English to adults under public school supervision) after such state shall have satisfied the federal department or special board that adequate standards are to be maintained and shall have appropriated an equal amount; and

WHEREAS, The national education bill now before congress, known as the Sterling-Reed bill, provides for a department of education and welfare, and is in danger of being reported out of committee without appropriation for state aid, and provides for a national advisory council of state superintendents of education, and fails to make adequate provision for the guarantee of equalization of educational opportunities; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that education is so basic in our democracy that it is entitled to be placed on a parity with the departments of war, agriculture, commerce or labor, so that it may receive the consideration it warrants; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that an appropriation of one hundred million dollars a year for state aid is necessary for the purpose of equalizing educational opportunities, of removing illiteracy, of promoting physical education, of improving teaching and encouraging educational research; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that the National Advisory Council, if it is to be created, should be so constituted as to

be as widely representative as possible; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes in equality of educational opportunities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their influence for legislation to embody the following provisions:

1. A department of education in charge of a secretary of education.
2. An appropriation of one hundred million dollars a year or more for the purposes of the bill.
3. A National Advisory Council to be created upon which both organized labor and education shall be represented.
4. The law to be administered and the funds appropriated on the principle of equal educational opportunity for all persons or groups within the states.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Proposing Conference to Determine Relation of Labor Costs to Selling Prices in Textile and Clothing Industries**

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The so-called high cost of clothing and garments are charged to labor by many selfish interests; and

WHEREAS, The members of organized labor know these statements to be untrue; and

WHEREAS, The officials of international unions whose members are engaged on textiles (manufacture and finish), and are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have in their possession sufficient data to prove that labor is but a small part of actual cost; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to call the officers of these organizations together in the near future to determine the approximate labor costs and give the results of their findings the greatest publicity possible.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Proposing Investigation of U. S. Passport System Looking to Greater Freedom of International Travel**

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate James Wilson of the Pattern Makers' League of North America:

WHEREAS, The great World War brought into being an extended appli-

cation and a more restricted system of passports, made imperative at a time of national conflicts; and

WHEREAS, The brutalities of war between the nations have given way to the problem of securing the peace of the world, apparently dispensing with the necessities that prompted this extension and more rigid enforcement of the passport system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor cause an investigation to be made of this extended system of passports, and, if found to serve no helpful purpose, then, with the advice and guidance of the Executive Council, undertake to bring this subject to the attention of the proper department of our national government for the purpose of re-establishing the freedom of international travel that prevailed among the nations of the world prior to the great war; it being understood that there is involved in this direction no intent, expressed or implied, to interfere in any way with the immigration laws of our land other than may relate to the issuance of passports.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Urging Demand For Union Label

Resolution No. 34—By G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, W. A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is apparent that the freedom and privilege of independent industries are being encroached on by the autocratic power of corporations and combined financial interests, seeking by nefarious methods to destroy fair and legitimate competition on the field of commerce and labor by a systematic process engineered by big business, that of absorbing the weaker industry or squeezing it to the wall; and likewise by intimidating the workers in an attempt to prevent them from organizing and thus bettering their economic standards through collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, Insidious efforts have been carried on for the past number of years by the allied enemies of labor, who are instrumental in controlling the money powers and wielding a mighty force in subjugating industrial conditions to a degree of stagnation, when it suits the purpose and yields more profits in the scheme of antagonizing labor and crushing out of the field of competition all fair employers who deal on a plane of justice and equality with labor; and

WHEREAS, The inalienable rights of the workers are being denied by combinations of large employers, assisted by various business interests, barons of industry, money brokers, the

minions of the so-called chamber of commerce throughout the country, who are utilizing every effort to disintegrate organized labor and stifle industry where it cannot be controlled and operated on a nonunion basis, or "open shop" plan, and the non-recognition of union labor; and

WHEREAS, The workers have at their command a potent weapon to combat that force of opposition, by directing the purchasing power of the consumer to demand only articles and commodities bearing the union label, and to refuse all merchandise or articles of wearing apparel, cigars and tobacco products or commodities of any description that are not made under organized union conditions, thereby withholding patronage from all scab products, refusing to support the propaganda for the nonunion shop, and by helping to defeat the campaign made by the enemies of labor with the increased consumption of goods bearing the union label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our allegiance to and faith in the principles of the union label and its potentiality in protecting the interest of the workers, when given due recognition as an emblem to designate fair paid labor, and a guarantee of union-made articles whenever the legitimate union label is contained thereon; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all members of organized labor, likewise friends and sympathizers with our cause, and the consuming public herewith be admonished and urgently requested to demand the union label as a beneficial friend and safeguard and an economic factor, when making a purchase.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

#### Proposing Endorsement of American Legion Campaign for Endowment Fund for Child Welfare.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Geo. L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The American Legion has inaugurated a campaign for the establishment of an endowment fund of five million dollars for rehabilitation of child labor and kindred subjects; and

WHEREAS, This great work on the part of the American Legion is in harmony with the spirit and sentiments of the American Federation of Labor, recorded in their endorsement of the projects instituted by the American Legion in the interest of rehabilitation; and

WHEREAS, Child welfare is recognized as a matter in which the American Federation of Labor is deeply in-

terested and committed; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor congratulates the American Legion on this humanitarian and educational project, and endorses the efforts being put forth by the American Legion in this direction, and calls upon the several international unions, state bodies, central councils and federal organizations, to render their moral and financial support wherever possible in assisting in the consummation of this meritorious and outstanding program of the American Legion herein referred to.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Proposing Endorsement of Woodrow Wilson Memorial College and Erection by Labor of an Educational Building Upon the Grounds of the Memorial**

Resolution No. 36 — By Delegates Geo. L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; Walter N. Reddick of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; E. A. Larger of the United Garment Workers of America; Wm. Green of the United Mine Workers of America; Wm. H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists; Martin F. Ryan of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America; James Wilson of the Pattern Makers' League of North America:

WHEREAS, There is now in course of construction a great memorial in honor of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, to be located at Valdosta, Georgia; and

WHEREAS, This memorial is to be in the form of an undenominational college dedicated to education; and

WHEREAS, There has been subscribed one million dollars and one hundred acres of land upon which this memorial is to be built; and

WHEREAS, The executive committee of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College is committed to the proposition that labor shall have representation on the board of control, and that the American Federation of Labor shall appoint some person for said place; and

WHEREAS, The Georgia State Federation of Labor, the various state departments of the American Legion, and the American Legion in national convention, associated with scores of other state and national bodies, and forward-looking citizens of the republic, have endorsed this project in honor of that forward-looking citizen, the

former chief of the army, the navy, the republic of the United States, former President of the United States, and labor's friend and champion, Woodrow Wilson; now, therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College project at Valdosta, Ga., and instructs the president of the American Federation of Labor to issue a call upon all international, national, local unions, and state central and federal bodies, to make similar endorsement; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to call upon all international, national, local union and state central and federal bodies to make financial contributions, which shall be used by the American Federation of Labor through its president and executive council in the construction of a suitable building upon the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College, same to be used for such educational development as may be determined upon by the president and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Opposing So-Called "Trade Schools" and Urging Application of Trade Union Apprenticeship Systems**

Resolution No. 37 — By Delegates James P. Holland, New York State Federation of Labor, and Joseph P. Ryan, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

WHEREAS, Many so-called "trade schools" mislead the youth of America into the belief that through the processes of short and intensive training competent mechanics are being created; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that most of these institutions are more concerned with motives other than benefiting the youth of our land and cannot provide competent mechanics; and

WHEREAS, the Y. M. C. A. has entered this field of endeavor, and it having been demonstrated that it cannot train competent workers to enter our industrial life; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the A. F. of L. express its disapproval of this venture of the Y. M. C. A., and other similar so-called "trade schools," that it warns the youth of America against the

wastage of time and money involved in patronizing such institutions, and urges their return to the apprenticeship system under union conditions of employment, so that knowledge of fundamentals may be co-ordinated with skill and training, and so that the guidance and direction of skill and training may be confined to those having attained competency in the trades and having an accurate knowledge of conditions within the trades.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Protest of Electrical Workers Against Railroad Signalmen**

Resolution No. 38 — By Delegates James P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Martin J. Joyce, Chas. M. Paulsey, Frank J. McNulty, Julia S. O'Conner, Chas. Murphy, and Edw. J. Evans:

WHEREAS, For years past the organization known as the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America have been openly, deliberately and avowedly trespassing upon the known and accepted jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, by ordering their members to do all classes of purely electrical work in the signal departments of railroads, without regard for the limitations of the charter granted to them by the American Federation of Labor, and in direct violation of the agreement arrived at and signed by them with the railroad administration and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America, prior to July 1, 1922, repeatedly declared to all the other trades affiliated their purpose to join with the other railroad crafts in the strike to be called July 1, 1922, and not only failed entirely to keep faith with the kindred crafts, but proceeded during said strike to order their members to do the work of all crafts in the signal departments, and employed their organizing force to induce striking electrical workers to return to work for the railroads and join the B. R. S. of A.; and

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Portland, Ore., in 1923, adopted a resolution providing for a conference of the B. R. S. of A., and the I. B. E. W.; the conference provided for has been held, and, at the request of officials of the B. R. S. of A. made before the adjustment committee at Portland, it was held without the presence of any representative of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, At this conference the I. B. E. W. did offer a basis of settlement strictly in conformity with the

agreement subscribed to in 1920 by the B. R. S. of A., and the B. R. S. of A. refused to even discuss this proposition; offering instead a claim to all work in the signal departments of railroads as their final and only solution (and on some railroads all telegraph, telephone and high tension work, as well as station wiring and maintenance, is placed under the signal department); and

WHEREAS, The charter granted to the B. R. S. of A. by the American Federation of Labor in 1914 was under the condition that they were not to encroach on the jurisdiction of any organization then affiliated; and

WHEREAS, Ever since their admission to the American Federation of Labor, they have continuously and persistently encroached upon the jurisdiction of all crafts generally and particularly that the I. B. E. W.; and at this time blatantly proclaim that all the work granted to them by the railroad managements while the other crafts were on strike, now comes properly under their jurisdiction; and refuse to make any apparent or sincere effort to carry out the purpose and intent of the action of the American Federation of Labor convention in the adoption of resolution No. 12; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America be and hereby are ordered to confine their activity to the men coming properly and in conformity with their charter provisions under their jurisdiction, and to refuse admission or continuation of membership to men who are engaged in the performance of electrical work on railroads that was covered in the agreements of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the railroads before and during the life of the national agreement with the railroad administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in case the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America refuse or fail to comply with the provisions of the foregoing resolution, within . . . . . months after the adjournment of this convention, the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to suspend the charter of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America until such time as they can show full compliance with the above resolution.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Commending Work of Near East Relief and Recommending Co-operation of Affiliated Unions.**

Resolution No. 39 — By Delegate Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers:

WHEREAS, The Near East Relief

chartered by the Congress of the United States to conduct relief work in the Near East countries, now has in its care many thousands of orphan children who have no country and no governmental aid, being absolutely dependent upon the generosity of charitably-inclined people and organizations in this country; and

WHEREAS, The larger percentage of these orphan children are under ten years of age, and their support must be continued until they are trained for self-support, such training being a part of the work of the Near East Relief, all the older children being taught trades that will make them self-supporting; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor commends the work of the Near East Relief and recommends that local unions and central labor bodies co-operate in this humanitarian work of saving lives of orphan children and training them for leadership in various trades in the Near East countries.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

**Urging Assignment of a Salaried Organizer for Organization Campaign Among Office Workers**

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate E. J. Fracy, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants No. 11775:

WHEREAS, The opportunity for organization in the clerical field is excellent, and the necessity for such action is imperative; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at the 1920 Montreal convention has declared for an international union of office workers when, in its judgment, a sufficient number of such workers has been organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorizes the immediate assignment or appointment of a salaried organizer to carry on an intensive campaign of organization among the office workers, to the end that sufficient numbers necessary for an international union may be organized.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Appeal of Tailors From Decision of the Executive Council Under Which Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Are Chartered Direct by A. F. of L.**

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Thos. Sweeney, Max J. Sillinsky and

Gus Soderberg of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America;

WHEREAS, The council granted jurisdiction to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America over cleaners, dyers and pressers; and

WHEREAS, The action of the council was approved by the committee on Executive Council report at the Rochester, New York, convention, November, 1912; and

WHEREAS, The council refused a charter to the dyehouse workers of Chicago, Illinois, and the action of the council in refusing said charter was approved by the committee on Executive Council's report at the Baltimore convention in 1916; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council granted a charter to the cleaners, dyers and pressers of Chicago after the adjournment of the Portland, Oregon, convention, thereby striking at the solidarity of the national unions composing the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to revoke the charter granted to the cleaners, dyers and pressers of Chicago, and all other charters, if any, and that the council instruct the cleaners, dyers and pressers of Chicago to reaffiliate with the Journeymen Tailors' Unions of America immediately, in accordance with the action of the conventions of 1912 and 1916.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Councils.

**Demanding a New Trial for Sacco and Vanzetti**

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Max J. Sillinsky, Thos. Sweeney of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; Morris Kaufman, Charles Stetsky of the International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada; Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati, Ohio, has gone on record demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under the instructions of a prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the urgent demand from millions of workers throughout our country and all over the world, such a retrial and the opportunity to present incontrovertible evidence of their innocence of the heinous crime imputed to them has recently again been denied by their first trial judge, and an effort is now being made to have their case reviewed

by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, They are in danger of their lives unless the prompt intervention of an enlightened public opinion prevents this ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled in El Paso, hereby reiterates its demand for a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudices and class hatred, to the end that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the governor of Massachusetts, the president of the United States and the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Increase in A. F. of L. Organizers' Expense Allowance**

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates John J. Hynes, M. J. Keough, John Coefield, Frank Feeney, Frank Farrington:

Amend article 9, section 7, on page 15, line four, to read Ten Dollars (\$10.00) per day.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Opposing Modification of the Immigration Law in Favor of the Japanese**

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates R. W. Robinson, California State Federation of Labor; and Andrew Furuseth, Paul Scharrenberg, Roe H. Baker, Daniel P. Haggerty, John Horn, J. L. R. Marsh, J. B. Dale.

WHEREAS, Largely through the persistent and well-directed efforts of the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion and the National Grange, the long drawn-out struggle for the exclusion of Japanese by law was finally crowned with success at the last session of congress; and

WHEREAS, Japan has shown by her attitude that she intends to reopen the question of exclusion by appealing to the League of Nations; and

WHEREAS, Certain American organizations, evidently without any information of the basic facts which caused congressional action, are encouraging Japan in the mistaken belief that American public sentiment did not support Congress in excluding by law all immigrants who are ineligible to citizenship in our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in forty-fourth annual

convention assembled at El Paso, Texas, that we heartily commend the effective work of the officers of the A. F. of L. whereby it has been made possible to exclude by law Japanese as well as other Asiatic immigrants; further

RESOLVED, That we herewith express our determined opposition to any modification of the clause in the general immigration law, operative on July 1, 1924, which reaffirms the long-established policy of this nation to exclude all immigrants ineligible to citizenship; further

RESOLVED, That we are unalterably opposed to substitute "exclusion by treaty" for "exclusion by law," and we utter this protest with an earnest desire to maintain the most friendly relations with the Japanese working people and with the profound conviction that mutual respect can best be maintained if we insist that Japan recognize our right to control immigration into this country by domestic legislation, and that she abide (as do all other nations) by the general immigration laws enacted by the congress of the United States in accordance with long-established national policy.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Proposing Appointment of Woman Organizers for Education Campaign Among Women in the Interests of the Union Label**

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate R. W. Robinson of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The demand for the union label card and button tends to strengthen the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, the education of women has been neglected as to the value of the purchasing power of the union earned dollar; and

WHEREAS, Seventy-five cents of every dollar earned by union labor is spent by women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to finance, whenever possible, women organizers to devote their time in educating women to the necessity of purchasing products bearing the union label.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Protest Against the Attitude of the Coal River Collers Whose Stockholders Are Largely Members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Toward the United Mine Workers**

Resolution No. 46 — By Delegate

William Turnblazer of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Coal River Collieries operating mines in District 17, United Mine Workers of America, which are located on Little Coal river in southern West Virginia, and also operating in northeastern Kentucky; and

WHEREAS The stockholders of the Coal River Collieries are largely made up of members of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Mr. Warren F. Stone, president of the Engineers organization, is chairman of the board of directors of the Coal River Collieries; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the United Mine Workers of America in District 17 and the international officers have done everything within their power to bring about a renewal of contractual relationship by and between this company and the Miners' Union, on the basis of the Jacksonville agreement; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Coal River Collieries have discharged a number of the members of the mine workers' organization for exercising their constitutional rights of affiliating with the union of their craft, and it is reported that this company is following out the same policy that is being pursued by the non-union coal operators of southern West Virginia in evicting the miners from their homes, and therefore trying to establish a non-union or open shop mine; and

WHEREAS, The same company is operating a mine in northeastern Kentucky which is surrounded by armed guards, and a representative of the United Mine Workers of America is jeopardizing his life in trying to secure admission into this company's camp for the purpose of having them affiliate with their union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in convention assembled, that we condemn the action of the Coal River Collieries for the attitude they have and now are taking against the United Mine Workers of America and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Mr. Warren S. Stone, chairman of the board of directors of the Coal River Collieries Co. and president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, be also condemned by this convention for the position he has taken in the exchange of correspondence by and between Mr. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America and Mr. Warren S. Stone in arbitrarily refusing to meet the representatives of the Miners' union for the purpose of renewing their contract, and that all affiliated organizations including State Federations and Central Labor unions, be notified of the action that this convention has taken in regard to this all-important matter, which deals with

collective bargaining and the trade union movement in America.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.  
**To Call Conference of Interested Organizations in the Effort to Adjust Dispute With the Whitehead-Hoag Company, Newark, N. J.**

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate John J. Manning, Union Label Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The Whitehead-Hoag company of Newark, N. J., manufacturers of badges, buttons and novelties, reduced the wages in June, 1921, March, 1922, and again in April, 1922, affecting their employes affiliated with the following international unions: Metal Polishers' International Union; International Association of Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, Iron Trades Council of Newark, and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, This firm was declared antagonistic to organized labor by the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This firm has continued to run an open shop and have been and are now employing strike breakers; and

WHEREAS, This firm is constantly endeavoring to convince the general public that they are fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The facts are the only agreement this firm has is with the Allied Printing Trades; and

WHEREAS, This firm is now sending out to the trades letters claiming they are still a union concern for the reason that they are entitled to the use of the Allied Printing Trades label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the Executive Council to call a conference of representatives of all unions involved and representatives of the Allied Printing Trades for the purpose of trying to bring about an adjustment of the grievances.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Proposing That the Committee on Education Continue and Expand Its Survey of Social Study Text Books**

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. Larkin, Daniel Hagerly, James Murray of the International Association of Machinists; Geo. L. Berry of the Printing Pressmen's Union; Luther Steward of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The committee on education, by its comprehensive and scholarly survey of the teaching of the social



studies in our public schools and the evaluation of the texts used in connection therewith rendered a splendid service to public education and the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Permanent machinery for sustained work in the field of public education on the part of organized labor is now being perfected, chiefly in the form of local standing committees on education of state federations and city central bodies which will become of ever growing importance in furthering the proper and adequate teaching of the social studies and the use of satisfactory text books in connection therewith; and

WHEREAS, Both the authors and publishers as well as the teaching profession have accepted the findings of the committee on education already made in respect to social study texts as important and valuable in the preparation, publication and use of such texts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention direct that this work of surveying social study text books from the viewpoint of the organized labor movement as inaugurated by the committee on education and in keeping with the methods already devised be continued and applied to all new texts published, and the resulting reviews with appropriate comments be made available to authors, publishers, educators, the established local standing committees on education and other interested parties for their guidance and use in connection with the proper and adequate teaching of the social studies in all our public schools.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Declaring for Continuance of A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Policy**

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate R. C. Bonney, Order of Railroad Telegraphers;

WHEREAS, Under Article 3 Section 8 of the constitution of the A. F. of L. "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor," and

WHEREAS, The executive committee of the A. F. of L. and its officers did join with organized labor generally in the support of labor's independent candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States and its friends in Congress and for the defeat of its enemies in the non-partisan campaign of 1924 upon platforms independent of party politics, and in accordance with the laws of our organization and the traditions of true fraternalism, to the end that organized labor come into its own for future good of those whom we represent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse and approve the position taken by labor in

its concerted acts through the executive committee and officers in the campaign of 1924, and pledge our future support along the same lines, in accordance with the constitution, supporting the friends of labor regardless of their political affiliations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That to accomplish such purpose the A. F. of L. will sponsor no new party at this time, but will continue as in the past, upholding the right and condemning the wrong, aiding its friends wherever they may be found, at the same time calling upon every member and friend of organized labor to join in the selection of men in the primaries to be voted upon in conventions or in the general elections who will stand with the masses in their fight for freedom, justice, democracy and human progress, that these faithful friends and servants of the masses may be elected and thus truly represent all of the people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Pledging Support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' in the Contest with the Ward Baking Company**

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, Jacob Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, operating bakeries in the cities of New York, Brooklyn and Syracuse, N. Y., Providence, R. I., Boston, Mass., Newark, N. J., Baltimore, Md., Pittsburgh, Pa., Youngstown, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, South Bend, Ind., and Chicago, Ill., has declared for the non-union ship in all of its manufacturing departments; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company by such declaration cancelled its agreement with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in behalf of its subordinate local unions, locking out all of its union employees; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company by its declaration has assumed the leadership and dictatorship of the reactionary anti-union employers of the baking industry in America; and

WHEREAS, The Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor declared for its undivided support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union in this contest, which has been of invaluable assistance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirm its Portland convention decision, continuing its undivided support to the Bakery and Confectionery

Workers' International Union of America in this contest until a satisfactory termination of the controversy has been reached by the reunitionizing of the Ward Baking Co.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Opposing Senate Bill No. 3218 Providing for Sunday Closing of all Amusement Places in the District of Columbia**

Resolution No. 51 — By Delegate James P. McKeon, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia are governed by laws enacted by Congress and signed by the President of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending in Congress a bill introduced by Senator Wesley Jones of Washington, known as Senate bill No. 3218, which has for its purpose the closing of all places of amusement on Sundays; and

WHEREAS, Theatres in Washington, open on Sundays at 3 p. m. and have done so for many years, thereby creating a custom for the people which it is now proposed to destroy; and

WHEREAS, The Washington Central Labor Union, after considering the merits of this bill at two separate meetings, at which were present members of theatrical unions, unanimously went on record as being opposed to its passage as another interference with personal liberties, depriving the people of the exercise of their rights to spend Sunday in a manner best suited to their beliefs, at the same time reiterating one of the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor of seeking one day of rest in each seven days of employment, and further requested that the delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held at El Paso, Texas, indorse the position which they have taken on this question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, oppose the passage of Senate bill No. 3218, and instruct our officers and legislative agents to render all possible assistance to the Washington Central Labor Union in their efforts to defeat this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

**Favoring Systematic Campaign to Bring About Practical Support of the Labor Press**

Resolution No. 52—By delegation of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Repeatedly at conven-

tions of the American Federation of Labor, the labor press has been warmly complimented for the splendid services rendered in behalf of the trade union movement in the North American continent; and

WHEREAS, It appears that these expressions of good will have not been translated into the practical support due the labor press by the memberships of local unions in order to increase the influence of these publications; and

WHEREAS, There is now a well-defined determination being displayed by the internationals affiliated to this American Federation of Labor to accept the challenge of the anti-union elements to disrupt and destroy this splendid structure of trade unions that has been built up by hard struggle and sacrifice; and

WHEREAS, It is fully understood by the officers of these internationals and all others who are active in the movement that organization of the workers can only be made permanent and powerful through education by word of mouth and by the printed word, and, as it is most difficult to reach the unorganized workers through mass meetings alone; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention herewith desires to re-affirm all that has been recorded in past assemblages with regard to the labor press, but also to emphasize the necessity of the membership of local unions to (1) subscribe for and read the labor papers printed in their communities, and to (2) adopt ways and means to secure the distribution of labor publications among the non-union workers with them they may be acquainted or who reside in their neighborhoods, to the end that a systematic campaign of education can be prosecuted to strengthen the whole labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**To Assure the Maintenance of Labor Representation in the Supervision of Vocational Education**

Resolution No. 53 — By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is pending in the congress of the United States a legislative proposal known as the Sterling-Reed resolution, seeking to create the office of secretary of education in the president's cabinet for the purpose of promoting education and to afford through federal effort greater and equal educational opportunities; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the Federal Board of Vocational Education created under the Smith-Hughes law in 1917, a body comprising representatives of employes, employers and farmers, and which board, in the early

period of vocational school development, functioned splendidly because of its representative character, is to be discontinued and its functions absorbed by the proposed secretary of education; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in considering the Sterling-Reed or similar resolutions, seek to maintain the representative form of supervision of federal activities relative to vocational education, and that every effort be made to secure real labor representation on the Federal Board of Vocational Education.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**To Eliminate Speeding-Up Practices in Government Work**

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Straup, R. L. Riter, T. Grant Woodward, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association:

**WHEREAS**, In some government establishments, notably the postal service, there have been instituted obnoxious practices, under the guise of "efficiency systems," which are harmful to the workers, and therefore injurious to the service; and

**WHEREAS**, These "efficiency systems" are devised by so-called experts who have little or no understanding of the practical work over which they assume jurisdiction; and

**WHEREAS**, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any method of "speeding up" workers beyond their endurance is disastrous to both employer and worker, and, particularly, such a policy has no place in government employment, where service and not profit is the motive; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor direct its Executive Council to lend every effort in eliminating from government employment these dehumanizing practices which are so harmful to the workers and the public service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Saturday Half Holiday**

Resolution No. 55 — By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Straup, R. L. Riter, T. Grant Woodward, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E.

Swartz, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Stewart, Jas. P. McKeon, John Fitzgerald, M. J. Hines, National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America:

**WHEREAS**, The Saturday half-holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employes and employers; and

**WHEREAS**, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in private industrial pursuits and in state and municipal governments; and

**WHEREAS**, In some instances notable progress has recently been made in applying this beneficial policy in federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employes; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated government employes for the purpose of having the Saturday half holiday observance in government establishments extended to benefit every possible worker.

Referred to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

**Civil Service Retirement Bills**

Resolution No. 56 — By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Stroup, R. L. Riter, T. Grant Woodward, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Stewart, Jas. P. McKeon, John Fitzgerald, M. J. Hines, National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, Jas. Murray, International Association of Machinists:

**WHEREAS**, There are now pending

before the sixty-eighth Congress two bills, H. R. 8202 and S. 3011, which provide for needed liberalization of the present civil service retirement law—the principle of which has been repeatedly endorsed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Following exhaustive hearings before a joint congressional committee, these remedial measures have been reported to the House and to the Senate by the respective committees having jurisdiction over retirement legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations to the end that this pending amendatory retirement legislation be enacted into law at the forthcoming session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Urging the Appointment of John L. Lewis as Secretary of Labor**

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate R. C. Bonney of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, In the appointment of a Secretary of Labor as a successor to Secretary Davis, President Coolidge should seek a man fitted to fully represent and receive the endorsement of organized labor, just as is being followed by the President in the appointment of a Secretary of Agriculture; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby endorses and urges upon President Coolidge the appointment of Brother John L. Lewis, president of the Mine Workers of America, as Secretary of Labor; and,

We hereby authorize and direct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to do all things necessary in behalf of organized labor to secure the appointment of Brother Lewis as a member of the cabinet.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Urging Co-operation with the U. S. Veterans' Bureau in Training and Employment of Disabled Ex-Service Men**

Resolution No. 58 — By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The seventeenth convention of the International Association of Machinists, held in Detroit,

Mich., commencing Sept. 15, 1924, is on record as adopting a very forceful and specific resolution relative to co-operating in a practical way with the United States Veterans' Bureau in its problem of rehabilitating the disabled ex-service men of the world war; and

WHEREAS, The seventeenth convention of the I. A. of M. instructed its delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to assist in obtaining justice for the disabled ex-service men of the world war, especially as it applies to those who are being given vocational training for the various trades or callings decided upon to be the best for their future welfare in employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends that all delegates take the necessary steps to have their respective organizations, and the local unions of their organizations, appoint committees to co-operate with the U. S. Veterans' Bureau in the training and employment of the disabled ex-service men; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the director of the U. S. Veterans' Bureau.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

**To Notify All Unions of the Anti-Union Attitude of the Waltham Watch Company**

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, International Association of Machinists; W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Waltham Watch Company of Waltham, Mass., introduced a reduction of wages ranging from ten (10) to twenty (20) per cent about the first of July, 1924, affecting machinists, metal polishers and jewelry workers; and

WHEREAS, After all efforts on the part of the employees of the Waltham Watch Company had failed to reach an honorable adjustment relative to said reduction in wages, all employees ceased work; and

WHEREAS, All efforts of employees, the State Board of Conciliation and the U. S. Department of Labor to effect an honorable compromise have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the attitude of the Waltham Watch Company is antagonistic to organized labor, and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby directed to attempt to make an adjustment of this controversy, failing to do so, the Secretary of the A. F. of L. shall notify all central labor unions, state federations of labor

international unions and labor press of the attitude of the Waltham Watch Company in this controversy.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.  
**Urging Support of the Cigarmakers' Union Label**

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Geo. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, W. A. Campbell and Rollo Sexton of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Cigarmakers' International Union is engaged in an intensive drive to organize all wage earners in the cigar industry; and

WHEREAS, The rapid introduction of improved machinery has revolutionized the cigar industry and such improved machinery has so specialized the industry that unskilled and semi-skilled workers are gradually supplanting the former skilled workers; and

WHEREAS, Under these conditions the workers must depend wholly upon the union for protection and their necessity for organization is correspondingly greater than heretofore; and

WHEREAS, The union label has been a helpful force in organizing the workers in our industry and maintaining them in the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention call attention to its endorsement of the Cigarmakers' Union Blue Label and because of the circumstances enumerated in the preamble, earnestly urge the delegates to report back to their unions the substance herein set forth and urge all unionists and all friends to continue to give their support to the union label and to redouble their efforts in that direction.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

**Urging Enactment of Legislation Requiring Post Office Department Employees to Accompany Cars Transporting United States Mail**

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates James J. Forrester, G. H. Nicholson, Wade Shurtleff, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, There has, within the past few years, been inaugurated a system of transporting and handling, (receiving and dispatching) United States mail in and from express cars and baggage cars by a farming out process, through contracts made by and between the postoffice department and the railroads; and

WHEREAS, The work connected with the transporting and handling of such mails, in express and baggage cars under such contracts, is required

to be done by employes of the railroad and express companies (express messengers and railroad train baggage-men) who are not government employes, but who are required to accept all the responsibilities of postoffice employes without receiving any additional compensation for either the added work or responsibility; and

WHEREAS, The amount of mail transported and handled in such manner has recently been added to until it has now reached an amount that makes it an almost intolerable burden for such train and express employes, and has caused a great reduction in the number of railway mail cars in service and of the number of railway postal employes heretofore required to perform this service; and

WHEREAS, This class of service results in great insecurity and delay to such mail at times; and

WHEREAS, A bill, known as S. 2953, the purpose of which is to cure this evil practice by prohibiting the transportation or handling of United States mail in transit in any car unless there is an employe of the postoffice department accompanying, and providing for additional compensation to railroad and express employes when required to do the handling, has been introduced in the United States senate, and is now in the hands of a subcommittee of the Interstate Commerce Committee of that branch of the congress, with instructions to give an early hearing and make an early report back to the full committee; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby condemn the said practice of farming out of and the transportation and handling of the mail in such manner; and further

RESOLVED, That we endorse the principle contained in the bill now in committee of the senate and pledge ourselves, our organizations and our members to assist the proponents of said bill in every way possible to secure its enactment or the enactment of some measure having a similar object and purpose; and further

RESOLVED, That the officers and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, located in the national capital be and are hereby directed to lend their every assistance to secure the enactment of legislation that will stop this pernicious practice and provide relief for both railroad and express employes and the railway mail clerks.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Request for Southern Organizer**

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate C. P. Barringer, North Carolina State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Southern States are not as well organized in the labor movement as the other states of the union; and

WHEREAS, The Southern States have made great progressive strides in industry, commerce, education and labor in recent years; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has no southern representative to look after labor's interests in the south; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the election or appointment of a southern representative to look after the interests of labor in the Southern States.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**To Commend Labor Policy of Jameson Oil Company**

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate R. H. Stickel, Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Jameson Oil Co., of Los Angeles, Calif., a corporation in the business of producing and refining of crude oil and its derivatives, has signed an agreement with the Oil Workers' International union providing for strictly union shop conditions in every branch of their operations; and

WHEREAS, The adoption by that company of the "Propello" brand gasoline, the first use of a union label by any oil producing company in California, has operated to the distinct advantage of all concerned; and

WHEREAS, We believe it the duty of the American Federation of Labor to extend recognition of fairness to employers who have shown and continue to show a disposition to recognize the rights of the workers to organize and deal with their employers through representatives of their own choosing; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby declare its appreciation of the fairness of the Jameson Oil company in its dealings with labor as represented by the Oil Workers' International union, and express the hope that the existing harmonious relations may ever continue; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to mail a copy of this resolution to the offices of the Jameson Oil company at Los Angeles, California.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

**Urging Support For Union Hatters' Label**

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates M. F. Greene, Christopher Donigan, Jere-

miah J. Scully, United Hatters of North America:

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America have maintained their union label on men's fur felt hats since 1886 and in men's straw, Panama and wool hats since 1912; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters have spent several million dollars during these years through advertising work and label agents in every state of the Union to carry on this work of education in appealing to the organized workers of America to purchase only union label hats; and

WHEREAS, The hats bearing our union label can be purchased in every city in the United States, and at prices suitable to the purchaser, whether expensive or inexpensive, and in all qualities, grades and styles; and

WHEREAS, For many years the members of the United Hatters have made the same struggles, and sacrifices as all other international unions have in fighting the "nonunion shop" or the so-called American plan, "open shop," in the effort to maintain their international organizations and its union label, without which we could secure neither wages or living conditions in the hat industry; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that, notwithstanding our efforts to increase the demand for our union label, we find the amount of nonunion hats increasing alarming, and particularly in the south and western portions of this country; and

WHEREAS, The major portion of these nonunion hats are sold by non-union concerns, one in particular, who is an arch enemy of organized labor, and has for years used every effort to eliminate the United Hatters of North America, namely, the Stetson Hat company of Philadelphia, which employs the largest amount of nonunion labor of any hat concern in America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fourth annual convention requests all delegations to this convention to make every possible effort to communicate with their local members to demand the union label of the United Hatters when buying a hat; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to all international unions, state federations and central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.  
**Affiliated Organizations to Assist Effort to Secure Enactment of Bill Providing for Use of Steel Cars Exclusively for Express and Baggage Transportation**

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates E.

H. Fitzgerald, James J. Forrester, A. J. Pickett, P. F. Kelly, G. H. Nicholson, Wade Shurtleff, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, A bill known as S. 863, the purpose of which is to prohibit after July 1, 1927, the use by the American railroads of any express or baggage cars not constructed of steel or other equally undestructible material, regardless of motive power used, has passed the United States Senate and is now in the hands of the committee on interstate and foreign commerce of the House of Representatives, where it awaits hearing; and

WHEREAS, The said committee on interstate and foreign commerce of the House of Representatives has promised a hearing and report early in the coming session of the Congress; and

WHEREAS, This bill, which if it becomes a law will prove a great protection and safeguard, not only to employees required to work and ride in such cars, but to the traveling public as well, is in splendid shape to be pressed to a successful conclusion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor, unqualifiedly approve of and endorse said bill S. 863, as and in the form it was passed by the Senate, pledging ourselves to exert our every effort and use our every influence to secure an early hearing, and favorable report by the committee and early and favorable action by the House of Representatives; and, further

RESOLVED, That the officers and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, located in Washington, D. C., be, and are hereby directed to give special attention to and assistance in the work of securing the enactment of this bill into law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated national and international unions, all state and city central bodies and all directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions and the members thereof, be and are hereby requested to get in contact with their congressmen, either in person or by letter or telegram and strongly urge support for early consideration and action so as to make it reasonably certain that this proposed law shall become actual law before the present, the Sixty-Eighth Congress passes out of existence on March 4th, next.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Requesting a Special Letter to Organizers Instructing Them to Organize Laundry Workers**

Resolution No. 66 — By Delegate

James F. Brock of the Laundry Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, A special circular letter issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor requests the salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor to pay particular attention to organizing the workers in the laundry industry; and

WHEREAS, This circular letter was productive of very good results; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' Union is not in a financial condition to be able to carry on active organizing work in the many and various sections of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor, calling their attention to the fact that the laundry industry is to a great extent unorganized at the present time and requesting them to do their utmost to organize the laundry workers, as many thousands of women employed in the laundry industry at this time are now receiving far less than a living wage.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**To Continue Co-operation for the Pardon of Mexican Libertarians Imprisoned in Texas**

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate John P. Frey of the Molders' International Union:

WHEREAS, Five Mexicans and one American, Abraham Cisneros, Jesus M. Rangel, Jesus Gonzales, Leonardo M. Vasquez, Pedro Perales, and Charles Cline, are in Texas prisons, serving life sentences as the result of the death of a member of a Texas sheriff's posse; and

WHEREAS, This regrettable incident occurred in connection with the efforts of these Mexican patriots and revolutionists, assisted by an American, to convey ammunition from the United States to Mexico for the use of their fellow revolutionists who were endeavoring to overthrow the tyrannical regime of Porfirio Diaz, and establish a government of the people in its place; and

WHEREAS, the government of Mexico has asked for their pardon, and to this request has been joined the request of the Mexican ambassador of the United States, and that of Samuel Gompers, president, and the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fourth

convention of the American Federation of Labor authorizes and requests the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to continue to co-operate with and assist the president of Mexico, the Mexican ambassador to the United States, and all other duly authorized Mexican representatives, in respectfully petitioning the governor of Texas to grant a pardon to these patriots who, though they violated the neutrality of the United States, did so and risked their lives in the sacred cause of human liberty.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

**To Extend the Forty-Four Hour Week and Saturday Half Holiday**

Resolution No. 68 — By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The forty-four hour week and the Saturday half holiday working schedules have been established throughout the country in many large industries, and accepted by progressive employers; and

WHEREAS, The movement for the forty-four hour week was endorsed by the 1919 convention of the A. F. of L., the Metal Trades Department, and District 44 of the International Association of Machinists, and by the sixteenth annual convention of the International Association of Machinists, held in Rochester, N. Y., in 1920; and

WHEREAS, Public opinion demands that the United States government be a model employer, at least to the extent of taking the lead in the movement for the shortening of the hours of labor; and

WHEREAS, For a period of thirty-nine or forty years the navy yards and arsenals have been operating on an eight-hour working day schedule; and

WHEREAS, The extension of the Saturday half holiday the year round for employes of the United States navy yards and arsenals would have a tendency to stabilize employment and confer upon that group of workmen a measure of progress to which they are entitled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the city of El Paso, go on record as favoring the establishment of the above schedule; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to use their efforts in bringing about the establishment of these conditions.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

**Organization of Newspaper Writers**

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate M. J. Flynn, Boston Newspaper Writers Union:

WHEREAS, There are at the present time twenty-six bodies of newspaper writers organized in bodies similar in form to trade union organizations; and

WHEREAS, These bodies of newspaper writers are located in various cities throughout our country; and

WHEREAS, An effort should be made to have these bodies affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to take such steps as in their judgment will bring about the affiliation of these bodies with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take such steps as will assist in furthering the organization of newspaper writers within the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**To Extend Provisions of Retirement Act to American Citizens Employed on Panama Canal and Railroad**

Resolution No. 70—By delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, International Association of Machinists; Luther C. Stewart, James P. McKeon, E. H. Fitzgerald and M. J. Hines, National Federation of Labor employes; Jas J. O'Connell, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

**RESOLUTION**

WHEREAS, Federal employes in the United States come within the scope of the Retirement Act, and

WHEREAS, Federal employes in the Panama Canal zone, both on canal work and on the Panama Railroad who are American citizens, are excluded from the benefit of the Retirement act; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled, in the City of El Paso, Texas, go on record as approving the extension of the benefits of the Retirement act to include these American citizens employed on the Panama Canal and the Panama railroad; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their efforts in securing necessary legislation as will include these citizens within the scope of the Retirement act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.



**Maintenance of The American Merchant Marine**

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, International Association of Machinists; J. A. Franklin, Chas. F. Scott, John Dohney, M. J. McGuire, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, The experience of the American people in their commercial relations with other nations and their experience also in the recent World War has educated them to the necessity of maintaining a mercantile fleet, and the United States Government, profiting by that experience, did build a fleet known as the Merchant Marine; and

WHEREAS, The American Merchant Marine is in grave danger of extinction through lack of enforcement of existing laws, and if not given the assistance needed will be unable to contribute its part in the growth and prosperity of our country; and

WHEREAS, The ship building industry of the United States has suffered severely because of laws admitting foreign-built ships to American registry and has now declined until it is all but non-existent; and

WHEREAS, This condition has resulted to the detriment of the members of the Ship Building trades through the lack of employment in this direction and through the bearing down of American living standards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled in the city of El Paso, Texas, go on record in favor of the enactment of such new laws, and the enforcement of existing laws as are now necessary to maintain the American Merchant Marine to the end that American Commerce may and shall be carried in American ships under the American flag; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation stand instructed to use their efforts in establishing this condition.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**To Condemn the Anti-Union Policy of the Coal River Collieries and the Chairman of Its Board of Directors**

Resolution No. 72—George L. Berry, Pressmen's Union; Charles H. Moyer, Miners; Frank Ledvinka, Ohio State Federation; Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor; Neal Culley,

New Mexico State Federation; Stephen Ely, Montana State Federation of Labor; Wm. Turnblazer, Kentucky Federation of Labor; D. A. Frampton, Moberly Central Labor Union; Frank W. Snyder, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; T. N. Taylor, Indiana State Federation of Labor; H. J. Conway, Retail Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Coal River Collieries operating mines in District 17, United Mine Workers of America, which are located on Little Coal River in southern West Virginia and also operating in northeastern Kentucky; and

WHEREAS, The stockholders of the Coal River Collieries are largely made up of members of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Mr. Warren S. Stone, president of the engineers' organization, is chairman of the board of directors of the Coal River Collieries; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the United Mine Workers of America in District 17 and the international officers have done everything within their power to bring about a renewal of contractual relationship by and between this company and the Miners' Union, on the basis of the Jacksonville agreement; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Coal River Collieries have discharged a number of the members of the mine workers' organization for exercising their constitutional rights of affiliating with the union of their craft, and it is reported that this company is following out the same policy that is being pursued by the nonunion coal operators of southern West Virginia in evicting the miners from their homes and, therefore, trying to establish a nonunion or open shop mine; and

WHEREAS, The same company is operating a mine in northeastern Kentucky which is surrounded by armed guards and a representative of the United Mine Workers of America is jeopardizing his life in trying to secure admission into this company's camp for the purpose of having them affiliate with their union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in convention assembled that we condemn the action of the Coal River Collieries for the attitude they have and now are taking against the United Mine Workers of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Mr. Warren S. Stone, chairman of the board of directors of the Coal River Collieries Co., and president of the brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, be also condemned by this convention for the position he has taken in the exchange of correspondence by and between Mr. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Mr.

Warren S. Stone in arbitrarily refusing to meet the representatives of the Miners' Union for the purpose of renewing their contract and that all affiliated organizations, including state federations and central labor unions, be notified of the action that this convention has taken in regard to this all-important matter which deals with collective bargaining and the trade union movement in America.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Urging Standardization of Paper for Official Journals and Papers**

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, W. A. Campbell and R. S. Sexton, Cigar-makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, There has always been some delay and difficulty in getting union watermarked paper by organizations for the purpose of printing their official journals and papers, and this delay and difficulty are said to be partly due to the fact that the official organs are of different sizes, qualities, finishes, weights, etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that considerable time and expense can be saved by a more uniform standard of print and book papers by national and international unions, and the labor press generally; and be it

RESOLVED, That the president be and is hereby requested to co-operate with the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers in an effort to bring about a condition whereby there may be got out three or less standard sizes of each kind in the quality, size, finish, weight, etc.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

**Requesting the Co-operation of Mexican Federation for the Organization of Mexicans Employed Upon U. S. Railroads**

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates F. H. Fljzodal, E. E. Milliman, E. E. Clark, T. C. Carroll, J. S. Moorhead, United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railroad Shop Laborers:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of Mexicans employed in the maintenance of way department of the railroads throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Wa. Employes and Railway Shop Laborers, the only authorized organization to represent the men working in the maintenance of way department, has in the past and is now experiencing a great deal of difficulty in persuading such Mexicans

working in the maintenance of way department to affiliate themselves with and properly support the maintenance of way organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session at El Paso, Texas, request and urge that the sixth annual convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor in session at Juarez, Mexico, pass a resolution calling upon their countrymen working upon the railroads in the United States, urging upon them the necessity of affiliating themselves with the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, for their protection as well as for the protection of the other employes, working in this and other departments of the railroads in which they may be employed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate at once the contents of this resolution to the secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and that the president of the maintenance of way employes be furnished with a copy of their action, to be used for distribution among the Mexicans working upon the railroads in the United States, in our efforts to organize them.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Endorsing Citizen Military Training Camps and Directing the Appointment of Civilian Aids to Co-operate With the Government in Recruiting Work**

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Metal Polishers' International Union; Geo. L. Berry, Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; James P. Holland, New York State Federation of Labor; Edward I. Hannah, International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Carriers; James O'Connell, President Metal Trades Department; Roe H. Baker, Journeymen Barbers' International Union; Timothy Healy, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers; John J. Hines, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; John J. Collins, Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union; Wm. F. Canavan, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes of America; Jos. N. Weber, American Federation of Musicians; Chauncey A. Weaver, American

Federation of Musicians; Edward Canavan, American Federation of Musicians; Thomas F. Kennedy, Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor; John P. Frey, Editor Molders' Journal; Frank Ledvinka, Ohio Federation of Labor; Hubert S. Marshall, International Union of Journeymen Horse Shoers of United States and Canada; Chas. J. Lammert, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; Geo. F. Hedrick, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; T. W. McCullough, International Typographical Union; E. A. Raleigh, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees; C. H. Clark, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees; Wm. B. Fitzgerald, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees; Franklin R. Doyle, United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands opposed to war except in the defense of our country and believes that the safety of our country can be preserved only if its citizens are able to defend it, by force of arms if necessary; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that this result can be accomplished with the minimum loss of human lives only by raising to the highest possible standard the physical condition of the young men of our country, by instructing them in their duties as patriotic Americans and by giving them the rudiments of training in the principles of defense; and

WHEREAS, The Citizens' Military Training Camps authorized by congress in the National Defense Act are designed and conducted by our government for the accomplishment of these purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in national convention assembled at El Paso, Texas, November 17 to 29, 1924, that the Citizens' Military Training Camps are deserving of the support of American laboring men and the Executive Council is authorized and directed to nominate three civilian aides to the secretary of war at large and one civilian aide in each of the forty-eight states, to co-operate with the government in recruiting candidates for these camps; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to the secretary of war and to the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

El Paso, Texas, Nov. 19, 1924.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., Vice-President Duncan presiding.

### Absentees

Fay, W. E. Bryan, G. Marshall, Crough, J. L. Lewis, Phillip Murray, Thos. Kennedy, Peter Smith, Yarrow, Berry, Higgins, Make, John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Manion, Roscoe H. Johnson, Walden, Freeman, Drum, Barry, Finley, Iglesias, Short, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Gentry, Hughes, Costello, Franck, Ferns, Spough, Laylor, Bower, Hourigan, R. T. Wood, Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Lee A. Williams, Camous, Cokely, Brasfield, George Browne, Portway.

### Errata

Chas. W. Gill, representing Dallas Central Labor Council, was erroneously reported absent at Tuesday morning session, Nov. 18.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from Mr. H. D. Carbary, personal representative of the Ambassador Hotels System, Atlantic City; from Mr. Edward L. Bader, mayor of Atlantic City, from Mr. Ezra C. Bell, president of the Atlantic City Convention and Publicity Bureau; and from Mr. S. P. Leeds, president of the Atlantic City Chamber of Commerce, inviting the Federation to hold its 1925 convention in Atlantic City. All of the telegrams assured ample hotel accommodations and other convention conveniences.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Cheyenne, Wyo., Nov. 18, 1924,  
Federation of Labor, El Paso, Texas:  
Greetings and hearty best wishes for a successful convention.

FRANK CLARK, Com. of Labor

An invitation from El Paso Rebekah Lodge, No. 267, I. O. O. F., was read, urging the delegates who are members of that lodge to attend their meeting on Wednesday evening, Nov. 19th.

The following announcement was made:

At 3:30 p. m., Wednesday, Nov. 19, the American Federation of Labor will

be the special guests of Major General Howze, of the United States Army, at Fort Bliss.

The first number on the program will be the broncho busting, wild west and Greco-Roman riding, one of the most wonderful that these or any other people could see. Nobody should miss it. The general public of El Paso is also invited. It will be a wonderful show. When this is over, the members of the American Federation of Labor are especially invited to go to the officers' club house, where tea and sandwiches will be served and excellent music by the army bands will be heard. Then just below the club house there will be a crack polo game by the crack army players of the Southwest, especially arranged for the guests.

This courtesy by General Howze and wonderful features of entertainment will be appreciated by all who are fortunate enough to be there. Every member should make it a point to be there.

President Gompers in the chair.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Thomas Flaherty, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The delegates will recall that on June 7 last President Coolidge vetoed the so-called pay bill. The Congress adjourned without taking action on the veto. It is now awaiting action by the United States Senate, and it is the desire that an expression from this convention reach Washington prior to the convening of Congress on Dec. 1.

Therefore, your committee on legislation has given priority to Resolution No. 20, dealing with the subject matter of the presidential veto. The resolution reads:

**To Re-Affirm and Urge Adequate Postal Service Wage Standards**

Resolution No. 20 — By Delegates

Thomas F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Straup, R. L. Riter, T. Grant Woodward of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, L. E. Swarts, Chas. E. Duffy, John T. Mugavin of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, After an extended investigation and most thorough consideration of the question of postal pay standards, the sixty-eighth Congress, with only nine dissenting votes in both houses, passed a bill (S. 1898), which provided for wage increases for the postal workers; and

WHEREAS, This wage bill was subsequently disapproved by the President and returned to Congress, where action on the presidential veto will be taken when Congress reconvenes on Dec. 1, 1924; and

WHEREAS, Every reason advanced heretofore by the postal employes for their pay increases applies today with equal force and logic and from evidence at hand public opinion is practically a unit in support of this meritorious measure; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement, in common with all elements in our country that are concerned with an efficient postal service, actively and effectively supported the postal employes in their petitions for higher wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in forty-fourth convention assembled, reaffirming its endorsement and advocacy of an adequate postal service wage standard—both as a requisite for a dependable agency to serve the public and in simple justice to faithful workers—urges the Congress to speedily enact S. 1898; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to mail at once a copy of this resolution and action thereon to each member of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Sigman, International Ladies' Garment Workers, called attention to an omission from Resolution No. 42 of the names of the representatives of his organization, who had sponsored the resolution, along with others. The chair stated that the necessary correction would be made by the secretary, and added that any

further errors or omissions noted in the proceedings should be brought directly to the attention of the secretary.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Sara Conboy, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

##### A. F. of L. Organizers

The work of our salaried and volunteer organizers has been of the highest order during the year. They have fought continuously against the forces hostile to our movement and they have helped materially to force back the tide of ignorance. They have brought many new members into our movement. They are constantly a tower of strength and we desire to most warmly commend their efforts.

Your committee fully agrees and concurs in this part of the report of the Executive Council.

The salaried and volunteer organizers are entitled to all the praise and credit given them for their untiring zeal and efforts in promoting and advancing the work of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Organization of All Steel Workers Into One Organization

Resolution No. 3—By the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor request the different organizations who claim jurisdiction over certain crafts in the steel mills relinquish such jurisdiction, so that all men in the steel mills shall become members of one organization. Also that we request the support of the A. F. of L. and the labor movement in general to give us such moral support as is compatible with our welfare, and their interests, to the end that the steel industry be thoroughly organized.

On this resolution a hearing was held at which several international officers appeared.

Your committee finds that two requests are made on this convention:

1. That the organizations having jurisdiction over crafts employed in the steel mills relinquish same, so

that those working in the steel mills may become members of one organization.

2. That the American Federation of Labor and the general labor movement give support and encouragement to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to thoroughly organize the steel industry.

On the first request your committee non-concurs, for the reason that it interferes with the autonomy rights and jurisdictional claims of a number of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

On the second request your committee concurs.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Organization of Bank Clerks

Resolution No. 10 — By Delegate Ernest Bohn of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646, New York:

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 11, dealing with the unionizing of bank clerks in New York, was unanimously adopted by the forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon; and

WHEREAS, The deplorable conditions under which the bank clerks work, the long hours and the low pay, are causing them to revolt, and, according to the representatives of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646, large numbers of them realize that only through organization can they improve their conditions; and

WHEREAS, While denying a living wage to their employes, the big banks pile up huge profits, twenty-five national banks in New York City in thirteen months ending October, 1924, averaging a profit of 33 per cent on their capital stock, earning close to 54 million dollars, and these and other banks are members of the American Bankers' Association, and enjoy the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, The big banks maintain open shops, and with few exceptions deny to their employes the right to organize, and intimidate them against joining the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, under penalty of dismissal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-fourth annual convention of the A. F. of L. at El Paso, Texas, that the action of these bankers in refusing to concede to their employes the right to organize, and refusing the principle of col-

lective bargaining, be condemned, and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to give all possible aid and support to the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 in its work of organizing the bank clerks, and, further, to appeal to all workers, labor organizations and progressive-minded business men to patronize banking institutions employing union clerks.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers it to the Executive Council to comply with, if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Organization of Women Office Workers

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York:

WHEREAS, The forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Portland, Oregon, adopted Resolution No. 10 unanimously, dealing with the subject "Women in Industry;" and

WHEREAS, A very large number of women are employed as office workers who should be educated along trades union policies and ideals; and

WHEREAS, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646, has been making every effort to induce these workers to join their union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at El Paso, Texas, that the Executive Council and the international unions assist in organizing women office workers.

This resolution, while mentioning specifically "Women Office Workers," also deals in a general way with "Women in Industry."

Your committee finds that in accordance with the action of the forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Portland, Oregon, last year, the Executive Council has given much consideration and attention to this subject. In the report of the Executive Council to this convention we find the following under the caption

#### Women in Industry

In accord with the instructions of the Portland convention conferences have been held to develop plans for the better organization of wage earning women. Preparatory to the first

conference, an effort was made to ascertain the size of the problem. Our inquiry disclosed that there are approximately 3,500,000 women over fifteen years of age employed in industry, of whom about 200,000 are members of trade unions. Two conferences of all national organizations concerned and a number of committee meetings were held in our effort to develop a plan for action and the necessary funds for its creation.

The Executive Council asked for a full report on the conferences and the plan outlining methods by which we hope to inaugurate a campaign for the better organization of women. After considering the whole situation the council felt that because of the very few pledges of substantial support to a separate and distinctive movement confined to organizing women wage earners, it was obvious that general concerted action would be impracticable. Furthermore, the council felt that the plan outlined would inevitably set up a bureau which would be in a position to encroach upon the prerogatives of the Internationals concerned and the American Federation of Labor. The council held that this danger could be averted if the work of organizing came under the direction of the executive officers and supervision of the Executive Council itself. Because of the business depression and consequent widespread unemployment of the present time as well as the concentration of interest on the political campaign the council felt that the immediate future would not be a wise period in which to launch an extensive organizing campaign, but believed that it should prepare and hold itself in readiness to inaugurate a movement with the co-operation of interested organizations just as soon as a propitious time should come.

The problem of organizing women in industry presents a perplexing difficulty in that by many of the girls and women such employment is regarded as merely temporary. British experience indicates that the turnover in women's unions is nearly complete in five years. This means that aggressive organizing work in shops and factories employing women must be continuous. However, the fact that these women leave industry does not mean their influence is lost to the labor movement. As home-makers, as the wives of trade unionists, and in other relationships of life, they have influence through purchasing, in formulating public opinion, and their use of the ballot.

Such women are enfranchised and this is an additional reason why they should understand the labor movement and its purposes. As it becomes increasingly obvious that there is an identity of interest of men and women as workers and as voting citizens, it is evident that our plans for organization and education must be better bal-

anced so as to assure co-ordination and co-operation of all.

After carefully studying the plans developed in the conferences held during the past year as well as the difficulties of organizing work, judgment and experience compel the following recommendations:

1. That responsibility for organizing women in industry be left in the hands of the Executive Council at the opportune time with the co-operation of international unions to initiate a drive in such localities as to them seem advisable. As this is primarily an administrative function it should be handled as such.
2. That the Federation can promote the organization of women in industry by making available informational sources and material and by carrying on the educational work necessary to better understanding of the problem of women in industry and the necessity for constructive action.
3. And to endeavor to secure the co-operation of all interested in the protection and the promotion through organization of the rights and interests of the women wage earners of America.

Your committee therefore concurs in the recommendations of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Requesting A. F. of L. to Assign One or More Organizers to Southern States

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Chas. H. Franck of the Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama:

WHEREAS, Just as there have been periods during which great strides have been made in the development of industry in the East, West and North, so it is apparent that a similar period is now at hand with reference to the South; and

WHEREAS, It is of the utmost importance that no legitimate means be left untried to organize the tens of thousands engaged in the many industries in the South. The time to start is now. The united efforts of all international unions should be co-ordinated in a general organizing campaign in every section of the South; and

WHEREAS, The Alabama State Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Birmingham during the month of May, 1924, adopted a report recommending that the American Federation of Labor assign one or more of the Federation Organizers permanently in the South, believing that with the aid of the organizers, having permanent headquarters in some centrally-located city as Birmingham or Atlanta

the work could and would be stimulated, new interest aroused, new local unions formed, etc., the Central Trades Council of Mobile, Ala., recommends for adoption by the American Federation of Labor, the following:

**RESOLVED,** That the industrial awakening of the South calls for increased activity in organized labor activities on the part of every affiliated national and international union and to assist in promoting the union cause and movement, the president of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to appoint or assign one or more American Federation of Labor organizers for work in the states lying east of the Mississippi river, and that Birmingham or Atlanta be designated as the permanent address of the said organizers.

Your committee recommends that the words "having permanent headquarters in some centrally located city as Birmingham or Atlanta" in the third Whereas, be stricken out. The Whereas then to read:

"WHEREAS, The Alabama State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Birmingham during the month of May, 1924, adopted a report recommending that the American Federation of Labor assign one or more of the Federation organizers permanently in the South, believing that with the aid of the organizers the work could and would be stimulated, new interest aroused, new local unions formed, etc., the Central Trades Council of Mobile, Alabama, recommends for adoption by the American Federation of Labor, the following."

The committee also recommends that all after the word "the" in the eleventh line of the Resolve be stricken out and the words "Southern States" inserted. The Resolve would then read as follows:

"**RESOLVED,** That the industrial awakening of the South calls for increased activity in organized labor activities on the part of every affiliated national and international union, and, to assist in promoting the union cause and movement, the president of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to appoint or assign one or more American Federation of Labor organizers for work in the Southern States."

The resolution as amended reads:

**Requesting A. F. of L. to Assign One or More Organizers to Southern States**

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With these changes your committee refers the resolution to the Executive Council for compliance if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison announced that the official convention photograph would be taken immediately upon adjournment, and that automobiles would be in waiting at the Paso Del Norte Hotel at 2:30 o'clock to take the delegates and visitors to Fort Bliss, by way of the Scenic Drive.

#### ADDRESSES OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Gompers: The hour of 10:30 o'clock having arrived, the special order as decided by this convention to hear the messages of the fraternal delegates will now be had. The delegates have already been presented to you, and you and they have mingled and cultivated acquaintances and



friendships, and there devolves upon me not only the duty, but the pleasure of presenting these delegates to you, so that they may present their messages and you receive them in the name of the great hosts of labor whom you and they represent.

As the first delegate to address us, representing the British trade union movement through the selection of the congress of that great body, I have the honor to present to you Fraternal Delegate Brother A. B. Swales.

#### ADDRESS BY A. B. SWALES

##### Fraternal Delegate From Great Britain

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Trade Unionists: I want, in the first place, to express in behalf of myself and my colleague the very great pleasure it gives us to find your venerable Chairman, Mr. Gompers, sufficiently recovered in health to be able to preside over this convention. When we read in the papers of Britain some three or four months ago of the illness of your President, I know it gave great grief to many of my colleagues in the British movement who have had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Gompers when they have been at this side of the water.

I want, therefore, in the name of the British trade union movement, to express our keen pleasure that Mr. Gompers is sufficiently recovered in health to be able to preside over this convention, which represents your great American trade union movement, and in their name I hope he may be spared for many years yet to give help and guidance to the great movement with which he has been connected nearly all his life. And to that may I add my personal gratification at finding you sufficiently recovered, Mr. Gompers, to be able to preside over this gathering.

It is with a great consciousness of pride that I bear the honor of bringing to you the fraternal greetings of the several millions of organized workers affiliated to the British Trades Union Congress.

It is an honor that I have looked forward to since my appointment, and its object is, I feel, not just a polite and friendly exchange between two great and similar organizations in the two great countries, but it is a step toward the inevitable attainment of our ideal of working class solidarity and brotherhood.

The greetings I bring to you are no empty and pious phrases, they are the head and heart expressions of our people across the water for a closer economic, political, social and industrial unity. We want your help, and your support and co-operation in all our big tasks—in our efforts to make the lives of our people happier and better than they are, and we want to reciprocate

by helping you in the same way, whenever and wherever possible.

To develop to the utmost the good will, the fraternity, brotherhood and friendship: that is our common aim. We must try to understand each other's problems, and with your indulgence, I hope to give you a brief outline of the present position of our movement, the difficulties that it has passed through, and the difficulties yet before it.

For the British working class movement this is a year of anniversaries. We have been celebrating at home the diamond Jubilee of the Labor and Socialist International, the centenary of the British trade union movement, the birth of the British Labor party, and the advent of the first British Labor Government. These are closely related events. We do not in Britain think of the movement sectionally, but as an organic unity with its international, its industrial and its political aspects so closely related that they cannot be dissociated. We are justly proud as trade unionists of the part that the industrial organizations have played in the building up of the modern labor movement as we find it in Britain today.

Our story begins a hundred years ago, with the repeal of the anti-combination laws that were directed by the classes in control of political and economic power against the efforts of the work people to organize for their own protection and the advancement of their standards of life and labor. No fewer than thirty-four acts of parliament extending over a period of five centuries were on the statute book at the opening of the Nineteenth Century. They embodied the most drastic measures that the governing classes could conceive to prevent the organization of the working people. They symbolized the savage persecution and brutal repression which the pioneers of trade unionism in our country had to face when they began the agitation that led finally to the repeal of the combination laws. It is a matter of history that these acts of parliament were swept away in 1824 and the trade union movement properly regards that year as marking its birth. It is true that there were trade unions before 1824, but they existed as secret societies. Under the combination laws it was a criminal offense for two or more working men to get together and agree to take action either to resist a wage reduction or to claim a wage increase. It is also true that the laws in theory applied to action on these lines on the part of the employers, but history yields no instance of proceedings having been taken against employers as they were in numerous cases against the workers who sought to combine. The great act of liberation that took place in 1824 bore immediate fruit in the creation of trade unions. Organizations sprang up like mushrooms and in the first few months

following the repeal of these laws there were a remarkable number of industrial disputes. So serious indeed did the movement seem to the governing class that they proposed in parliament the next year to restore the combination laws, and there was a fierce political agitation to prevent this being done. For many years after, in fact, the trade unions were scarcely conceded the right to exist and their activities were hampered by all sorts of restrictions and the pioneers of trade unionism suffered many hardships and persecutions, deportations and imprisonments whilst the industrial movement was getting upon its feet.

All this, of course, is ancient history. It is the story of a hundred years ago, but it is one that trade unionists of our time should not allow themselves to forget. Not only in Britain, but in every other country where the trade union movement is now established, the memory of the men and women who struggled to establish the industrial movement should be held in honor. They prepared for us a goodly heritage.

I conceive, Mr. President, that I can make no better use of this opportunity than to describe the work of our congress in its relations to the development of the trades union movement.

The congress that I attended at Hull about two months before I left England—which was the fifty-sixth annual congress of the British trades union movement—was a source of great satisfaction to everyone concerned in the welfare and progress of trades unionism in Great Britain. It revealed our strength and gave us great hope for the future.

This will be better understood by a comparison of the membership of the unions affiliated to our congress in pre-war years, and with the fluctuations of membership since then and up to the present time. In 1913 the total membership was 2,232,444. Then came the tide of war prosperity which carried us to the high water mark of a total membership of 6,595,482 in 1920. This record year was followed by a post-war reaction. The chill and bitter blasts of unemployment, the attacks on our wages and conditions by employers, attacks fiendishly planned, and most callously executed in some instances, these with other causes have left us with a membership of 4,328,235 in 1924.

The past four years has been a testing time, when our real strength was to be ascertained. Our members in the main have decided, very wisely I believe, that it was not a time for general attack or to pursue our fight for the reform and betterment of the conditions of our people, but rather a time for defense, and the conservation of our forces. Our financial resources

have been called upon to an extent never equaled in the history of our movement. In the year 1921, 158 of our unions paid in unemployment benefit a sum of 35 million dollars, approximately. In three years these same unions affiliated to our congress had paid away to their unemployed members 120 million dollars. My own union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, has paid in benefits, to its members, from July, 1920, the date of our amalgamation, up to June, 1924,—a period of four years—no less a sum than 25 million dollars, approximately. We have faced our responsibilities to the members of our unions, and we believe the wisdom of our policy has resulted in preserving our movement from disintegration, for in spite of the losses in membership due to the causes which I have indicated, the numerical strength of our movement today is almost twice as strong as before the outbreak of war in 1914.

What the trade slump has cost the wage earners of Britain in actual reductions of their wages can be seen from the following facts. The trade slump began at the end of 1920. In the following year, 1921, there was a wage slash amounting to over 30 million dollars in the weekly full time wages of some seven and a quarter million wage earners. In the following year, 1922, there was a further reduction amounting to twenty million dollars a week affecting some seven and a half millions, and in 1923 another cut of close upon twenty-three million dollars a week was sustained by three million workers. Altogether it has been estimated by the experts that the national wage bill of our country was practically reduced by half in these three years. In other words the employing class by their wage drive forced wages down and inflicted upon the wage earners an aggregate loss of close upon five billion dollars. Anyone with an elementary knowledge of economics can appreciate the effects of this stupendous loss of purchasing power on the part of the great mass of the consuming public in relation to trade and employment. It has been said that the housewife is the largest employer of labor in the world. It is so at home, and I think it is true also of this country. The loss of purchasing power by these successive wage cuts necessarily affected every branch of the trades and industries supplying the home. Happily the process since the advent of a Labor government in Britain has been reversed. The first labor budget restored to the British housewife by the remission of the food duties and other reductions in taxation close upon 200 million dollars. This can be regarded as a direct addition to real wages and is not the smallest of the benefits that have resulted to the wage earning population as a whole from the existence of a Labor government.

We are able to look with some amount of pride at these accomplishments, after the unprecedented period through which we have passed—a period which is not yet over—and now we are preparing to again go forward as rapidly as possible, toward the full emancipation of the tolling millions of our little old country, and at the same time give as much assistance as is possible to our fellow workers in other countries.

I do not take a pessimistic view of our trade union outlook in Great Britain. Trades unionism is not only the most vital force in our economic life, but in alliance with our political labor movement is destined to become, in a very short time, the controlling influence in our country.

Those of you that have had the time and opportunity to watch our work from time to time will have noticed the development of our organization, the gradual reduction through amalgamation of many small unions into fewer great unions. This year has seen the coming together of three such organizations amongst the general and semi-skilled workers into one great union of nearly half a million members strong. In England our unions are mostly fairly old bodies. They have built up traditions of their own; they each have their own and generally different scales of contributions and benefits. Their constitutions and rules vary one from the other, yet, notwithstanding these initial difficulties in the last four years amalgamations have taken place affecting nearly three million workers. Many small unions (and large ones, too) have put aside the smaller pride in their own unions to bring about a solidification of all the workers in one particular group or industry. As I stand here, meetings are taking place between officials of many unions, in different industries, with a view to still further fusions, and honest and sincere efforts are being put forth by the custodians of each union to make accommodations and adjustments to meet each other's difficulties, so that the larger and more efficient organization of the workers can become an accomplished fact.

The general council of the Trades Union Congress, of which I am proud to be a member, and honored by being its president for the next twelve months, has done much to foster and promote these amalgamations. It has held nationwide "back to the union" campaigns, and has used as a slogan, the impelling appeal of "more unionists and less unions."

The general council itself has during the last few years, as the central body of British trades unionism, made big improvements in its own organization, improvements that have extended its functions and made it possible to help affiliated organizations in a way

that has hitherto not been possible. In the great disputes that have taken place recently in the shipbuilding industry, with the miners, the builders, and the locomotive men, the council has been of the greatest assistance to these workers, securing help, giving support and encouragement, and as a last resource in some cases, acting as mediators between the unions and the employers. The council's activities in this direction are acknowledged to be responsible for settlements being reached that would have been far less satisfactory to the workers concerned if the council had not intervened.

Each year at our congress, we review the work of the general council, and where it is advisable and where the desire has been expressed give it more power and more work to do in these directions. It is the hope of many, including myself, that some day the hundreds of unions now affiliated to Congress will be reduced to the smallest possible number of unions, containing every worker by hand or brain in the entire country, and under the direction of one united general council, and I am not alone in believing that this day is not so far distant as many people are inclined to believe.

Among other necessary activities making for working class emancipation, our trade union movement places among the foremost the necessity of workers' education. More and more our unions are subscribing to the fact that educated trades unionism makes for effective trades unionism.

Our trade union congress has given a lead by creating an education committee and by urging the affiliated unions to take up educational work.

Over a long period of years several bodies have been interested in this work, including the Working Men's College, founded in 1854; Ruskin College, 1899; the Workers' Educational Association, 1903; the Central Labor College, 1909. The congress educational committee is charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating educational activities and, further, have made grants from our funds to assist working class educational institutions.

The younger generation of trades unionists are taking an intelligent interest in this phase of our work, and great advancement has been made in recent years in the number of classes and the number of students. Today, there are thousands of classes, and tens of thousands of students being trained for the working class movement. Our young men and women are being taught to understand the system of society in which we live; to comprehend the forces that bring about unemployment, enforced emigration, poverty and wars; and are encouraged to take their place in the struggle for working class emancipation, armed with knowledge, for knowledge is power. We have great faith in our

young people to carry on the good work, for the future leaders of our movement must come from the young men and young women of today.

The general council has also been able, and is the medium through which the British workers are able to assist their foreign comrades. We have given assistance to the German workers in their fight against a lengthening of the working day and week, for we know that if the German workers are compelled to work longer hours and if their wages are depressed, we in turn, being a competitive nation, will shortly after be liable to suffer the same fate.

In international trade union activities of this character, we have not confined ourselves to defensive work, but have done much to initiate movements; not the least is the present world-wide campaign, designed to prevent a recurrence of the ghastly, un-Christian shedding of blood, and the devastation that has just swept over Europe—the life-devouring tragedy of war. It is a sad commentary on our boasted civilization that after nearly two thousand years of civilization, the only method that we can find to settle disputes between nations is to blow out the brains or cripple and maim the bodies of human beings, and in the vast majority of these cases they belong to our class, the working class.

I believe that we are all united in our hatred of war. I believe that we all want to advance to that stage of civilization where war will be impossible, but more than lip-service and passive acquiescence is necessary. We must translate our beliefs and desires for peace into actions and practices, and to that end our congress is working toward the international solidarity of the workers of the world.

My fellow-delegate, Mr. Cramp, who is also the chairman of the executive committee of the British Labor party, will tell you of the great victory that the working class of Great Britain achieved at the general election in Great Britain in 1923, which resulted for the first time in the history of old England being governed by a working class government. I will leave that inspiring and enthralling story, full as it is of romance and stupendous effort of many years' struggle, to my fellow fraternal delegate, but in passing I just want to express, if I may, one of the hopes of the British workers I represent—it is that we hope it will not be long before you are as well organized politically as you are industrially, and that you will soon be in a position to challenge the old order of capitalists and autocrats, and take over the government of this great country, not in any selfish, one-class or one-party interest, but in the interest of the whole of your peoples.

It is gratifying to feel that the present proud position of the political

labor movement in England is due in no small measure to the work of the trades union movement. In fact it is the work of the trade unionists that put labor into office in 1923. It was a great achievement to put in the place of a cabinet of lords, dukes, lawyers and captains of industry, a cabinet of men who have served an apprenticeship of honest toil, miners, railwaymen, engineers, iron workers—men who know what the people want, and who have consecrated their lives in an endeavor to leave the world a better place than they found it.

In fact, so well were these representatives of the people managing our great national and international problems, that a combination of the political forces of the capitalist class defeated our labor government and general election had just been completed when we sailed from England. There were indications that the old reactionary party, by a most stupendous effort, based on mis-statement and trickery, had succeeded at the polls, and are to return to power in our government. But we are not discouraged, for though there were personal defeats in some instances, and in others successes, the total vote cast for labor candidates, has considerably increased, and our political movement is moving toward the time when labor will be the dominant party in British politics.

The spirit running through our movement is, that—

"We have received our setbacks in the fray—a newer strength to borrow, For where the vanguard rest today the rear will rest tomorrow."

Industrially we have had our internal difficulties, as well as our victories. We, like every other country in the world, have our militant section, our extremists, our intransigents. In many countries they have caused a split in the working-class forces. I am pleased to say, in my opinion, that we have suffered no such dividing of our forces and efforts yet. We have our critics within our ranks; we suffer a certain amount of abuse, and at times partially and temporarily our discipline has been upset, but I feel I must say that only good will come from the introduction of this new blood and new spirit. I always remember when I look about me at my colleagues at home, that many of them—most of them in fact—that are now what may be called sane, constitutional trade union leaders, were once young enthusiastic fire brands—extremists—men who wanted the whole social system changed overnight, but as they have carried on, and slowly taken up their work in the movement, and responsibility has come to them, they have sobered down, not to the talking of and about problems, but to the work of solving them in a feasible and practical manner.

We have always welcomed young enthusiasts—I was one myself once—and I hope still to remain a rebel

against present day society—and results are showing that our policy of tolerance towards the impatient ones is bearing fruit.

Instead of expelling and reviling the young men for their eagerness, we have allowed them to come in, and have let them take their share in the work of the movement. Had we expelled them, and employed energy and effort in fighting them, we would have played into the hands of the employers and the old governments, by creating division amongst ourselves. New and rival organizations would have grown up. We would have been hopelessly split and divided, we would have fallen into a position of chaos and disorganization that would have taken a very long time to recover from, but we have been tolerant and broad-minded, and our policy is, I believe, proving right.

At the International Trade Union Congress I attended at Vienna a few months ago, considerable attention was focused on wider international solidarity. That congress decided to make an effort to secure the adhesion of the Russian trade unions to the International, and I believe we will be successful, for we have, I feel, nothing to fear or lose from Russia. They are workers like ourselves. Their temperaments and conditions may be different from ours, but I have faith that they will solve their problem. We will help them, and they will help us. Perhaps we have not fully understood them in the past, and they have not known us fully, but this is rapidly changing. We are coming together; not for bolshevism, as parodied in the capitalist press, but for brotherhood. Unity will take the place of unrest if we are prudent and patient. We all have something to learn from each other, something to give and something to receive, and if we continue to deal with these problems in this spirit I feel sure that we will not suffer any setback, but go forward to a fully united body of the working-class organizations of all countries.

I will forego the pleasure, Mr. President, of elaborating further on the many activities of our movement overseas. I anticipate you have a long agenda before you. It will be a rare and wonderful experience for me to be amongst you, to watch you transacting your business. I hope to learn a good deal in the little time I will be in this great broad country of yours. I want to learn as much as I can. I would like to stay much longer with you than my allotted time, both the beauty of the country I have passed through on my way to El Paso and the wonderful hospitality and consideration that have been shown us, I can assure you, warms my heart.

I will have, I feel sure, a good inspiring message to take back to England, and the people who have sent

me to convey their greetings will appreciate it all as much as I do.

One final word in conclusion. Let us come closer together. Just as science and civilization are bringing our countries closer together by means of faster steamships, airships, aeroplanes, wireless and radio, and many other things yet undreamt of, let us weld the spiritual bonds of friendship and fellowship still closer. Let us come together in our hearts, our aspirations, ideals and efforts. Let us be tolerant of each other, and seek to find that greater love and understanding that is the foundation of a new and better life for the peoples of all countries that we are seeking, striving and working for.

President Gompers: It is now my pleasure to present to this convention the associate delegate from the British trade union congress, Brother C. T. Cramp.

**ADDRESS BY C. T. CRAMP,  
Representing the British Trade Union  
Congress**

President Gompers, delegates and friends: Before I come to the central theme of my discourse, may I be permitted two personal observations? In the first place, I want to say that I have suffered a very agreeable disappointment. I came to this country knowing that I would be among strangers—I have not yet been able to find any. But I want to publicly thank, not merely the American Federation of Labor, but the American people, for the wondrous kindness and courtesy which they have shown to the visitors from overseas.

In the second place, I just want to say this: An opportunity of coming to America as a fraternal delegate comes but seldom in the lifetime of a representative of the labor movement of Great Britain. The little mementoes of our visit which you have so kindly bestowed upon us will be handed down to our children as heirlooms and symbols of the fact that we have had an opportunity of seeing you here in person.

Everyone must have been touched by the note which was struck by President Gompers when he indicated that the time is approaching when he would have to consider laying down some of his active work. Whoever his successor may be, and whenever a succession may come, I know you will select from yourselves some able person to fill that post; but I am certain that that person will not be offended when I say that Samuel Gompers, to us in Great Britain stands, as he has stood so long, as a symbol of your great movement, and I shall have the double gratification of narrating to my comrades and my children that my visit here was under the presidency of our wor-

thy friend who is in the chair at the present time.

My presence here is to me the fulfillment of a dream; for, though never previously on American soil, I have often been with you in the spirit through the medium of the printed page. Your "Declaration of Independence," with its ideal of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," the lofty and noble philosophy of your great thinker, Emerson, and the warm humanity of such authors as James Russell Lowell and Oliver Wendell Holmes, help to inspire in the minds of those never privileged to visit your shores a feeling of kinship and comradeship with a people who can produce such men.

The problems which have confronted British trade unionism since the world war are more difficult and complicated than any we knew before that tragic happening. Always we were fighting for a more equitable distribution of the national wealth. We organized our forces as well as possible and achieved considerable success in the winning of a higher standard of life; then came the war, and trade unionism received an unexpected stimulus by reason of the abnormal conditions which prevailed. Now it is that the real after-effects of that great conflict are being experienced in Great Britain and the problems have become wider and greater in their scope than ever before.

Great Britain has become almost wholly an industrial country; our agriculture has declined and our young men and women flock into the towns to enter into industry, leaving agricultural pursuits to a dwindling number of workers.

We must purchase our foodstuffs by the sale abroad of our industrial products; thus, if our overseas trade languishes, wealth decreases, the unemployed multiply, and the task of trade unionism grows ever greater.

Thus the task of British trade unionism is no longer merely one of securing equitable distribution, but also of creating such international conditions as will enable our products to find ready markets abroad; for if the total of available wealth be decreased, then the most powerful trade unionism must find itself largely on the defensive.

This will explain why in Great Britain we use not only our industrial but our political weapon. Mr. Swales has already told you something of our efforts on that field. I recognize that methods in various countries must differ even as the problems differ; that the economic conditions, the traditions, and the inherited genius of a people all play their part in the determination of methods and tactics, and that we are all struggling in our several ways to achieve those things

which are akin to the common sympathies of men the world over.

The British Labor party though it lost a number of seats at the recent election, has nevertheless laid the foundation of ultimate success. During its brief life it demonstrated that working men and women, with none of the advantages of university training, of wealth or social position, can administer national and international affairs in a way which has commanded respect even from our opponents. James Ramsay Macdonald, as prime minister and foreign secretary, has brought to stricken Europe a message of hope where despair formerly existed, and I am confident that he and his like will one day read their history in the grateful eyes of a continent.

In domestic legislation the Labor government did well though in all legislative matters which had to pass the House of Commons it was at the mercy of a hostile majority.

A housing act was passed which should provide two and a half million houses during the next fifteen years, the houses to be built for letting purposes, and to be subsidized by the state; the shortage of working class houses in Great Britain at the present time is appalling and the measure was badly needed.

An unemployment insurance act was also passed extending and increasing the benefits both to men and women, which has already proved a great boon.

Several other measures have been passed dealing with the improvement of old age pensions, with agricultural wages, etc., most of which were worsened by the opposition majority in the House of Commons, but perhaps the crowning achievement was the Labor budget which reduced the taxation on food by £23,700,000. In order to secure this sum to the workers it will be necessary to check the activities of the "Profiteers" who have appropriated much of this remission to themselves by the method of raising prices.

The chancellor (Mr. Philip Snowden) in his budget speech announced the intention of the government to produce a scheme of mothers' pensions at the earliest moment; unfortunately the fall of the government has for the time being postponed this much needed measure.

You will naturally ask me how—with such an admirable record gained in eight months—the Labor government fell and why it lost seats at the recent election; I will endeavor to answer that question.

The combination of Liberals and Conservatives which put the government in a minority was undoubtedly owing to the fact that it was doing too well for our opponents, and therefore had to be defeated and if possible discredited. Macdonald immediately declared for an appeal to the country without delay and the resulting election was the most

remarkable in our national history. Until the last few days of the contest there was every indication that Labor would gain a large number of seats. It was true that compacts were made between our Liberal and Conservative opponents whereby one or the other withdrew in order that the anti-Labor forces might not be divided against us, yet notwithstanding we were having the largest and most enthusiastic meetings ever held in the history of the country. Then our opponents played their trump card. A mysterious letter addressed to the Communist party of Great Britain was suddenly produced in the press. It is alleged to have been signed by a prominent Russian Communist, and advocated revolutionary activity in the ranks of the army and navy with a view to plunging the country into civil war. The Labor government had vigorously protested to representatives of the Russian Government as this was a violation of the agreement that no propaganda should be pursued in Great Britain, but many hold the view that the document was a forgery and at the date of our leaving for this country the matter had not been cleared up. But the poison at once began to work. The opposition press excelled themselves in a villainous campaign to associate the Labor party with the doctrines of Communism. The people of our islands with the exception of a negligible few have an intense repugnance to Russian Communism and all its works, the newspapers cleverly played upon their fears, and especially upon those of the women voters, with the result that we lost about 40 seats, and the Government has now resigned.

Notwithstanding the virulence of the campaign and all the forces of both parties brought against us, we have polled over 1,000,000 more votes than at the last election; our opponents have done their worst against us; reaction for the moment has triumphed, but it was their maximum effort and from now on their power must crumble and decay. Our party is the party of the young and enthusiastic; theirs is that of the old and effete order. They have no leaders worthy of the name, and the economic and social problems awaiting them, particularly in international affairs, will probably expose the bankruptcy of their statesmanship.

And now I would like a word upon the Russian question, as it affects the democracy of the English speaking world. I would like to approach it, if I may, as one of yourselves, to consider myself in consultation with you, rather than as a representative of another nation, for indeed the problem presented by Russia is the problem of all western races.

None of us can ignore a population of 130 millions whatever may be our views as to their forms of government, or the methods employed in the establishment of such government.

There are those who would refuse to recognize Russia either by word or deed, because of their aversion to her methods. To such I would very respectfully say that you cannot put a ring fence around these millions of people, and also that the vast resources of such a country should be utilized in common with those of other lands for the benefit of twentieth century civilization. It is true that the methods of the Bolsheviki regime are alien and repugnant to our moral sense, but we must remember the past history of the Russian people.

They never had representative institutions or means of self expression. Efforts to obtain mild liberal reforms were expressed by bloody pogrom, by exile amid the snows of Siberia, and by the knout, and therefore while we may not approve we can at least understand the fury with which they fell upon their oppressors.

If you make men brutes by your forms of government, then as brutes will they rend you when they obtain the upper hand.

But we have those also who would fall down and worship the form of dictatorship which Lenin the all-high, hath set up; who abase themselves before the mysterious word "revolution" which they regard with the same awe and reverence as the African savage bestows upon his mumbo-jumbo. This betrays a servile mentality, for surely it is the duty of intelligent men and women to inquire as to the effects of revolution before they accord to it either praise or blame. Revolution in order to justify itself should at least fulfill two requirements: it should make for material well-being, and should also bestow perfect freedom where such did not before exist; if such be not the outcome then the word "revolution" becomes merely a shibboleth.

I do not think it can yet be said that the Russian revolution has fulfilled these conditions whatever may be the ultimate destiny of the Russian people.

It would seem to me, therefore, that the trade unionists of the western countries (and in this I include Great Britain) should consent to friendly relationship with the Russian workers, but should adhere to our own methods and accept no dictatorship from outside.

Western democracy will work out its own salvation in the light of its own experience and traditions.

But although I can understand and even respect the sincerity of the Russian worker, I have nothing but contempt for those few in our own ranks who by giving lip service to communism seek to disrupt and weaken our trade unions and our political Labor party. Professing a desire to promote solidarity, their efforts are all directed to the task of embarrass-

sing the leaders; of promoting strikes which end in defeat, and of sowing the seeds of ill will.

Like my friend Swales, I take off my hat to the young enthusiastic worker, providing he is honest in his enthusiasm, but I have no use for the creature who in order to achieve prominence for himself, stabs better men in the back, by slander, by falsehood or by innuendo. These are the methods of the British communists, their code of morality takes no stock of the old fashioned virtues of adhering to one's word, of truth telling, or of toleration. If the democracy of the future was to be inspired by their ideals, then the world would be no place for civilized human beings, but would become a human menagerie in which the law of tooth and claw would again prevail.

At our Labor party conference in October, our national executive recommended that the Communist party be not allowed to affiliate, and that no person known to be a Communist be allowed the endorsement of the party. Not only were these recommendations carried by large majorities, but the conference went even further and decided that no communist be allowed to become an individual member of the party. Thus it will be seen that in Great Britain communist influence is rapidly fading away; and I am convinced that in a few years it will become merely an evil memory.

Both during and since the war the workers of Great Britain have passed through dark days, yet I am certain that the future holds bright promise to those who use our trade union and labor government as a great instrument for the promotion of peace among the peoples of the world, and who inscribe not "hate" but "comradeship" upon their banners.

And in order to achieve our ends, we must not neglect the weapon of education. While we endeavor to further education through the medium of our trade unions, let us not forget that the basis of education is laid in the years of childhood and adolescence; for in the case of many of our young men and women who avail themselves of labor colleges and classes, old errors, prejudices and convictions have to be rooted out before the new seed can be sown. Education imparted when the mind is pliable and receptive has by far the greatest effect upon the outlook of the individual through life.

We in Europe for a considerable time were dominated by the doctrine that the more you increase the misery of the workers the greater stimulus you give to them to strive for reform. Many of us have come to modify our views, have come to believe that the education imparted through the brain is more effective than the education imparted through the stomach, that

while you may drive the workers into revolt by the misery which they endure, when the stimulus of misery is removed then they are likely to forget the lessons which have not been acquired through the brain and reaction will again assert itself and take its place.

And therefore, in the progressive education of the people in the days of their childhood when their minds are like a developing flower, when they receive impressions which afterward become opinions, convictions, and, it may be, prejudices, in my judgment lies the greatest hope for the ultimate salvation of the working classes the world over.

We shall go on in Great Britain striving to promote peace and eliminate the causes which make for war. I would impress upon you, brothers, that the time to create peace is not when the drums are beating and the bugles are blowing, it is in these days when the causes which produce wars can be tackled dispassionately and can be dealt with effectively. Once the bugle blows and the call goes forth, once the enemy press uses all of the machinery at its disposal to suppress facts and to inspire the people with a patriotism which has its roots in fine feelings, in whatever direction it may manifest itself, it is then it is too late for individual men and women to attempt to stop the slaughter. Now, in the years of peace, is the time, and all of us ought to work resolutely to achieve that end.

In Great Britain, in common with other countries of Europe, aye, and with many in America, there are thousands of stricken homes and there are millions of stricken hearts as a result of the great World War. There are children who even yet have never known the period of comparative peace which we knew in pre-war days because conditions have never grown normal. Their tender years were haunted by terrors which we must see to it will never fall upon any coming generation. Their recollections in many cases in the eastern and southern parts of England were of being torn from their beds in the dead of night, to the sound of bursting bombs, and hurried away to some place of safety, and even when the war was over, enduring as they did these horrors, wondering, as they must have done, at the anxiety which consumed their mother folk as they hurriedly tore open a telegram or letter to ascertain if a loved one would ever return to that home, again coming to these days they have seen their fathers returning, it may be, to the home day after day and week after week, with despair written upon their faces because they could not obtain that employment which, in pre-war days, was secured to them.

We, therefore, my friends, have plenty to work upon. Our problems are so great and grave that we need



not sigh, like Alexander, that there will be no further worlds to conquer; they will last us, I am sure, throughout our day and generation, and our reward will be in our own consciences and in the approval which the coming generation will bestow upon us.

I have been gratified and have looked with sympathy and with interest at your fraternization with the workers of Mexico. It is an inspiring sight, and, if I may say so as an individual, it seems to me the logical line of development, that you in the new world should knit up your forces in your own way, working out problems which are common to you all, and we in the old world should move along the same lines, as indeed we are doing, and then the old world and the new march on towards a better order.

While it is true that over in Europe there are war lords and there are the manufacturers of armaments who are still endeavoring to keep alive the old spirit of enmity between nation and nation, yet the workers of Great Britain, though they suffered in common with others in the great war, have put all enmity out of their hearts toward their fellow workers of other countries who may have been grouped on the other side during the great war. In place of that enmity we today have growing in the hearts and minds of our people the determination that never again shall such a great catastrophe fall upon us.

We have been meeting during the last two years with our comrades from Germany, from the other allied countries, forging instruments for the promotion of peace and good will and eliminating everything which could possibly make for conflict and misunderstanding.

Ten years ago, sir, the old world rounded to the tramp of armed men marching behind banners which led to bloodshed, enmity, sorrow, suffering. Ten years hence I vision both old world and new again marching behind banners, marching side by side behind banners, not to bring sorrow or suffering, not to encounter physical force as our enemy, but marching upon the citadels and the fortresses of poverty, of ignorance, of cruelty, of war, of all those things which are enemies to the human race. Marching side by side, inspired by these ideals, with steadfastness in our hearts, we cannot fail to achieve our goal, and our reward, as I said just now, will be in the gratitude of those who follow us.

Men and women, let each and all of us bear ourselves in this way, that when our time finally comes to sit in the chimney corner, when the time comes that we can no longer bear the heat and burden of the day, when we must see others going forth and doing the work which we have been at-

tempting to do, let us be able to look into the eyes of our children and of those who will follow us with a level glance, feeling that we cannot be ashamed of the fight that we waged when the opportunity was here.

President Gompers: It is equally my pleasure and duty to present to this convention the fraternal delegate from the trades and labor congress of Canada, Brother John Colbert.

#### ADDRESS OF JOHN COLBERT

##### Representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

Mr. Chairman and delegates: I think I would be out of place if I did not first welcome the fraternal delegates from across the seas on behalf of the organized workers of Canada. I am sure we have been inspired by their coming and by their presence here today. I believe the organized workers of the North American continent can take a lesson from the history of their achievements throughout Great Britain and Europe.

Now, delegates, I feel that the time is going fast and I am going to cut my remarks short. We have got to hear from the fraternal delegate from Germany, and I am sure we are more interested in our brothers across the sea. When coming down here I did not feel the responsibility that perhaps was placed upon me in representing the organized workers of Canada; but I do realize the responsibility I have in conveying back to the organized workers of Canada the great work that has been carried on by the American Federation of Labor, of which we are part and parcel.

Mr. Spencer Miller visited Canada this year and took up the matter of educational work with our representatives of educational work in Canada. Although I had never met Mr. Miller before I know by the ability he displayed here yesterday that his visit to Canada must have been of great value to the movement.

I think before going further I would be ungrateful if I did not express my heartfelt gratitude for the kindness and consideration I have received since coming to El Paso, and from the delegates and officers of the American Federation of Labor. A friend who left my native city some twenty years ago asked me since coming here how I liked the city. I told him the hospitality of the people was wonderful, but there was another thing that struck me and that will strike any man or woman who has the opportunity to cross the great North American continent.

When we take days and nights to cross this great country we discover that we have a great deal of geography. When I heard the delegates from Great Britain speak of the amount of history they have I felt

we had a great task to build up our history. When I speak of geography I might add a little story. A man came from the old land, booked to go to Vancouver. He was to land at Quebec. He had been in sight of the American continent for twenty-four hours before he landed. He took the train at Quebec and in five hours landed at Montreal. He got the Vancouver Express at Montreal.

Shortly after he was heard to ask: "Will we soon be there?" He was informed of the distance he still had to go, and said: "You people make an awful fuss about this man Christopher Columbus discovering America. I don't see how he could have missed it!"

I haven't very much history to relate to you. My mission is to convey the fraternal greetings of the organized workers of Canada represented by the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, which is part of the American Federation of Labor. I am no stranger in your land; I had the pleasure of living under the Stars and Stripes for two years, one year in Michigan and another year in Wisconsin. I got initiated into politics in the State of Michigan.

When I was about eighteen years of age I went to Michigan during a general election. I remember helping raise a pine pole for the Republicans and a hickory pole for the Democrats. I saw a banner in the country town, in some hall, which said: "Vote for Protection and Keep Out Cheap Canadian Labor." I went back to Canada about a year later and found a general election was on. We had the two old parties, the Conservative and the Liberal. The Conservatives stood for protection, the Liberals stood for free trade, but whenever the Liberals were elected in our country we had protection just the same—not for the working class, however, but for the interests. During this general election when I saw a banner strung across a hall one night saying: "Vote for Protection and Keep Out Cheap American Made Goods," I came to the conclusion that both countries were bamboozling the workers in order to get votes.

I spent a year in Wisconsin, and in Milwaukee I was initiated in beer drinking. I came back to my own country, and they have taken it away from me there!

For two years there has been considerable industrial depression in Canada. Many of our workers have been forced to leave our land and come across into the United States. So many mechanics leaving has depleted the ranks of organized labor, but not to an alarming extent. In the last convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress the reports showed the ranks had been depleted only a small per cent.

In Canada we have the national movement that has not made much

headway against the international trade union movement; but another movement, the National Catholic Trade Union movement, has made headway in the last three or four years. That movement is confined to Quebec. From figures published at the present time there are indications that that movement is decaying, and it comes back to the workers that the only trade union movement worth while in Canada is the international trade union movement affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

We all have our problems to solve. We in Canada, like you in the United States, have a great geography. In the east we have the three Maritime Provinces, isolated from us by that great river, the River St. Lawrence. There many of the workers are employed by the great corporations, which own the homes, the schools, the churches, and own the workers body and soul. Across the St. Lawrence river we have the Province of Quebec, with about 2,000,000 who speak entirely the French language. Coming down to Ontario we have a population of about two million people of the old Anglo-Saxon race with conservative ideas.

To the west we cross through a forest, I might say, of a thousand or twelve hundred miles. We are isolated from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Those provinces are fertile beyond description. Then we strike the Rocky mountains and beyond them we have the Province of British Columbia with her oriental population. In the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan we find people from all parts of the world, very hard working and industrious. Industrial organization is hard to carry on, but we have to give the representatives of the American Federation of Labor credit for the amount of organization that has been carried on.

We have found it difficult in our country to get pressure on our government, being so scattered and having so many nationalities in a territory covering 4,000 miles, with a population of 9,000,000. When you see the large amount of land not touched in your own country, with ten or twenty million population, you can imagine the sparse settlement of the country to the north.

In 1914 a very satisfactory arrangement was brought about between the Dominion trades and labor congress and the executives of the American Federation of Labor, whereby there would be no interference in regard to our political and legislative program in Canada. On the other hand, I believe it was agreed there would be no interference from the Dominion trades and labor congress with international organizations of the American Federation of Labor represented in Canada. I am pleased to say that agreement has been rigidly lived up to.

Back in 1906 we passed a resolution in the congress at Victoria urging the different provinces to take up the matter of independent political action. Each province was to carry on its program of independent political action as the people wanted to. In the western provinces purely Socialist labor parties were started. In the eastern provinces we have Labor parties without the Socialist objective.

In 1915 a resolution was adopted to form a Labor party such as they have in England. The three provinces of Quebec, Ontario and Nova Scotia started their parties. In 1921 the Labor party of Canada was brought into being. Since that time the executive officers have been busy trying to bring about an amalgamation of the different provinces. Manitoba came in later, and now all but one province is in the Canadian Labor party.

In those provincial sections we have trade unions, central labor bodies, and Socialist labor bodies all affiliated. I understand many of the international constitutions do not allow their members to pay per capita tax to or be affiliated with a political party. I think the time has come when the international organizations will have to consider that matter. I feel we would have a larger membership if that were allowed, and I see no reason why it should not be allowed. It is allowed in some of them, and those industrial organizations are as strong, or stronger than those who do not allow such affiliation.

From the formation of the Labor party we were able to place thirty-five labor members in our different legislatures, which has been very beneficial to us in enacting labor legislation, in the way of mothers' allowance, workmen's compensation, the six-day week, minimum wage for women, health measures, the two-platoon system for fire fighters and policemen, and one day's rest in seven.

I do not intend to take up any more of your time, Mr. Chairman. I tried to describe the geography of our country and point to the amount of history we have to build. I have nothing more to say than to give you this one thought, that we have to look back at history in order to guide us, and I would like to ask you to look back to the time of Moses, the first great labor leader we have any history of.

When Moses heard the call to go out and lead his people from their oppressors, in his perplexity he called upon the Almighty to show him a way, and he heard a voice saying, "What is that thou hast in thy hand?" and Moses said, "A rod," and God showed him the miracles he could do with that rod.

I think today if the labor leaders of the world would keep their ear to the ground they would find the cry is just as urgent to lead us away from our oppressors. I believe that if we appeal to God today the answer would be: "What is that thou hast in thy hand?" and we would be compelled to say, "The ballot."

President Gompers: When an intimation was given to me that if the American Federation of Labor would consent, or if it would be agreeable to our Federation that a representative of the trade union movement of Germany would be sent by the executive of that body as a fraternal delegate, I answered, knowing, or believing that I knew the temper and the sentiment of the men and women making up this labor movement of ours, that a fraternal delegate from the German Federation of Labor would be most welcome. I took the matter up with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and my associates fully concurred with that statement.

Perhaps, like two friends who have quarreled and finally come to an understanding of each other's point of view and become firmer, faster friends than ever before, so with the government and the peoples of Germany and the government and the peoples of the United States. With us the war is over and they are our friends and our brothers.

For the first time in the history of the American labor movement, we have a delegate from the federation of organized trades and labor unions of Germany, the vice-president of the executive of that federation, and it is a pleasure as well as a duty that I have the honor to present to you Brother Peter Grassman of the German Federation of Trade Unions.

**ADDRESS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE PETER GRASSMAN**  
**Representing the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany**

At no time before have I regretted as much as today that I have not mastered another language besides my own native tongue. If I could speak English I could talk to you much more impressively than is possible now, using the indirect method of the translation.

We have learned with deepest sor-

row about the recent illness of your President Gompers, and we are glad to see that he has recovered. We hope that he will still have many years to give his strength and ability, not only to the American labor movement, but to the labor movement of the whole world.

We have an appreciation of the consequences of such an illness to your movement, as our own president, Th. Leipart, has been ill for the past month and is still ill.

In the last few years we have noticed with regret the number of prominent labor leaders, the old pioneers of the movement, growing smaller, and there are not enough able men to take their places.

I convey to you the very hearty greetings and the wishes that your organizations may further prosper and succeed, on behalf of the General Federation of German Trade Unions, which, federated with the unions of the professional workers and the unions of the state and municipal officials, represents six million trade unionists. I feel happy that I can give you at the same time the deepest-felt thanks for the relief the American people have given to German children and old men and women by means of the different committees of relief. But it is especially to our American fellow workers that I have to express our great gratitude for the financial support they gave our German trades unions in the worst time of the inflation at the end of the last year and at the beginning of this year. It was your President Gompers who after learning about our distress immediately appealed in noble fashion to the American trades unions to assist the German organizations. And this appeal has brought fruits manifold.

That we got over the hard months of the inflation period without bleeding to death; that we can now march upward and forward again; that we could save our formations; that fact we owe to the fraternal assistance we have received from our foreign comrades, especially the American labor movement. We shall never forget that. Should our American friends ever come into the same bad oppression that we did, while we don't hope for such, we should be glad to repay them for the sacrifices they made for us.

It is the first time that an official delegation of the German Trades Unions has visited your convention. Although our late friend, Carl Legien, had paid a longer visit to your country and your President Gompers has visited Europe, including Germany—he will remember the festivity the Berlin Trades Unions arranged in his honor—to the conventions in both countries no delegates were sent.

There are many important reasons for our presence. First it seems to be necessary to create closer relations be-

tween the nations on this earth. Ah the misfortune, the misery and distress humanity had to suffer during the last ten years could have been avoided if only the nations had been able to understand one another. We know far too little about one another and this ignorance was the cause for our belief that "the people behind our frontiers were our enemy." That can be applied to all of us.

That better understanding has now become more necessary as it seems to me—because there is now the recommencement of a sharp struggle between the employers and the workers. Fools only could affirm, capitalism had become weaker by the World War and within the following years. The contrary is to be seen in all countries. Much quicker than the masses of the people have the capitalists re-established their international; they don't care about race, nationality, creed or political opinions when they are going to form business connections. Profit is the only directing fact for them. But the workers were influenced by such considerations and moods—injuring themselves at the utmost. Because of these and other reasons it came about that the advance of the labor movement in all countries came to a standstill, that the workers were compelled to defend their positions with teeth and claws. Isn't it a command of self-preservation for the toilers of one country to become more intimate and steadily united with the toilers of other countries? During the last decade even the most stupid have got the perception how strongly the economic relations of the nations are tied together, that even the most powerful economic country cannot live for a long time without the others. How much more true is that for the working masses! Further—our self-consciousness has become stronger. We know and it is manifest that at every occasion economy means not only owners and managers of the workshops; not only plants, engines, raw materials; it means that we, the manual and brain workers, embody the real wealth of a country. All the dead instruments get their life out of the hand of the toiler.

Well—we need one another in order to support and promote us mutually. The progress the trade unions of one country have made is the spring-board for the advance of the workers of all countries; a defeat in one country concerns all the others, too. Fortunes and misfortunes have become common possessions today. It is my belief that we have already attained much if we can remain in the closest contact in our thoughts and opinions, in our experiences and our advice. If, in a word, we inform ourselves mutually about all important affairs of the labor movements of our respective countries. Before the war we had very good relations between the American and the German trades unions. During the

past unhappy years they were under a cloud. But are we still allowed to be bound by our recent past? Wouldn't it be much better to look toward the future in order to get control of it? The start must be made and that is the reason we Germans are here. We stretch out our hands towards you, American workers, and we would be glad if you would shake hands with us. In order to show an external sign of the growing firmness of our relations we invite the present convention—our American brothers—to send a delegation to the next German labor convention that will take place in Breslau (Silesia) at the end of the next summer. You can be sure you'll receive the heartiest welcome.

Now some remarks about the German trades union movement. In August, 1914, we had nearly two million members. After the war and as a result of the political transformations in November, 1918, many hundred thousands joined our ranks. Thus we reached the culminating point in 1920-1921 with more than eight million members.

As pleasing as this development was, it corresponded little with the real conditions.

Not the hard educational work alone had brought all these masses into our organizations, but it seemed to be a fashion to be a trades unionist. To many of these workers the inmost essence of the trade union movement remained a closed book. We always tried to give to our members a sense of sacrifice, faith and perseverance toward their unions. But many of these new fighters thought: "Here you have my fee and my contributions—now how many thousands per cent of interest will I get back in the form of better wage agreements?" When it was clear that it is easier to alter political conditions than to change the economic order, then these people lost their patience. They made noise, followed the loudest agitator, took part in each possible strike, mostly of a political character, which was plotted by doubtful gentlemen. Finally they became what they had been before—indifferent. For a great part of this appearance the communistic propaganda, directed and financed by Moscow, is to be blamed. It is obvious that the trade union leaders and their point of view are hated to the utmost by the communists, whose aim is to conquer the unions in order to make them the instruments for the political purposes of the dictators in Moscow—to make Germany a Bolshevistic state. With remarkable tenacity they have agitated within the German trade unions for the past five years. Although they brought us into trouble sometimes, they have never reached their goal—today less than ever. As a real mass movement communism in Germany is of no account. It strikes

root only where distress and misery make the people desperate and hopeless. As to Germany, communism can be looked upon as a mental disease caused by the terrible times we passed through. But it disappears when one can have some hope for a better future. Therefore, we German workers accepted the Dawes plan, in spite of serious objections. If we had been an uninjured country with normal economic life and sound finances with the old frontiers, resources and raw materials, then quite another situation would have confronted us. But Germany is so impoverished and her economic life is so destroyed by the Ruhr occupation that there was no other way out. If we desired to free twelve million inhabitants in the occupied area from military and administrative oppression, if we desired to see the industrial part of Germany—the Ruhr district—working for the whole country again, it was necessary to agree to the Dawes plan.

Don't forget—Germany has not been the sovereign of her country for five years; she has been compelled all this time to select the least objectionable of two evils. As I was the one worker-expert who was heard by the Dawes committee on the 11th of February this year, I may claim a certain ability of judgment in this affair. Well, in spite of the heavy burden the Dawes plan loads on our country in which the German worker will have his share—we all hope it will lead to a peaceful development in Europe and, although slowly, to better conditions in Germany, too.

We trade unionists stand for fulfillment of the Dawes plan as they stood for fulfillment of our obligations of reparations.

The question as to whether the eight-hour day still exists in Germany is much discussed in other countries. Very often one finds the view that the working hours in Germany are generally nine, ten or even more per day. That is not so. Although we have no exact statistics about hours at present, an inquiry of the German trades made this summer showed that fifty per cent of our members work eight hours and less a day; the rest work eight and a half and nine hours, and only a very small percentage more than that. In the meantime conditions improved, and the trades unions got better agreements. They agreed to overtime only when there are no unemployed in the special branch and district, when the employers agree upon additional pay for overtime, and when the necessity of overtime work can be shown to them.

There is at present no special law limiting the working day to eight hours. A bill is in preparation and will be put before the next Reichstag.

A previous decree concerning the eight hour day given by the Volksbeauftragten in December, 1918, still exists, but its validity is denied.

In order to press the parliament and the government, the trades unions have made preparations for a referendum about the eight-hour day. We are not satisfied with the present state of affairs, but experience teaches that even the best law remains written on paper only if no strong power exists that is able to control its application. It is the function of the trade unions to be that power; but our unions are impoverished, like the biggest part of our people. Our funds of millions of gold marks melted away by the inflation like ice in sunshine; our state loans have now no more value than printed wall paper. However, things are looking better now in this respect also. Our unions are already in a position to accumulate funds again, to carry on wage disputes and to re-establish the payment of benefits, which were partly suspended during the time of the worst inflation. Another good sign is that the first German labor bank, which was founded last year, has made good progress, especially in the last few months, in spite of all the difficulties. We hope to get in business soon with the American union labor banks.

In regard to wages, I can say they have reached the pre-war level nominally, partly they have passed over it. But as the Renten mark has only sixty to sixty-five per cent the value of the old gold mark, it means that the income of the German workers is about thirty-five to forty per cent lower than before the war. We are concentrating our whole strength on this point. We endeavor to raise the wages to the point on which they are corresponding with the cost of living again. Though the position of the German workers is in no cases satisfactory, it is substantially better than in the second part of the last year. Then it happened nearly every day that the earnings lost half or even more of their value from one day to the other. Then it was important that the worker should give his hard earned money in the morning hours to his wife, for after three o'clock in the afternoon when the shops were reopened, she could buy eventually only half of the quantity she would have gotten in the morning.

We have united in our unions at present, troops tested in storm and weather, who are faithful to their organizations and true to the democratic German Republic, too. They don't want either a monarchistic reaction or a Bolshevik chaos, but they want to live in the best friendship with all nations and are filled with a deep love of

peace and have only the one desire—that foreign political oppression may cease, that the German people can do their work in peace and honesty.

We came here to tell you that. All nations need peace. The earth has got room enough, offers plenty of possibilities so that each people can live and prosper without injuring the other. To bring about this state and to affirm it, to bring mankind in a higher step of culture, to have war against hate and ignorance, misery and distress only, that is the especial task of the organized workers.

I am happy to tell you this on behalf of the German workers in this hour, to wish you all success, and to shake your hands in order that it may become true what was said by Schiller in *William Tell*:

"We want to be one united world of brothers,  
Divided neither by danger nor by need."

The address of Fraternal Delegate Grassman was given in the German language, and was then interpreted in English by his secretary, Mr. Walter Marschke.

Fraternal Delegate A. B. Swales occupied the chair during a portion of the time Fraternal Delegate Grassman was speaking.

President Gompers: There are two or three other fraternal delegates who are to address this convention, but in view of the several engagements which we have it has been deemed advisable to defer that procedure until tomorrow morning. In the meantime we shall have an announcement or two before we take our adjournment. I have the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. Roberto Haberman, who will speak for himself and make known his mission:

**MR. ROBERTO HABERMAN**  
Representing the Mexican Federation  
of Labor

Mr. Haberman: I am not speaking so much for myself. I am speaking to you in the name of the Mexican Federation of Labor, who sent me here to repeat once more an invitation that has been extended quite often, for the delegates of this convention to go to Mexico City as soon as the convention is over. We are going to have a special train of Pullmans waiting here on November 27, and we want you to try and fix the time so as to enable you to get through with the business of your convention and at the same time get to Mexico City by

the 30th of November to assist in the inauguration of Brother and Comrade Calles as president of the Republic of Mexico, the first chief executive of a nation on this continent elected by organized labor, and only by organized labor.

Brother Calles, besides being a member of some Mexican organizations, also holds a card in Lodge No. 1567 of the International Association of Machinists, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He is the second president of Mexico to hold a card in the American Federation of Labor. The present president, General Obregon, also a comrade and brother, is a member of the Machinists' organization.

Although I am a fraternal delegate to this convention I am not going to make a speech. You have heard all the speeches you want to hear about Mexico and the fine relationship that has always existed between the American and the Mexican workers. The tributes that have been paid to Brother Gompers you have witnessed yourselves, and there is not a spot in Mexico where Brother Gompers in particular, and the American Federation of Labor in general, is not well known and very much loved.

The Mexican Federation of Labor has approximately 1,200,000 members. You know about the constitution that we have down there that gives to the workers the right to organize, the right to strike, the eight-hour law, and all the things that you are fighting for here.

Mexico became a republic about forty years after the United States, and it borrowed lots of things from the United States. It borrowed a constitution, and most of the Mexican constitution is written on the basis of the United States constitution. It borrowed a few other things, such as a supreme court, and when the time came to revise the constitution in 1917 they did not take any chances, they put all these labor provisions in article 123 of the Mexican constitution, and they are so that no supreme court can ever declare the constitution unconstitutional.

When you go down to Mexico City, please remember that you will find a difference in the point of view of the Mexican and the point of view of the American. In America you have gotten used to the idea of owning lots of things. In Mexico they want to live life, and that is why you will find quite a difference in the point of view of the Mexican worker and the point of view of the American worker. We have gone through many years of revolution. Eighty per cent of the people in Mexico are illiterate, and we are fighting hard to do away with that condition.

We have quite a few surprises for you. You are going as the guests of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and we are going to look after your trans-

portation to Mexico and return. We are going to look after your hotel accommodations in Mexico, we are going to pay as much of the expense as possible; there will be scarcely any expense to you.

You will have to be bona fide representatives of the American Labor movement to go down to Mexico City on this invitation. The only passport required is a card in good standing in some union of the American Federation of Labor and your credential as a delegate or guest. We are not going to polish up for you, you are going there to see Mexico as it is. You have been the greatest help we have had in the United States against the common enemy, and that is capitalism. The capitalism of the United States is the imperialism of Mexico. You have been our greatest help, and we want you to know Mexico, we want you to understand Mexico, so that as Brother Gompers said, we will keep on fighting our common enemy shoulder to shoulder.

All delegates and guests who intend to accept the invitation must leave their names with Secretary Morrison at the earliest possible moment.

I thank you.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, called attention to the fact that no reference to a committee of that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "Teamsters vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees," had been made. He offered a motion that the subject matter be referred to the committee on Executive Council's report.

President Gompers stated that the matter would be referred to the committee on Executive Council's report if investigation showed that reference had not already been made.

Announcement was made of an informal tea for the visiting ladies to be given by the wife of Congressman Hudspeth at her home on Saturday afternoon, November 22, from 3 to 5 o'clock. The cars to take the guests to the tea will leave the Paso Del Norte Hotel at 3 o'clock.

Announcements were made as to time and place of meetings of the various committees.

The invitation extended by Major-General Howze to the delegates and visitors to come to Ft. Bliss on Wednesday afternoon was formally accepted upon motion of Secretary Morrison and at 1:30 o'clock p. m. the convention recessed to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, November 20.

## Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

El Paso, Tex., Thursday, Nov. 20, 1924.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, Nov. 20, by President Gompers.

### Absentees

I. W. Martin, Chas. F. Scott, Morrin, Cunnane, W. P. Walsh, L. C. Steward, Schamp, Brock, W. E. Bryan, G. Marshall, Hynes, Pattison, Crough, Murray, Phillip, Thos. Kennedy, Berry, Higgins, John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, W. M. Collins, Basky, Cashen, Manion, Johnson, H. Foscoe, R. R. Moore, Drum, Barry, Finley, Iglesias, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Cohen, Gentry.

### COMMUNICATIONS

The following telegrams, addressed to the officers and delegates of the convention, were read by Secretary Morrison:

"Please convey to the delegates my congratulations and best wishes for a successful convention. May your deliberations be fruitful and inspire the trade union membership to further activity for the benefit of the labor movement. I trust that the convention will formulate a constructive plan to bring the millions of working women within the ranks of organized labor and will recommend a vigorous plan for workers' education within the trade unions that will imbue the millions of organized men and women with a new faith in the labor movement and a desire to stand by it and serve it, and that will tend to give an intellectual and spiritual meaning to our organized labor movement. With fraternal greetings,

"FANNIE M. COHEN,

"Executive Secretary Educational Department International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Vice-President Workers' Educational Bureau, New York City."

"The executive board of the labor party of the State of Pennsylvania, the official of La Follette and Wheeler party in Pennsylvania, polling nearly one half billion in recent election, at a special meeting held at Harrisburg, Pa., Nov. 15, attended by numbers of trade unions from all parts of the State, wish to extend our heartiest greetings and well wishes for the

success of your deliberations. We urge that your body will take such action necessary to perpetuate the principle of independent political action.

"Fraternally yours,

"L. G. HINES, Meta' Polishers' International Union; JOHN F. STAHL, International Association of Machinists; JAMES A. FOX, Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; CHARLES KUTZ, State Chairman Labor Party, Harrisburg, Pa."

"Atlantic City will appreciate the privilege of entertaining the American Federation of Labor, and it is my sincere hope that your next meeting will be held here.

"ISAAC BACHARACH,

"Member of Congress Second District, New Jersey."

"Greetings: Wishing you a great and successful convention and that much good will accrue from your efforts for the emancipation of the workers. Sorry we have no delegates with you, owing to the geographical situation, but we, along with all organized labor, invite you to hold your next convention, 1925, in this playground of the world, Atlantic City, where the facilities are the best for such conventions.

"Fraternally,

"THOMAS CHRISTIE, Atlantic City, N. J., Secretary-Treasurer; SALOMAN SALTZMAN, President Central Labor Union."

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

El Paso, Texas, Nov. 20, 1924

We beg to report that a communication has been received from Juan Rico, chairman of the sixth annual convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor, stating that Roberto Haberman was elected with Joseph W. Kelly, as fraternal delegates from their organization.

We recommend the seating of Mr. Haberman as associate delegate with Mr. Kelly.

We have received credential from A. J. Pickett, as delegate from Freight



handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo., and recommend that he be seated, with 1 vote.

We have received credential from J. E. Melear, of Corsicana, Texas, Central Labor Union, and we recommend that he be seated, with 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN F. DUNACHIE, Chairman,  
JAMES P. McKEON, Secretary,  
JOHN J. DOYLE,

Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

President Gompers: The secretary advises me that the supplementary report of the Executive Council upon the question of the last campaign activity is in print and will be included in the proceedings today, ready for delivery to the delegates tomorrow morning. In the meantime the report will be referred to the committee on resolutions.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor Fellow Delegates:

In the report which we have heretofore submitted to this convention, we have called attention to the fact that it was impractical for us at the time when that report was formulated to foretell the outcome of the recent national political campaign. In that report we indicated that a report would be submitted later dealing with our political participation in that campaign. The Executive Council begs to submit the following supplemental report to this convention upon this subject:

#### Non-Partisan Political Campaign.

Partisanship governing legislation enacted by Congress has been shattered largely through the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor. Up to 1906 whatever remedial legislation was enacted was secured only after the most strenuous campaigns by labor over long periods of time.

Although the Chinese exclusion act was passed in 1882, it was not until

1912 that Congress finally enacted a stringent law against Chinese coolies being admitted to the United States.

The campaign against unrestricted immigration, begun in 1891, did not become in any way successful until 1907. It was not until 1913 that the literacy test was incorporated in the immigration law. And it was not until 1921, when the three per cent law was enacted, that a real effort was made by Congress to limit immigration. In 1924 the two per cent law was passed, still further protecting American wage earners and American civilization.

Although a national eight-hour law was enacted in 1868, it never was enforced and the first convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1881 demanded that it be recognized by government officials. This agitation continued for years, but it was not until 1892 that Congress amended the law providing for a shorter workday for all mechanical labor on public work, whether employed by the government or by contractors. Immediately efforts were made to nullify the law, and it was not until 1906 that an executive order directed the enforcement of the law and prosecution of its violators.

The manner in which members of Congress, both in the Senate and in the House, received requests from labor for remedial legislation became so pronounced that the 1905 convention of the American Federation of Labor urged all organizations to oppose the nomination and election of candidates for congressional and legislative honors who had shown themselves to be unfriendly to the interests and principles of organized labor, and to assist to the extent of their ability in the nomination and election of candidates known to be friendly to labor legislation.

Conditions had become so unbearable that President Gompers, by authority of the Executive Council, called a meeting of the presidents of all international unions to meet with the Executive Council at Washington to consult and devise ways and means by which the position of labor in regard to our rights and interests might be

discussed and formulated. That conference was attended by 117 presidents or representatives of presidents of the international trade unions of our country, together with the Executive Council.

The conference adopted what came to be known as Labor's Bill of Grievances. All present at the conference presented the Bill of Grievances to the President, the President pro tem of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, on March 21, 1906. The Bill of Grievances outlined labor's grievances and contained an arraignment of those who refused to legislate in favor of labor and the people or who confined their efforts to the wishes of the special interests. It concluded:

"As labor's representatives we ask you to redress these grievances, for it is in your power so to do. Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain. But if perchance you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow citizens."

After that meeting a plan of campaign was formulated and the following procedure was adopted:

"We will stand by our friends and administer a stinging rebuke to men or parties who are either indifferent, negligent or hostile."

Later, the policy was approved of having representatives of the American Federation of Labor appear before the Platform Committees of the major political parties for the purpose of pressing upon them the necessity of including in their statement of political intentions declarations for legislation helpful to labor and essential to the best interests of all the people.

Following the defining of these policies, organized labor ventured into an aggressive campaign to elect such men to public office in the executive and legislative branches of government irrespective of political party and as by their records and attitudes manifested themselves to be favorably inclined to the demands made by labor in the interest of the workers and of all the people.

The congressional elections in 1910 resulted in a change of the political

complexion of the House of Representatives, and organized labor was given a large measure of credit for that important change. It was realized that the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor was inherently sound, practical and potent for even greater influence and power in our political life.

As the years passed on, greater advantages were secured through our non-partisan political policy. Those in control of the major political parties began to realize that labor was not seeking mere political preferment, but was concerned solely with securing legislation helpful to the economic advancement of the wage earners and the social advancement of all our people.

This high ideal in the political endeavors of our people met with ever increasing favorable response in the election to Congress of members of the major political parties who more fully and truly represented the hopes and aspirations of the wage earners and of all our people.

By 1917 practically every demand set out in the petition to Congress in the Bill of Grievances submitted in 1906 had been enacted into law. The one exception was the proposed statute to enable states to protect themselves from the competition of the products of convict labor of other states.

Since the Bill of Grievances was submitted lack of progress in securing state legislation clearly demonstrated that national legislation was indispensable if the child life of our nation is to be made secure. Since 1881 we have sought the passage of laws in the several states forbidding the employment of children in industry. In 1914 we caused to be introduced into Congress a bill prohibiting interstate transportation of products in the production of which the labor of children under certain ages was employed. In 1916 this bill was enacted into law, only to be declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1918. We then caused to be introduced a bill putting an excise tax of ten per

cent on products coming into interstate commerce into which entered the labor of children under a certain age. This measure became a law and was also declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1922. Thereafter we caused to be introduced into Congress a constitutional enabling act authorizing Congress to prohibit the exploitation of child life. This enabling act was approved by Congress in June of this year and must now receive the approval of three-fourths of the State legislatures to become effective as part of the constitution.

In the past month the United States Supreme Court evidently was compelled to recognize the constitutional power and right of the legislative branch of government to modify, restrict, regulate or control the judicial power of the government. Ever since the courts invaded the industrial life of our people by the issuance of prohibitory mandates directed against trade unions and their normal and rightful activities, we have protested against this violation of the constitutional guarantee of workers to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Beginning with 1898 we have endeavored to secure legislation restricting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. After years of struggle, we finally secured the Clayton Law in 1914, only to find the United States Supreme Court soon thereafter emasculating the effective remedies contained in that law. This recent decision of the Supreme Court goes far to restore to the Clayton Act effectiveness of which it had been robbed. The constitutional power of Congress to regulate judicial procedure was confirmed in the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court which sustained the constitutionality of that provision in the Clayton Law, which secured to everyone charged with indirect contempt a trial by jury and which deprives the courts of power heretofore considered beyond the reach of the legislative branch of government. To that extent the Clayton law has been maintained.

While labor's attention was directed primarily toward the winning of the

great World War the reactionary financial and political leaders of one of the major political parties concentrated every conceivable effort toward the election of a Congress that would be subservient to their interests and opposed to the people's interests after the war had ended. In this they were successful.

From March 5, 1919, to March 4, 1923, two of the most reactionary Congresses of the United States came into power. All legislation proposed in these Congresses was so inimical to the best interests of labor and the people that in 1922 a radical change was effected in the personnel of both the House and Senate. Through our non-partisan political campaign there were defeated for the Senate eleven men to whom the word "labor" itself was abhorrent and there were elected 23 Senators who expressed themselves publicly as favoring legislation proposed by labor in the interest of the workers and of the whole people. There were likewise elected 170 members to the House of Representatives who had received the support and encouragement of labor's non-partisan political campaign and whose election was generally conceded to have been due to labor's opposition to their opponents in the campaign.

The 1922 Congressional elections produced one of the greatest triumphs of the non-partisan political policy of our Federation. In the first session of the present Congress not one measure inimical to the interests of the workers and the people was enacted into law. Approximately a dozen legislative proposals helpful to labor and the people were enacted into law. Some of these were enacted even over the veto of the President, demonstrating that members of Congress were responsive to the idealism of the non-partisan political policies of the American Federation of Labor.

When the 1924 national elections approached, the American Federation of Labor, by direction of previous conventions, followed its traditional non-partisan political campaign procedure by sending representatives to the con-

ventions of the major political parties, presenting to them in identical form such legislative and constitutional proposals as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor considered of immediate and paramount importance to the wage earners and to the people of the United States. The statements presented to the major parties are as follows:

To the Chairman and Members of the Platform and Resolutions Committees of the 1924 Republican and Democratic National Conventions:

Out of our experience as workers and citizens of this republic American labor has reached carefully considered conclusions upon proposals that should be embodied in our national policies. As your political party is to make an appeal to the minds and consciences of the voters for support of a national program to be formulated in your party platform, as representatives of America's workers we submit for your most earnest consideration proposals that labor deems essential to continue national progress and maintenance of a genuine patriotism that comes from confidence in guiding political ideals as well as wisdom and integrity of administration.

With fully justified reasons our voters will scrutinize most critically the declarations and decisions of party conventions held this year. There is imperative need for revival of a sense of high responsibility for maintaining political activity on a plane compatible with those ideals for which we as a republic stand. The following proposals constitute the legislative program which labor urges as imperative and eminently constructive, and insists should be included in your platform:

To promote highest material progress which is the basis for national effectiveness as well as an agency for national service, we urge that industry and commerce be freed from legislative prohibitions that restrict development in conformity to economic requirements. To this end we propose the repeal of anti-trust legislation and the enactment of legislation that will provide regulation in public interest and legalize economic organization as well as the constructive activities of trade associations.

It is unescapable that an integral part of legislation establishing this economic policy is full recognition of the right of workers to assist themselves in unions for their protection and advancement both as workers and citizens and collectively to carry on the legitimate functions of trade unions. Perversion of the injunctive process to apply to personal relations in industrial disputes must be prohibited and equity procedure returned to its beneficent

service in protection of property.

It is essential for the conservation of national virility that child life be protected. We therefore urge the ratification by the states of the joint resolution passed by the Congress, to amend the Constitution empowering Congress to enact such legislation as will safeguard the future child life of our Republic.

Because the labor clauses of the transportation act of 1920 have proved ineffective, we ask their repeal and the enactment of legislation that will afford opportunity for the voluntary organizations of management and employes to deal with problems of industrial relations.

We demand the enactment of legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one state into another shall be subject to the laws of the latter state exactly as though they had been produced therein.

In order to mitigate unemployment attending business depressions, we urge the enactment of legislation authorizing the construction and repair of public works be initiated in periods of acute unemployment.

In appreciation we urge adequate provisions for the full rehabilitation of all injured in the service during the World War.

We urge proper recognition of the work of those in the civilian service of the government with adequate compensation based upon equitable classification.

We favor the enactment of more comprehensive compensation laws to provide for all workers not covered by state compensation acts. We demand more liberal provisions for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases.

We maintain that the Volstead Act is contrary to the desire of the majority of our citizens as well as the spirit of the eighteenth amendment, and we demand that it be modified to permit the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent alcohol.

We declare for the maintenance of freedom of speech, press, assembly and association. We oppose any regulation to restrict these fundamental rights, believing that individuals and groups should be responsible for their acts and utterances.

We oppose conscription except as a military measure for defensive war and oppose all proposals to initiate compulsory labor under whatever guise.

In order to maintain representative government based upon the will of the people, we advocate a constitutional amendment enabling Congress to re-enact by two-thirds vote any measure declared unconstitutional.

tional by the supreme court of the United States.

Labor favors graduated income and inheritance taxes and opposes the sales tax as well as all other attempts to place excessive burdens on those least able to pay.

We demand that our nation identify itself with international agencies and conferences to promote world peace. We urge membership in the League of Nations and participation in the world court.

**SAMUEL GOMPERS,**  
President.

**JAMES DUNCAN,**  
First Vice-President.

**JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,**  
Second Vice-President.

**FRANK DUFFY,**  
Third Vice-President.

**WILLIAM GREEN,**  
Fourth Vice-President.

**T. A. RICKERT,**  
Fifth Vice-President.

**JACOB FISCHER,**  
Sixth Vice-President.

**MATTHEW WOLL,**  
Seventh Vice-President.

**MARTIN F. RYAN,**  
Eighth Vice-President.

**DANIEL J. TOBIN,**  
Treasurer.

**FRANK MORRISON,**  
Secretary.

Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

**SAMUEL GOMPERS,**  
**FRANK MORRISON,**  
**JAS. O'CONNELL,**

Executive Committee, A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.

Our committee which appeared before the Platform Committee of the national Republican party consisted of Vice-President Matthew Woll, Secretary Frank Morrison and James O'Connell, Vice-President Woll acting as proxy for President Gompers. Our committee was allowed a ten-minute period in which to plead the cause of labor before the Platform Committee, five minutes being granted to Vice-President Woll and five minutes to Secretary Morrison. Even this brief time to present labor's cause was shortened by the interruptions of those in charge of the hearing.

The Republican convention gave to labor no better treatment than was accorded by its Platform Committee, because in the platform adopted by that convention, the hopes, ideals and demands of the progressive-minded people of the country in general, and

of labor in particular, were almost totally ignored.

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor also appeared before the platform committee of the national Democratic convention in New York City. Our committee consisted of President Gompers, Vice-Presidents Green, Fischer, Woll and Ryan, Treasurer Tobin, Secretary Morrison and James O'Connell. Secretary Morrison submitted the measures which labor deemed necessary to safeguard the interests and welfare of the workers, and President Gompers, although suffering from a severe illness, made the argument for the ideals and demands of labor. A courteous hearing was extended to him, and the committee was given all the time it desired for the presentation of the cause of labor. While all the representatives of labor were received by the platform committee, the Democratic national convention, like the Republican national convention, ignored the hopes and ideals and demands of labor.

During the closing session of the Democratic national convention, there was assembled in Cleveland a group of organizations interested in promoting a movement for the furtherance of progressive political action in our national affairs. This conference resulted in the selection of a presidential candidate and the adoption of declarations of political intentions formulated in a forward-looking platform. The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor did not appear at this conference meeting, or appear before any of its committees or participate in its deliberations. Subsequent to the close of this conference and the adjournment of the Democratic convention in New York City, and before the selection of a vice-presidential candidate by this progressive group, the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor did present to the committee having in charge the selection of a vice-presidential candidate the same demands as were

presented to the major political parties.

Subsequently our Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee reviewed the platforms of the major political parties and of the Cleveland progressive group. It likewise analyzed the records and attitudes of all presidential and vice-presidential candidates. A most careful analysis was made, and the findings were presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council at a meeting held in Atlantic City, August 2, considered this report of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, reviewed the entire political situation and in full accord with the expressed procedure of the national non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor as directed by previous conventions, adopted the following declaration as labor's position in the 1924 national presidential campaign:

The executive committee of the A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Campaign Committee presented Labor's proposals to the Republican convention.

The Republican convention gave Labor's representatives a brief and curt hearing. The Republican platform ignores entirely the injunction issue. It fails to deal with Labor's right to organize or the right of the workers even in self-defense, collectively to cease work. That platform sustains the Railroad Labor Board, with all that it means in the direction of governmental coercion of wage earners. It fails to recommend the ratification by the States of the Child Labor constitutional amendment.

The Republican convention nominated candidates unacceptable to labor.

Its candidate for vice-president is one of the most outspoken enemies of Labor and is the founder of an organization dedicated to the task of writing into all political platform planks calling for the anti union shop—an organization which also encouraged and supported the Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen.

Labor's representatives submitted to the Democratic convention identical proposals to those submitted to the Republican convention. At this convention an extended hearing was granted. The Democratic platform pledges that party to legislation to regulate hours and conditions of all labor, a proposal against which the American Federation of Labor has struggled throughout its whole history. It is silent as to the injunction. It

does not meet the Railroad Labor Board issue. On that point it is so equivocal that the enemies of Labor may well feel that their desires will be met. It, too, fails to recommend the ratification by the States of the Child Labor constitutional amendment.

The Democratic convention nominated candidates unacceptable to Labor.

As to the candidates and platforms, both the Republican and the Democratic National Party conventions flaunted the desires of Labor, the Republican convention in an arrogant manner; the Democratic convention by that evasiveness which is the customary mark of insincerity.

There remains the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, the first an Independent Republican; the second an Independent Democrat, running as such.

These candidates have proffered a platform in which the economic issues of the day are met in a manner more nearly conforming to Labor's proposals than any other platform.

This platform pledges a remedy for the injunction evil.

It pledges the right to organize and collectively to cease work.

It pledges protection of the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

It pledges abolishment of the Railroad Labor Board.

It pledges a measure to annul the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws permanently unconstitutional.

It declares for direct election of president and vice-president and election of federal judges.

It recommends prompt ratification by the States of the Child Labor constitutional amendment.

It pledges subsequent federal legislation to protect child life.

On international issues this platform does not conform to Labor's proposals but it does more than any other political platform meet Labor's views in relation to domestic economic issues.

We can not do other than point out this fact, together with the further and perhaps more important fact that the candidates, Mr. La Follette and Mr. Wheeler, have throughout their whole political careers, stood steadfast in defense of the rights and interests of the wage earners and the farmers.

We can not fail to observe that both Republican and Democratic parties, through manipulated control, are in a condition of moral bankruptcy which constitutes a menace and a peril to our country and its institutions. Machine politicians have brought upon our country moral obliquity and unashamed betrayal. We are judging on the basis of the condition which exists and this judgment will be reversed only when the conditions upon which it is based are changed.

Service to the people is a noble cause

which demands consecration and the American labor movement demands that there be that consecration in candidates to whom it gives support.

Our course is clear. In pointing to the platform and records of the independent candidates, we do so with the confidence that no other course can be pursued if we are to remain true to our convictions and our traditions. Those who are hostile to labor and to the people generally and who devoted their energies to the service of reaction and special interests, must be opposed.

We call upon the wage earners and the great masses of the people everywhere who stand for freedom, justice, democracy, and human progress, to rally in this campaign, to the end that the representatives of reaction and special interests may be defeated and the faithful friends and servants of the masses elected.

Co-operation hereby urged is not a pledge of identification with an independent party movement or a third party, nor can it be construed as support for such a party group or movement, except as such action accords with our non-partisan political policy. We do not accept government as the solution of the problems of life. Major problems of life and labor must be dealt with by voluntary groups and organizations, of which trade unions are an essential and integral part. Neither can this co-operation imply our support, acceptance or endorsement of policies or principles advocated by any minority groups or organizations that may see fit to support the candidacies of Senator La Follette and Senator Wheeler.

In the campaign to elect men to Congress, regardless of their political group or party affiliation and deserving of labor's support, there must be unity of purpose and method, therefore leadership must lie with the only organization having the right to speak for the entire labor movement. In this the American Federation of Labor yields to none, but will maintain steadfast its leadership, guidance and direction.

In the selection and election of men to public office within the several states, leadership must lie with our State Federations of Labor and in city or county elections this right must rest with central labor bodies.

Organized labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is partisan to principles—the principles of freedom, of justice or democracy.

It is the duty of trade unionists, their friends and sympathizers, and all lovers of freedom, justice and democratic ideals and institutions to unite in defeating those seeking public office who are indifferent or hostile to the people's rights and interests. It is the duty of all to support such candidates to public office who have been

fair, just and outspoken in behalf of the welfare of the common people.

We shall analyze the record and attitude of every aspirant to public office and shall give our findings the widest possible publicity. Labor's enemies and friends must be clearly known and be definitely indicated.

In calling upon all affiliated and recognized national and international and brotherhood organizations, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, local unions, labor's friends and sympathizers, to give united, unrestricted, loyal and active support to the non-partisan campaign now set in motion, we emphasize the imperative need of an intensive educational campaign to enable all to act with discrimination and wisdom in this election, and to stand faithfully by our friends and elect them and to oppose our enemies and to defeat them.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
THOMAS A. RICKERT,  
MATTHEW WOLL,  
MARTIN F. RYAN,

Executive Committee,  
A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan  
Political Campaign Committee.

It will be noted that by this action the American Federation of Labor did not endorse what has been miscalled a third party movement. It expressed preference for the election of Senators LaFollette and Wheeler, the independent candidates, and their platform, as more nearly representing the hopes and demands of labor.

The Executive Council also increased the membership of the Executive Committee of the National Non-partisan Political Campaign Committee by the inclusion of Vice-Presidents Rickert, Woll and Ryan. In the campaign that followed the American Federation of Labor exerted every influence of which it was capable to promote the candidacy and further the election of candidates LaFollette and Wheeler to the offices of president and vice president.

From the opening of the 1924 political campaign until its close a studied effort has been made to belittle and stigmatize the Sixty-eighth Congress, when as a matter of fact it has been the most progressive and responsive we have had in recent decades.

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee and the Executive

Council of the American Federation of Labor took a leading position in the furtherance of the election of Congressional candidates who merited the support of organized labor by reason of their past favorable attitudes and records in public office. It was deemed of equal, if not of greater importance that the legislative branch of our national government should be expressive of the will of the people rather than represent the interests of a few. This effort of the non-partisan political campaign was confined in the main to candidates within the major political parties. The importance of electing a forward looking Congress was called to the attention of labor and for this purpose the following declaration was issued by our National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee:

**Elect a Forward-Looking Congress**

America needs a Congress for the people.

There is in your district a candidate who deserves your active support irrespective of party affiliation. There is a candidate who is for the people and against the great reactionary interests.

Take off your coat for that candidate.

See that reaction is defeated.

In 1922 the people of the United States followed the lead of labor and elected 170 such members of the House of Representatives. Because of that great achievement the present Congress has enacted no law hostile to the peoples interests.

This Congress stopped the flood of immigration. It blocked the sales tax gouge. It blocked the Mellon burdensome tax plan. It exposed the Veterans' Bureau graft. It forced Daugherty out. It drove Fall into retirement. It gave the people the facts about the oil scandals.

That's what a forward-looking Congress means to labor and the people generally.

In this election it is possible to elect enough such men so that the interests of the people will dominate the next Congress. The people can easily enough elect 250 faithful members of Congress who will stand true in defense of freedom and the rights of the people. Such a majority would bring to America a real era of progress and achievement. Such an era would drive the political wolves out of public life. It would change the whole government into a machine for the service of the people.

**Reactionaries Attack Congress**

The reactionary interests are doing

everything they can to belittle Congress. They do not like Congress—and they say they do not like it—because Congress is directly elected by the people. And since the direct election of senators and the direct primaries Congress has come more and more to be truly representative of the people, General Dawes and other reactionaries have openly attacked Congress, direct primaries and the progressive group in Congress which passed so many progressive measures in the last session.

The reactionaries like institutions over which the people have no control. They would like it if the supreme court could be given still more power and if the president's power also could be increased—both at the expense of the power of Congress. Reaction works wherever it can, through those farthest from popular control.

Congress is to be subservient to the chief executive. It is to be snatched out of the constitution by political legerdemain so that there will be only two effective branches of government—the executive and judicial.

Therefore the edict has gone forth from reactionary headquarters that all members of the senate and house of the United State Congress elected in November by either of the big parties must be "dependable"—that is, they must pledge themselves to do the bidding of the chief executive, whoever he may be, no matter how offensive such a course would be to the electorate or injurious to our republic.

If the present chief executive—Coolidge—had had a "dependable" Congress there would have been no Teapot Dome investigation.

There would have been no adjusted compensation for our boys who offered the supreme sacrifice in the great war if we had had a "dependable" Congress.

The American people should awaken to the plot against the tried and true members of the present congress. It is time the people of our great nation—the greatest on earth—should cast aside apathy and understand before election a "dependable" Congress is a Congress of rubber stamps.

The constitution provides for three branches of government—the legislative, executive, and judicial. Should the political intriguers succeed in fooling the people so that they will vote for members of Congress who will blindly follow the dictates of the chief executive, then there will be only two effective branches of government—the executive and judicial.

We therefore urge upon all who believe that the representatives and senators in Congress should represent the will of the people, to vote for such candidates, irrespective of party affiliations.

Work for such candidates. Organize for them.



See that every possible vote is cast for them. No vote counts until it is cast and tabulated.

**For a Progressive Senate**

Thirty-three members of the United States senate sought renomination this year.

Six of the most objectionable of the reactionaries were defeated in the primaries or conventions or retired. Here is the list: Ball (R), Del.; Dial (D), S. C.; Elkins (R), W. Va.; McCormick (R), Ill.; Shields (D), Tenn., and Sterling (R), S. D.

Every senator supported by the workers in the primaries has been renominated. Those who had contests won by substantial majorities.

Labor is supporting progressive Democrats and progressive Republicans for the senate in an absolutely non-partisan manner.

In nearly every state there is a progressive candidate for the senate.

Do your part and see that he is elected!

**Labor's Success in 1922 Election**

Before the last congressional election in November, 1922, there were not more than fifty pro-labor and forward-looking congressmen. Labor and progressive Republicans and Democrats threw themselves into the primary and election campaign and elected 170 members of the nation's house of representatives. These are distributed among the various parties as follows:

Democrats .....	105
Republicans .....	63
Farmer-Labor .....	1
Independent .....	1
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>170</b>

An increase of 120 congressmen in one election!

The re-election of those 120 and the election of 80 more congressmen representing the people will bring the people a safe working majority of 250 out of a total of 435 members.

The election of fifty such congressmen (less than half the increase of the last election) would give the people a bare majority!

**Achievements of the Present Congress**  
Not one measure opposed by labor was enacted into law by the present congress.

Among the most reactionary of these defeated proposals were the schemes of Secretary Mellon and President Coolidge and the consolidated interests to untax the rich and tax the poor.

Among other vicious proposals were the sales tax, efforts to hush scandals in government departments that have been partially uncovered, the veto of the postal employes' wage bill and the veto of the soldiers' adjusted compensation.

Eleven measures that were approved by the A. F. of L. and in favor of which representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared, were passed by both houses and enacted into law.

**The Next Congress**

Some measures favored by labor secured such a large vote in the last Congress that they will be passed in the next Congress if the November election brings even a slight increase in the number of pro-labor and forward-looking congressmen.

The bill to abolish the Railway Labor Board and to reestablish joint negotiations and voluntary arbitration of railway labor disputes was deferred by a filibuster conducted by the leaders of the present administration who did not dare let it come to a vote. A test vote showed 188 favoring the bill and 160 against the bill.

The farmers' relief bill to establish a governmental corporation to aid in export of grain was similarly deferred.

Anti-injunction legislation will likewise receive attention and the right of wage earners to collective bargaining and collectively to cease work must also be set out clearly and in unmistakable terms.

All of these laws and other measures desired by the people can be passed with the election of fifty additional pro-labor and progressive candidates.

Elect them!

Stand faithfully by our friends and defeat them, oppose our enemies and defeat them whether they be candidates for president, for vice president, for congress or other offices; whether executive, legislative or judicial.

In the furtherance of this campaign to elect a forward looking Congress along non-partisan political lines, American organized labor, including the railroad brotherhoods, worked as a unit. At no time have the forces of organized labor been so completely united in a national congressional political campaign. The results obtained may be approximated as follows:

The number of congressmen elected with labor's endorsement: totals 170, the same as the number of congressmen elected with labor's endorsement in 1922. Of these 125 are Democrats, 40 are Republicans, three are Farmer-Laborites and one is an Independent. The results in the senate have not been definitely ascertained at this moment because of the uncertainty as to the results in some states and pending replacements in other states.

It is evident, however, that labor's non-partisan political campaign, in so far as congressional elections are concerned, in spite of exceptional difficulties of presidential year, thoroughly justify the assertion that labor

achieved a signal success in the furtherance of the interests of the wage earners and of the people of the country generally. The non-partisan political influence thus maintained in the popular branch of government of the United States assures the people that whatever reactionary proposals may at any time emanate from the executive branch of government shall not find a ready response and confirmation in the legislative branch of government. Thereby the interests of the people in general and of labor in particular are largely safeguarded, and the opportunity is provided for the realization of many of the hopes and aspiration for progressive legislation for the masses of the people.

Reviewing and summarizing the experiences had in the recent presidential and congressional campaign and the non-partisan procedure followed, there have come to our attention weaknesses that must be eliminated and difficulties that must be overcome, if we are to make our government more responsive to the will and the needs of the great masses of our people and not submissive to the interests of property alone.

This campaign has demonstrated that under the laws in our several states, the standing of political groups or political parties is so narrowly circumscribed as to make impossible a free expression of the political intentions of those not in complete accord with the existing major political parties. This is a difficulty that must be overcome and legislation is needed so that independent political movements may function effectively whenever the need for same may arise.

Another object that must be achieved if we are to have a free expression of the political intentions and desires of the people is the elimination of the cumbersome and archaic ballot definitely designed to prevent intelligent choice of candidates by the electorate and to make independent voting difficult. Legislation to remove this difficulty is imperative.

While the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of La-

bor has resulted in remarkable achievements in protecting and promoting the interests of the wage earners and of our citizenry, there is room for improvement and extension of our efforts. The effort of organized labor manifested in a non-partisan manner should find expression in the primaries of all political parties or movements more effectively than has heretofore been the case.

It is also essential that the non-partisan political machinery of the American Federation of Labor must be constantly active in the support of men to public offices who are truly responsive to the interests of our people and to labor in particular as well as to be constantly on guard that those having received labor's support will be true to the promises made. The attainment of this object demands that the non-partisan political campaign committees created during the recent national presidential and congressional campaign be maintained on a permanent basis, instructed to carry on their work continuously. It is, therefore, recommended that our National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee be charged with the duty of carrying out this suggested procedure.

With the extension of the right of suffrage to the women of the United States a new factor has entered our political life which cannot and should not be ignored, but which should be included in our non-partisan political campaign procedure. We need but mention the right of suffrage now granted to the wives and women members of the families of trade unionists to indicate the importance of the extension of our non-partisan campaign activities among women in general.

Then, too, there are other progressively minded groups composed of persons who cannot by reason of their occupation or station in life be affiliated directly to the trade union movement, but who are sympathetic and responsive to the needs of the American wage earners and to our non-partisan political campaign policy. To embrace these helpful influences in labor's po-

litical struggle. It is recommended that our Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, with the co-operation and approval of the Executive Council, be directed to devise a plan and procedure that will accomplish that end.

This extension of our non-partisan political procedure will not only attract to ourselves the sympathetic support of all progressively minded groups and influences, but will enable the wage earners of our land to direct the political tendencies and activities of our nation, our states and municipalities, without the necessity of concerning ourselves with the coming or going or realignment of any political party or group.

In the pursuit of an honorable course to protect and promote the rights and interests of the great masses of our people, wage earners included, we have been and are less concerned with partisanship than the achievements of practical results. We are partisan to principles—not to a political party. The American labor movement, if it is to be true to its mission to defend, advocate, promote and protect the rights, interests and welfare of America's wage earners and American people, must be as free from political party domination now as at any time in the history of our movement.

Fraternally submitted,  
**SAMUEL GOMPERS**,  
 President.  
**JAMES DUNCAN**,  
 First Vice-President.  
**FRANK DUFFY**,  
 Second Vice-President.  
**WILLIAM GREEN**,  
 Third Vice-President.  
**T. A. RICKERT**,  
 Fourth Vice-President.  
**JACOB FISCHER**,  
 Fifth Vice-President.  
**MATTHEW WOLL**,  
 Sixth Vice-President.  
**MARTIN F. RYAN**,  
 Seventh Vice-President.  
**JAMES WILSON**,  
 Eighth Vice-President.  
**DANIEL J. TOBIN**, Treasurer.  
**FRANK MORRISON**,  
 Secretary.

Executive Council,  
 American Federation of Labor.  
 Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Sara Conboy, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

#### Urging Assignment of a Salaried Organizer for Organization Campaign Among Office Workers

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates E. J. Tracy, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants No. 11773:

WHEREAS, The opportunity for organization in the clerical field is excellent, and the necessity for such action is imperative; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at the 1920 Montreal convention, has declared for an international union of office workers when, in its judgment, a sufficient number of such workers has been organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorizes the immediate assignment or appointment of a salaried organizer to carry on an intensive campaign of organization among the office workers, to the end that sufficient numbers necessary for an international union may be organized.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council for compliance therewith, if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Proposing Appointment of Woman Organizers for Education Campaign Among Women in the Interests of the Union Label

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate R. W. Robinson of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The demand for the union label card and button tends to strengthen the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The education of women has been neglected as to the value of the purchasing power of the union earned dollar; and

WHEREAS, Seventy-five cents of every dollar earned by union labor is spent by women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to finance, whenever possible, women organizers to devote their time in educating women to the necessity of purchasing products bearing the union label.

Your committee recommends referring this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of

Labor for consideration, in conjunction with the Executive Council of the Label Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Request for Southern Organizer**

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate C. P. Barringer, North Carolina State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Southern States are not as well organized in the labor movement as the other states of the union; and

WHEREAS, The Southern States have made great progressive strides in industry, commerce, education and labor in recent years; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has no southern representative to look after labor's interests in the South; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the election or appointment of a southern representative to look after the interests of labor in the Southern States.

Your committee recommends striking out the words "election or" after the word "the" in the third line of the resolve. The resolve would then read:

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the appointment of a southern representative to look after the interests of labor in the Southern States.

With this change your committee refers the resolution to the Executive Council for compliance if the funds of the Federation permit.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Bonney, Railroad Telegraphers: I rise to a point of order. The convention adopted a resolution to the same effect yesterday. Resolution No. 17. My point of order is that we have already taken action on the subject matter.

President Gompers: It may be unnecessary, but the Chair does not see what right he would have to sustain the point of order. If the convention desires to repeat an action for emphasis or otherwise, it is within the province of the Federation to do so. The point of order is not well taken.

The motion to adopt the report of

the committee was carried unanimously.

**Requesting a Special Letter to Organizers Instructing Them to Organize Laundry Workers**

Resolution No. 66 — By Delegate James F. Brock of the Laundry Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, A special circular letter issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor requested the salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor to pay particular attention to organizing the workers in the laundry industry; and

WHEREAS, This circular letter was productive of very good results; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' Union is not in a financial condition to be able to carry on active organizing work in the many and various sections of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor, calling their attention to the fact that the laundry industry is to a great extent unorganized at the present time and requesting them to do their utmost to organize the laundry workers, as many thousands of women employed in the laundry industry at this time are now receiving far less than a living wage.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Organization of Newspaper Writers**

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate M. J. Flynn, Boston Newspaper Writers' Union:

WHEREAS, There are at the present time twenty-six bodies of newspaper writers organized in bodies similar in form to trade union organizations; and

WHEREAS, These bodies of newspaper writers are located in various cities throughout our country; and

WHEREAS, An effort should be made to have these bodies affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to take such steps as in their judgment will bring about the affiliation of these bodies with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take such steps as will assist in furthering the

organization of newspaper writers within the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Requesting the Co-operation of Mexican Federation for the Organization of Mexicans Employed Upon U. S. Railroads**

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates F. H. Fljozdal, E. E. Milliman, E. E. Clark, T. C. Carroll, J. S. Moorhead, United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railroad Shop Laborers:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of Mexicans employed in the maintenance of way department of the railroads throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers, the only authorized organization to represent the men working in the maintenance of way department, has in the past and is now experiencing a great deal of difficulty in persuading such Mexicans working in the maintenance of way department to affiliate themselves with and properly support the maintenance of way organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at El Paso, Texas, request and urge that the sixth annual convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor in session at Juarez, Mexico, pass a resolution calling upon their countrymen working upon the railroads in the United States, urging upon them the necessity of affiliating themselves with the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, for their protection as well as for the protection of the other employes working in this and other departments of the railroads in which they may be employed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate at once the contents of this resolution to the secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and that the president of the maintenance of way employes be furnished with a copy of their action, to be used for distribution among the Mexicans working upon the railroads in the United States, in our efforts to organize them.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Conboy: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the committee on organization, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman,  
SARA A. CONBOY, Secretary,  
THOMAS S. FARRELL,  
CHARLES A. MOYER,  
E. J. MANION,  
MARTIN JOYCE,  
WILLIAM J. SPENCER,  
W. N. REDDICK,  
LOUIS LANGER,  
D. W. HELT,  
PHILLIP BOCK,  
E. E. MILLIMAN,  
ROE H. BAKER,  
M. J. KELLY,

Committee on Organization

Upon motion of Mrs. Conboy, the report of the committee on organization as a whole was adopted.

The chairmen of the several committees announced the time and place of committee meetings.

President Gompers: The chair desires to say that the mutual arrangement between the American Legion convention and the American Federation of Labor convention for an interchange of an invitation, as well as its acceptance, for the commander of the Legion to address the convention of the Federation, and in reciprocation the representative of the Federation to visit the annual convention of the American Legion and address that body, has been continued this year.

The commander of the American Legion has a meeting in the east, and an arrangement was made for him to leave that meeting and come to El Paso, with the definite understanding that he might leave again this evening for the east to attend to the work of his great office.

He is to address this convention at 3 o'clock this afternoon. He has traveled approximately two thousand miles so far to attend this convention, upon the condition that he can address it this afternoon and leave immediately for the east.

I call your attention to the fact that the relations existing between the Legionaires and the Federationists are of the highest and the best character.

and we cannot afford, out of respect to them as well as ourselves, to disregard the arrangement which has already been made.

Chairman Moran, of the local committee on arrangements, asks me to say that arrangements have already been announced for a barbecue this afternoon at Juarez, that neither he nor the other members of the committee desire to interfere with the arrangement which I have just announced regarding the commander of the American Legion, and therefore the barbecue will be put on immediately upon the close of Commander Drain's address to this convention.

Chairman Moran supplemented President Gompers' statement by saying that street cars would be in waiting to take the visitors to the barbecue immediately upon the adjournment of the afternoon session.

President Gompers requested Vice-President Duffy to escort to the platform Miss Anna Fitzgerald, fraternal delegate from the Woman's International Union Label League.

**ADDRESS OF MISS ANNA  
FITZGERALD**

**Representing Women's International  
Union Label League**

Delegates. I am glad to have an opportunity to be here this morning and extend to this convention greetings and best wishes of the Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary. I do not intend to take up the time of this convention for any length, because I realize that the work we are engaged in is only a part of the work that you are engaged in.

The Woman's International Union Label League, as most of you know, is an organization composed of trade unionists and the members of their families. We realize that if the union label that means so much to many of our organizations, and, in fact, to the trade union movement itself, is ever going to be what we hope for, it is necessary that we interest and educate the women to its true value.

I notice in this convention, as in all others, that we have these great problems before us—the convict labor problem, the child labor problem, women in industry—and the thought comes to me, is there one thing that would be more helpful in solving those great problems than an earnest, consistent demand for the union label? If the union label was not of any worth to the trade union movement we would

not have for years spent time and money advertising it, and yet those of us who have worked among the women feel that there is no channel in which to direct our efforts that would bring about better results than by educating and organizing the women to spend the money.

This resolution that was just acted on by this convention a few moments ago clearly sets forth how much of that money was spent by the women and how necessary it was to reach and direct that purchasing power. When I read the report of the labor department showing that something over \$30,000,000 worth of convict-made goods had been disposed of in the open market within one year, it made me feel that there is but one way we can combat that, and that is by putting on a consistent and earnest campaign for the union label.

Our organization is going on; we are organizing many women in different sections, as some of the men representing central and state bodies know, and I was delighted to find for the first time that among the wives of the men who are attending this convention there are at least four or five who are active in this work in their own localities. It seems to give courage, because I feel positive that there is nothing that would bring about better results with so little expenditure of money as the education and organization of women in industry, not only the women in industry, but the women in the home.

The women should be taught that the trade union movement means something to them, that they owe something to the trade union movement, and I believe we are somewhat to blame that this has not been advanced to a greater extent than it has at the present time. Many of the men do not feel their responsibility. They think that when they earn the money that comes into the home that that is all that is necessary.

This is what we are trying to do in our simple way, and when I say we are trying I also say we have been somewhat successful, and in cities where we have a good flourishing organization of women known as the Women's International Union Label League, it certainly has had its effect upon the prison labor products sent into that locality, because as soon as we get a line on them our people get busy and they discontinue their use. The only reason we have not been able to abolish it is because we have not enough women in that kind of a movement.

I want to ask the men in the different central and state bodies in particular, as well as in the local unions, to think about this matter seriously, take it up in your own homes and let us get an organization worthy of the trade union movement, demanding the union label at all times. As I said

in the beginning, I do not feel that I have the right to occupy your time. I am only a small part of this great movement and have had the opportunity of being here many times, and each time with the same old story, but each time meeting new people and in many cases I find the result of my visit here in organizations being formed in the cities and towns from which the delegates come.

For that reason, I impose myself upon your time, because we have seen the results, I am glad to have been here for many reasons. It seems only once in a person's life time is there such an opportunity as we have had here. I am glad to have taken part in the exercises of Monday and Tuesday both here and across the water, but I want to say, too, I am glad to be here in the first state that has elected a woman governor. I believe that this, if nothing more, shows that progress is being made, and I hope we will continue not to overlook that great, fertile field. If the women in the homes had been organized, demanding the union label and understanding the principles of the union label, knowing that they have some responsibility and owing something to organized labor for the conditions we are living under today, and which have been brought about only through the trade union movement, our progress might have been far greater than it is.

I thank you for your attention, and I hope that when you go home you will give some thought to the matter of interesting and educating your women so that we may have not only an army of workers within the American Federation of Labor but also an army of women buying the products of organized labor.

At the request of President Gompers, Delegate Gainer of the Letter Carriers, escorted to the platform Miss Elizabeth Christman, fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League of America:

**Miss Elizabeth Christman**

Mr. President and Fellow Trade Unionists: I feel very privileged in bringing to you the greetings of the National Women's Trade Union League of America. In standing before you today I am taken back to my earlier days in the movement, to the time when I began my work in the office of my international union—the glove workers.

Somehow, the first few days of my work there brought me a vision of the great significance of the whole labor movement and the opportunities of real service to my fellow men which work in the trade union movement offered.

Along about that time someone very close to our work came in and asked me what my wish would be if I could have one wish granted in connection

with my new work. I answered quite promptly, as I recall it, that I would like an opportunity to attend a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in less than a year that wish was granted. I did go to an American Federation of Labor convention.

Perhaps it is not too much to say that I was both disillusioned and deeply impressed with my first experiences as delegate to this parliament of labor—disillusioned perhaps by the human frailties which a newcomer always sees, and impressed by the idealism, accompanied with good common sense, which I found, and this latter was undoubtedly the most lasting impression.

Today I come to you as a fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League. The league, as most of you know, has been in existence for twenty-one years, and its main purpose, as you also know, is the organization of women into trade unions. The fact that we have worked, both nationally and through our local leagues, with nearly a hundred trades, gives you some idea of the scope of our activities along organization lines. It is in this field of organization that our local leagues, established in industrial centers, play a particularly important part. And in local emergencies we have often assigned our national field representative to service.

A phase of our activities that goes hand in hand with actual organization work is the interpretation of the problems and issues involved in industrial disturbances.

During the past year, in our official publication, *Life and Labor Bulletin*, in nearly every number we have aimed to present the issues involved in some industrial controversy or other—that of the laundry workers, the actors, the garment workers, and so on.

I wonder if you will join me in a review of some interesting figures which give a comprehensive idea of the field there is among the unorganized women. I know there are a lot of unorganized men, and I am for working just as hard to organize them, but now let's see about the unorganized women.

Figures compiled by the Women's Bureau of U. S. Department of Labor, using as a basis the 1920 census of occupations, published by the United States Bureau of Census, show that the estimated number of women eligible to membership in the national and international unions is 3,156,659.

We know only too well that too small a proportion of this number is enjoying the benefits of this organization.

The figures show, for instance, that there are over 24,000 women in industries which would come under the jurisdiction of the carpenters and join-

ers; there are more than 94,000 women cigarmakers; there are 60,000 women working as building service employes. Estimated figures also show 521,000 women eligible to the retail clerks' union. There are 205,000 women eligible to the electrical workers, and about 115,000 in the hotel and restaurant industry. And there are nearly one-half million textile workers, and over 600,000 women teachers who should be brought into the trades union movement.

Well, these figures show that you and I—the American Federation of Labor, the national and international unions, and the Women's Trade Union League—have a neat little job waiting for us.

From the very first the National Women's Trade Union League has stressed education, and eleven years ago it made its first venture into the field of workers' education, which was then in its earliest stages. Its contact with the splendid workers in the various trades proved the great amount of latent ability to be found in the rank and file awaiting only an opportunity for expression and development. Recognizing that here was possible another avenue of service to the trade union movement, the league established scholarships in its training school for a one year's course in academic and field work. From the very beginning its curriculum was designed to bring book knowledge and actual experience together. That, to me, seems the whole purpose of adult, or workers', education.

Since that early beginning the League has awarded scholarships to thirty-six trade union women. A number of these scholarships have been for one year, and others have been for a more intensive course of six months. The value of the six months' scholarships is \$750, which includes railroad fare and an allowance to students while in training. The shorter course also permits the giving of scholarships to a greater number of trade union women who make application.

Our school term this year began October 1, with six students representing the following trades: Boot and shoe workers, united garment workers, leather workers, barbers and telephone operators. The students come from as widely separated localities as Seattle, Wash., and Brockton, Mass. They are now having an interesting time comparing their every-day shop economies with the theory of economies as taught in the university class during these first three months. The last three months, which are given over to field work, will include not only the actual study and drafting of trade agreements, but also something of the technique of trade union organizing. You may be interested to know how

our students meet their studies in economics. One of our last year's group—a waitress by trade—in a class of about forty classified students, received the highest mark on her term paper. Yet this girl went to school only up to the fifth grade. This seems proof of the effectiveness of book-learning coupled with a background of actual experience.

In short, the school and the training are designed to make available to the labor movement a greater number of trained women leaders. It may also be regarded as an effective contribution to that ever-growing movement of workers' education, to which the response is already so encouraging.

Even our critics will not deny that the labor movement is a tremendous factor in our nation's life. And it is only through a better understanding of every factor involved in controversial issues that we will become a still greater force for good to the whole nation—the whole race, in fact.

To strengthen and supplement our organization activities we have established in Washington a legislative department under the able direction of Miss Ethel M. Smith. While we are pledged primarily to work for federal legislation, we have very often given our legislative support to that disfranchised group living in the District of Columbia.

In our legislative activities we have worked closely with the American Federation of Labor, and with the women's joint congressional committee, composed of seventeen women's organizations, of which the National League is one. Our legislative efforts in behalf of the women's bureau of the United States Department of Labor are well known.

Some of the outstanding pieces of legislation to which we have lent active support, during the last session of Congress, are the Cable bill for the individual citizenship of married women and the reclassification bill for federal civil service. But perhaps the most important piece of legislation to which we have given so much time and in which we are vitally interested, is the constitutional amendment empowering Congress to regulate child labor. That battle is only partly won. We have now our part to play in helping the ratification of the amendment by the several states. Forty-two of the state legislatures will meet in 1925. This ratification must win in thirty-six states if we are to have federal laws regulating child labor. Some of the southern states have already expressed their opinion, with one state, Arkansas, coming forward to ratify. Perhaps the fight in Massachusetts against the amendment indicates the need for uninterrupted teamwork of the twenty organizations, including the American Federation of



Labor, which was so effective in putting the amendment through Congress. And the Women's Trade Union League can be counted upon to the end of the struggle, to lessen the number of children coming out of our factories and mills at the close of each day.

How many children are there coming out of factory doors at night time?

The 1920 census figures show that over one million between 10 and 16 years of age are working in the United States in factories, mills, mines, canneries, agriculture, and in other industries and occupations. Nearly 400,000 of them are between 10 and 14 years of age. And one child out of every twelve—in some states one in every four—is gainfully occupied.

It was one of our original Americans of whom this story is told: A big Indian chief visited an eastern industrial center and was shown the wonders of that place—big factories and skyscrapers. After the round of sight-seeing, he was asked, "Chief, what has impressed you most?" And he summed his impression in these few words: "Little children coming out of factories."

This is a challenge to our Christian civilization and a reminder that in standing closely behind the vote to ratify this amendment the men and women of our country have a real chance to leave the rightful heritage of sunshine and play to the children of our land.

As I see it, our work is very clearly marked out for us. We must work together to put over the big task before us, especially the task of organization, and I am thinking of the unorganized man as well as the unorganized woman.

And as the trade union movement goes on, and more and more assumes a position of responsibility in the nation's life—industrially and politically—we trade unionists must not be found wanting. My idea of preparedness to meet this increased responsibility is first to extend the safeguards of trade union organization to that great group of unorganized workers.

#### Mr. E. Guy Talbot

Mr. E. Guy Talbot, representing the Near East Relief, who was introduced to the convention by President Gompers, said in part: "The dominant note that has been sounded in this convention thus far is the note of international peace based on justice, good will and human brotherhood. The organization I have the honor to represent, the Near East Relief, is engaged in the most gigantic undertaking in international philanthropy. In connection with a similar organization in Great Britain, the Near East Relief has been the means of saving the lives of one million people and now has 100,000 children being cared for.

The great heart of America ever beats with sympathy for the down-trodden and oppressed. The Near East Relief has had the cordial co-operation and support of President Gompers and Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor and the heads of the various international organizations, state and local federated bodies and local unions, and for this co-operation we want to express our profound thanks and gratitude.

Over in the Near East there are 100,000 children who look to the Near East Relief as their sole means of help. But the big thing the organization is doing is not only feeding and clothing those children, but training them to be leaders of their people for the future. The older boys and girls are being taught useful trades. The girls are taught household economics, and many of them are taught textile trades. In the past year \$250,000 worth of handwork, needlecraft and rugs have been sold in the United States, turned out by the older girls and widows. The older boys are taught tin-smithing, blacksmithing and modern methods of agriculture.

The great contribution we are making is the contribution in the terms of training a new generation that will lift the entire civilization of that part of the world. The children under the care of the relief are now all outside of Turkey. The children and widows who are wards of the Near East Relief are in three areas in the Bible Lands. In Greece many thousands of them are housed in buildings owned by the government and turned over to them free rent. There are other thousands of them in Syria and Armenia. The largest collection is at Adrianople, at the Russian-Turkish frontier, where we have 18,000 children who have no other father or mother than America.

In behalf of the Near East Relief I want to thank you, delegates and representatives of the great labor movement of America, for your help in this great undertaking in international philanthropy.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

#### Favorable Bills Passed by the Sixty-Eighth Congress

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, page 65, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows: The foregoing list of bills favorable to labor passed by the Sixty-Eighth Congress, in connection with that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned "Congress" on page 66.

Your committee notes with great

pleasure the splendid record made by the Sixty-Eighth Congress in the enactment of labor legislation and the rejection of restrictive measures. This success is due to a great extent, in the view of your committee, to the watchful and aggressive policy of the Executive Council and the backing at all times of the forces of organized labor throughout the country.

In commending the Executive Council all times of the forces of organized labor committee urges the continuation of this effective policy throughout the remainder of the Sixty-eighth Congress to the end that a number of important labor measures now pending will be speedily enacted into law.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Trade Union Legislative Conference Committee

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, page 65, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with gratification the effective functioning of the Trade Union Legislative Conference Committee, and expresses the hope that it will continue to serve as an agency for the exchange of ideas on legislative matters by the representatives of trade union organizations.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Immigration

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report on page 67, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee heartily commends the Executive Council for its signal legislative victory in having embodied in the recently enacted immigration law many of the immigration principles for which organized labor has consistently fought.

The Executive Council is instructed to aggressively oppose with all the strength of our movement any attempts to amend the existing law by a modification of its protective features.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Opposing Modification of the Immigration Law in Favor of the Japanese

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates R. W. Robinson, California State Federation of Labor; and Andrew Furuseth, Paul Scharrenberg, Roe H. Baker, Daniel P. Haggerty, John Horn, J. L. R. Marsh, J. B. Dale.

WHEREAS, Largely through the persistent and well-directed efforts of the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion and the National Grange, the long drawn-out struggle for the exclusion of Japanese by law was finally crowned with success at the last session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, Japan has shown by her attitude that she intends to reopen the question of exclusion by appealing to the League of Nations; and

WHEREAS, Certain American organizations, evidently without any information of the basic facts which caused congressional action, are encouraging Japan in the mistaken belief that American public sentiment did not support Congress in excluding by law all immigrants who are ineligible to citizenship in our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in forty-fourth annual convention assembled at El Paso, Texas, that we heartily commend the effective work of the officers of the A. F. of L. whereby it has been made possible to exclude by law Japanese as well as other Asiatic immigrants; further

RESOLVED, That we herewith express our determined opposition to any modification of the clause in the general immigration law, operative on July 1, 1924, which reaffirms the long-established policy of this nation to exclude all immigrants ineligible to citizenship; further

RESOLVED, That we are unalterably opposed to substitute "exclusion by treaty" for "exclusion by law," and we utter this protest with an earnest desire to maintain the most friendly relations with the Japanese working people and with the profound conviction that mutual respect can best be maintained if we insist that Japan recognize our right to control immigration into this country by domestic legislation, and that she abide (as do all other nations) by the general immigration laws enacted by the Congress of the United States in accordance with long-established national policy.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Blanket Amendment

Upon that portion of the report of

the Executive Council under the above caption, page 73, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council is commended for its opposition to the so-called "blanket amendment" which would break down protective legislation for which labor has long fought. A continuation of this vigilance against this vicious legislative proposal is recommended by your committee.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Immediate Retirement of "Lame Ducks"**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council is urged to use every possible effort to secure early action by the House on Resolution 93, which would eliminate the present situation whereby a Congress that has been repudiated by the people is permitted to legislate, and a newly elected Congress, unless called into extra session, has no opportunity for thirteen months following an election to make effective the mandates of the people.

President Gompers: I think you ought to explain to our friends from other countries what you mean by the term "lame ducks."

Secretary Flaherty: In American parlance, a "lame duck" is one who has been retired from public office by a mandate of the people; otherwise who has been defeated for election, but under our existing law holds office during the short session of Congress, and although defeated for office, is able to place upon the statute books legislation that is inimical to the workers. We are seeking legislation that will prevent that in the future.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Transportation of Strike Breakers**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council is instructed

to seek early passage by the House and subsequent favorable action by the Senate on H. R. 7698, which is intended to prevent the transportation of strike breakers from one state to another.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Convict Labor**

##### **Abolish Convict Labor Competition**

Upon the portions of the report of the Executive Council under the above captions, pages 72 and 43, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee emphasizes with approval the request of the Executive Council that every effort be made in the respective states to eliminate harmful convict labor competition. State legislatures should be vigorously urged to adopt the state-use system.

The Executive Council is instructed to seek the enactment by congress of the Zihlman Bill No. 6205, which would prohibit the interstate transportation of the products of convict labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unapnimosuly.

#### **Sales Tax**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 73, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with extreme gratification this rejection of the proposal of Senator Smoot—the arch reactionary and handy servant of special privilege—in his latest attempt to enact tax legislation discriminatory against the workers.

We commend the Executive Council for its vigilance and vigor in thus repelling another attack on the part of those tax dodgers who would shift upon the wage-earners through a sales tax, the major burdens of taxation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Tax Exempt Securities**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council endeavor to have

the Sixty-ninth Congress approve an amendment, similar in principle to the amendment rejected by the Sixty-eighth Congress, which would give the United States power to tax securities now exempt.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Postal Employees Wage Increase Bill**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 70, the committee reported as follows:

By the unanimous adoption of Resolution No. 20 on November 19, covering the same subject matter, the convention has already recorded its view in favor of the passage of the pending pay bill, and no further action is now required.

The Executive Council is commended for the valued aid it has given the organized postal employes in their wage objectives.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Rehabilitation of the Injured**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 70, the committee reported as follows: The Executive Council is to be commended for its effective assistance in the enactment of this valued legislation.

The report was adopted unanimously.

#### **Reclassification**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 74, the committee reported as follows:

The enactment of this bill into law will remove the vicious control of the bureau of efficiency from the administration of classification and entrust the administration to a competent fair-minded agency.

Your committee recommends that, in reiteration of its endorsement of the principles contained in H. R. 6896, this convention instruct the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to immediately communicate with each United States senator urging the early consideration and prompt passage of the measure.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Diplomatic Service Aided**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 75, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its effective aid in the passage of that badly needed legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Conservation of Natural Resources**

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 75, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue to lend every assistance for the passage of this meritorious measure by the Sixty-eighth Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Protection of Alaskan Fisheries**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 75, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its vigilance in thus safeguarding and protecting the interests of the workers affected by this legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Steel Baggage Cars**

The committee considered the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 69, in connection with the following resolution, No. 65, which deals with the same subject matter:

#### **Affiliated Organizations to Assist Effort to Secure Enactment of Bill Providing for Use of Steel Cars Exclusively for Express and Baggage Transportation**

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, James J. Forrester, A. J. Pickett, P. F. Kelly, G. H. Nicholson, Wade Shurtleff, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, A bill known as S. 863 the purpose of which is to prohibit after July 1, 1927, the use by the American railroads of any express or baggage cars not constructed of steel or

other equally indestructible material, regardless of motive power used, has passed the United States Senate and is now in the hands of the committee on interstate and foreign commerce of the House of Representatives, where it awaits hearing; and

WHEREAS, The said committee on interstate and foreign commerce of the House of Representatives has promised a hearing and report early in the coming session of the Congress; and

WHEREAS, This bill, which, if it becomes a law, will prove a great protection and safeguard, not only to employes required to work and ride in such cars, but to the traveling public as well, is in splendid shape to be pressed to a successful conclusion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor, unqualifiedly approve of and endorse said bill S 863, as and in the form it was passed by the Senate, pledging ourselves to exert our every effort and use our every influence to secure an early hearing, and favorable report by the committee and early and favorable action by the House of Representatives; and, further

RESOLVED, That the officers and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, located in Washington, D. C., be, and are hereby directed to give special attention to and assistance in the work of securing the enactment of this bill into law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated national and international unions, all state and city central bodies and all directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions and the members thereof, be and are hereby requested to get into contact with their congressmen, either in person or by letter or telegram, and strongly urge support for early consideration and action so as to make it reasonably certain that this proposed law shall become actual law before the present, the Sixty-eighth, Congress passes out of existence on March 4th next.

The committee recommended concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Endorsing Senate Bill for Enforcement of Seamen's Act

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Scarcely any of the provisions of the Seamen's Act of 1915, except the freedom sections, are permitted to function, and the latter sections are functioning only because their enforcement depends, not upon the administrative departments of the

government, but upon the seamen and the courts; and

WHEREAS, The sections of the Seamen's Act providing for greater safety of life at sea have become virtually dead letters, to-wit: Able seamen's certificates are issued promiscuously; rules and regulations interpreting the language test have been so construed that a trained parrot can easily qualify; the watch and watch sections have been mutilated by the federal courts and appeal is now pending in the U. S. supreme court; and

WHEREAS, The organized American shipowners, taking advantage of the world depression in ocean shipping, have attempted, by the use of the blacklist, compulsory registration of all seamen in scab shipping offices and enforced use of a grade book, to break the American seamen's spirit and weaken their resistance to the re-establishment of slavery; and

WHEREAS, The situation described herein openly invites disasters at sea, with accompanying heavy loss of lives, against which the seamen's act was especially designed to guard; and

WHEREAS, Senate bill 2222 was drafted and introduced to remedy the grave condition referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in the forty-fourth annual convention assembled at El Paso, Texas, that we most emphatically protest against the non-enforcement of the seamen's act and heartily endorse Senate bill 2222, in order that freedom for seamen and laws for the safety of life at sea may be respected and enforced.

The committee recommended concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

#### Civil Service Retirement Bills

Resolution No. 56 — By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Straup, R. L. Ritter, T. Grant Woodward, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Stewart, Jas. P. McKeon, John Fitzgerald, M. J. Hines, National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, Jas. Murray, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There are now pending

before the sixty-eighth Congress two bills, H. R. 8202 and S. 3011, which provide for needed liberalization of the present civil service retirement law—the principle of which has been repeatedly endorsed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Following exhaustive hearings before a joint congressional committee, these remedial measures have been reported to the House and to the Senate by the respective committees having jurisdiction over retirement legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations to the end that this pending amendatory retirement legislation be enacted into law at the forthcoming session of Congress.

The committee recommended concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Urging Enactment of Legislation Requiring Post Office Department Employees to Accompany Cars Transporting United States Mail**

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates James J. Forrester, G. H. Nicholson, Wade Shurtleff, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, There has, within the past few years, been inaugurated a system of transporting and handling, (receiving and dispatching) United States mail in and from express cars and baggage cars by a farming out process, through contracts made by and between the postoffice department and the railroads; and

WHEREAS, The work connected with the transporting and handling of such mails, in express and baggage cars under such contracts, is required to be done by employees of the railroad and express companies (express messengers and railroad train baggagemen) who are not government employees, but who are required to accept all the responsibilities of postoffice employees without receiving any additional compensation for either the added work or responsibility; and

WHEREAS, The amount of mail transported and handled in such manner has recently been added to until it has now reached an amount that makes it an almost intolerable burden for such train and express employees, and has caused a great reduction in the number of railway mail cars in service and of the number of railway postal employees heretofore required to perform this service; and

WHEREAS, This class of service re-

sults in great insecurity and delay to such mail at times; and

WHEREAS, A bill, known as S. 2953 the purpose of which is to cure this evil practice by prohibiting the transportation or handling of United States mail in transit in any car unless there is an employe of the postoffice department accompanying, and providing for additional compensation to railroad and express employes when required to do the handling, has been introduced in the United States Senate, and is now in the hands of a subcommittee of the Interstate Commerce Committee of that branch of the Congress, with instructions to give an early hearing and make an early report back to the full committee; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby condemn the said practice of farming out of and the transportation and handling of the mail in such manner; and further

RESOLVED, That we endorse the principle contained in the bill now in committee of the senate and pledge ourselves, our organizations and our members to assist the proponents of said bill in every way possible to secure its enactment or the enactment of some measure having a similar object and purpose; and further

RESOLVED, That the officers and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor located in the national capital be and are hereby directed to lend their every assistance to secure the enactment of legislation that will stop this pernicious practice and provide relief for both railroad and express employes and the railway mail clerks.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 61.

Delegate Forrester: It might be well to say to the delegates that the resolution as introduced was prepared jointly, to a large degree, by myself and Brother Strickland, secretary of the Railway Mail Association. The Railway Mail Clerks are mentioned in the resolution and it has the full approval of their organization. The reason the Railway Mail Association's officers names do not appear on the resolution is because of the necessity of getting it in before 10 o'clock the other night when Delegate Strickland was away attending a meeting. I do not see him here and I think it is my duty to make this explanation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**To Extend Provisions of Retirement Act to American Citizens Employed on Panama Canal and Railroad**

Resolution No. 70—By delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, International Association of Machinists; Luther C. Stewart, James P. McKeon, E. H. Fitzgerald and M. J. Hines, National Federation of Labor employes; Jas. J. O'Connell, Metal Trades Department. A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, Federal employes in the United States come within the scope of the retirement act, and

WHEREAS, Federal employes in the Panama Canal zone, both on canal work and on the Panama Railroad, who are American citizens, are excluded from the benefit of the retirement act; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled, in the City of El Paso, Texas, go on record as approving the extension of the benefits of the retirement act to include these American citizens employed on the Panama canal and the Panama railroad; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their efforts in securing necessary legislation as will include these citizens within the scope of the retirement act.

The committee recommended concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Farmers' Relief**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 70, the committee reported as follows:

This subject matter is covered more fully elsewhere in the Executive Council's report, and your committee therefore merely makes the recommendation that co-operative effort be continued toward adequate farmers' relief.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Baine, chairman of the committee: This completes the partial report of the committee on legislation.

President Gompers suggested that authority be given the Chairman to appoint a committee to meet Command-

er Drain of the American Legion, who was to address the convention during the afternoon.

The request of the Chair was granted, and Delegate George L. Berry, Delegate Frank Gilmore and Delegate Robert M. Ware were named.

Delegate Kovaleskie: I move that when this convention adjourns this morning the rules be suspended and that we reconvene at 2 o'clock this afternoon. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison: I want to advise the delegates that the original arrangements for the delegates to leave El Paso was December 3. The time has been extended to December 7, so that the delegates who go to Mexico City will be able to return and get the advantage of the half rate.

In addition to that, I would like to have the delegates who will leave the city for their homes or other points after the adjournment of the convention on next Wednesday, providing it does adjourn, to advise me so that I can take the matter up with the railroads. They want to know how many will leave on November 26-27, as it will be necessary for them to arrange to have the Pullman cars here. It would be well to call at an early date and see the railroad agent with regard to the return trip. We have received a sufficient number of certificates so that the delegates will have the advantage of the half rate in returning.

Vice-President Green: May I call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the second volume of the American Federation of Labor Encyclopedia and Reference Book has been printed and is now on sale in the corridor. Those of you who wish to get copies of this historical book can secure them in the corridors. This is a wonderful historical work, unsurpassed and unexcelled by any book of its kind or character in the world. It contains valuable information and data that ought to be in the possession of all members of organized labor and their friends.

At 12 o'clock an adjournment was taken to 2 o'clock p. m. of same day

## Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m. by Vice-President Green.

### Absentees

Worthal, Fischer, Martin, M. W., Ewald, Tracy, Wm., Quesse, Peters, Claude F., Gauld, Desepete, Conway, H. J., Browne, M. J., McNulty, O'Connor, Joyce, Murphy, Chas., Feeny, Snow, Baer, Kerwin, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Kaufman, Stetsky, Rickert, Adamski, Langer, Louis, Perimutter, Brock, Gainer, Marshall, G., Gorman, F. E., Lane, Kelly, M. J., Redding, Crough, Green, Wm., Murray, Phillip, Farrington, Kennedy, Thos. (not Thos. F.), Weber, J. N., Wilson, Jas., McGivern, Donlin, McCarthy, C. J., Carroll, J. C., Coefield, Fallon, Kennedy, F. J., Rau, Britton, Diehl, McQuade, Berry, Higgins, Make, Burke, J. P., Sullivan, H. W., Fitzgerald, W. B., Collins, W. M., McLaughlin, Rox, Johnson, R., Walden, Robinson, R. W., Walker, J. H., Freeman, Drum, Barry, Finley, Iglesias, Short, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Gentry, Hughes, Frank, Costello, Framp-ton, Franck, Ferns, Spaug, Baylor, Bower, A. P., Hoefgen, Hourigan, Wood, R. T., Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Williams, Lee A., Camous, Cokely, Rincker, Brasfield, Browne, Geo., Portway.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Elks' Lodge No. 187 of El Paso, inviting delegates who are members of the lodge to attend their regular meeting and extending the courtesies of their clubrooms at the corner of Campbell and Myrtle streets.

Vice-President Green: The time has arrived for the special order, and in the absence of President Gompers, who has been detained, I am acting as a substitute by serving as your Chairman.

I am sure it is gratifying to all the delegates assembled in this convention and to the members of organized labor whom we have the honor to represent, together with our friends, to observe the growing understanding that has been progressing between the members of the American Legion and the organized labor movement of America. We are pleased to observe this development. I am confident that as the days go by this growth of good will and understanding and co-operation will

result very greatly to the mutual advantage of the groups we have the honor to represent.

Commander Drain is here, and I have the honor to present to you one of our distinguished representatives, the president of the Printing Pressmen's Union, our fellow delegate and co-worker, Major George L. Berry, who will introduce and present to you Commander Drain.

Delegate Berry: Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, this is not the first opportunity I have had to present to the convention of the American Federation of Labor a Commander of the American Legion, but I assure you that in the presentation of previous commanders, while I have felt honored, in this particular instance I feel especially honored to present the present Commander of the American Legion.

In doing that I desire to direct your attention to the fact and to emphasize the declaration that has been made by Vice-President Green, namely, that there exists as between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion a relationship both cordial and co-operative.

It follows that as the result of every war there should come into life an ex-service men's organization, and of course as a result of the world war there has come into existence an ex-service men's organization, known as the American Legion.

The American Legion has responded, as far as it is reasonable to expect, to all of the actions of the American Federation of Labor. It is a pleasure for me to direct attention to the fact that throughout the United States at this time here are several members of organized labor who not only hold the positions of state commanders, but who hold the positions of state adjutants, and this is a natural consequence, since there were 682,000 members of organized labor with cards in their pockets who were in the American expeditionary forces.

I am glad to again emphasize the fact that every forward looking, educational, humanitarian program adopted by these conventions has met with the unanimous approval of the conventions of the American Legion, and I am glad likewise to emphasize this point, that in the convention at New Orleans the American Legion unanimously resolved that in the event of another war — and they understand wars and are opposed to wars—they unanimously decided with the Ameri-



can Federation of Labor to call upon the country not only to conscript men, but to conscript capital and property.

I am glad to be able to again say to you that there has been no action in the councils of the American Legion that the American Federation of Labor could not well subscribe to.

We have this year, as a result of the convention's action at St. Paul a commander in the person of General James Drain who has always been a friend of the masses of the country and a friend of organized labor, and I feel it a great privilege and honor to present to you at this time a man filled with enthusiasm, with Americanism, and with courage, a man who is the friend of every member of the American Federation of Labor—General James Drain, commander of the American Legion.

**ADDRESS OF NATIONAL COMMANDER JAMES DRAIN  
(American Legion)**

Mr. Chairman, members of the American Federation of Labor, ladies and gentlemen: I am glad to be here. It is an honor and a pleasure. I was invited here by the man who has so faithfully and so well directed this organization for so many years, a man who is a friend of kings and presidents, and a lover of all mankind, a scholar and a statesman, a four-square American—your president, Samuel Gompers. I only regret that he is not here at this moment, but I hope to pay my respects to him at a later hour.

It is peculiarly fitting that I, as national commander of the American Legion, should talk to the American Federation of Labor. The American Legion prides itself on being a cross section of American life. Many members of the American Federation of Labor are members and officials of the American Legion. The American Federation of Labor itself is an extremely important cross section of American life. It is therefore altogether fitting that the American Federation of Labor should know what the American Legion stands for and what the American Legion is doing.

The American Legion had its conception in the American expeditionary forces in France. It was born in two caucuses held in Paris early in 1919. I attended both of those caucuses, and there was not one word in either of them which did not have to do with cementing the comradeship established by the war and the utilization of that comradeship for the benefit of our country and the world. That was the spirit in which the American Legion was born. That is the spirit in which it has gone on, and that is the spirit in which the American Legion will function until the last member of it has passed to his final reward.

I believe when the history of the

world war is adequately written it will be recognized that the part played in that war by America was one of the new wonders of the world. I don't think any nation ever did so much or did it so well in so short a time, and I am not oblivious of the efforts of the allied nations. They held the battle line for more than three years with a marvelous courage and a high devotion, but the United States, hesitant for long, when it did come, came with the overwhelming force and speed of an avalanche. Our people at home and over there, in military service and out of it, resolutely shouldered their burdens and went forward side by side, full step in perfect cadence. It was a wonderful example of national spirit, the spirit which has made America great, and the spirit which will keep America great for generations and centuries to come. The war ended a little over six years ago for most of us, but for the thousands of our men in the dressing stations and the hospitals over there and in the hospitals at home, the war did not end. The whole world went mad with joy at a war ended, while those suffering thousands lay and looked at a future which could only contain pain and trouble for them. Many of those men have since passed into the sunset. All of them who are left must face, for the rest of their lives, the handicaps and the special burdens which their participation in war placed upon them.

The American people, the American Congress, the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, all of our people, of course, think first of those men who paid so high a price. Our first concern is for them. So far as the American Legion is concerned it has from the beginning, and even before it had corporate life, made its principle pre-occupation the care of disabled men.

It has maintained and does maintain a nation-wide organization to care for the disabled, and through that organization it has been possible to link up thousands of those men with the service which the government has for them and which it is willing to give them. And you should know, gentlemen, that in all of the legislation which has been asked of Congress, the Congress, immediately responsive to the will of the people, has gladly and willingly given laws and appropriations, and no question of politics, George Berry, has ever entered into this legislation. Democrats, Independents and Republicans alike have stood for everything which we have asked for the disabled men.

Second only in the estimation of the American Legion to its program for the care of disabled men, is its program for child welfare. With respect to that it has its own special prob-

lems. You may be surprised to know that there are today over 5,000 orphans of veterans in America who need and require attention of some sort or other. Now the slogan of the American Legion with respect to the orphans of veterans is this: a home for every homeless orphan of a veteran — and that means not a place in an institution, good though that institution might be, not a place in a family where the child is farmed out, but the adoption in an honest-to-God American family, there to become as nearly as possible like unto the blood members of that family.

Now the American Legion has already established and is operating one billet at Otter Creek, Michigan, where we are receiving children, and from where we place them in families. It has land for another billet in Kansas, and the erection of buildings will commence there in the spring. It has also in contemplation and there has been offered to it the land and a building for a billet in New Jersey, and since I came here I had the inexpressible pleasure of learning from my friend George Berry that he had donated to the Department of Tennessee of the American Legion a farm valued at not less than \$20,000, to be the site for a billet for war orphans in Tennessee. I have told George that that seems to me for the present to round out our requirements for billets, because I want to keep the American Legion organization for child welfare short on billets, I want the children to remain just the least possible time in the billets, and have the least possible amount of institutional care—no uniforms, no marching to meals, or anything of that sort—make them as near like home as you can, and then graduate them from the billets to the families.

The American Legion does not propose to stop there with relation to these children. We intend to and we are acting as big brothers to these children, and we propose to do so until they are grown men and women, fit to work for themselves.

The American Legion program for child welfare does not stop with taking care of what it considers to be its own, because it does co-operate and backs up every worthy institution in America which has to do with child welfare.

You will be glad to know that the American Legion stands four-square in favor of a constitutional amendment with regard to child labor.

I have just lately received, as national commander of the American Legion, the approval of the national executive committee and of the national finance committee of my organization for a nation-wide campaign for an endowment fund of \$5,000,000, the earnings from that fund to be used

exclusively for the support of our disabled and our children. I was in Washington last Monday, for the particular purpose of calling upon the President of the United States, Calvin Coolidge, to acquaint him with this project, and for the purpose of asking him if he would accept the chairmanship of the honorary committee to carry forward that endowment campaign, and he very gladly and cordially said that he would.

George Berry has told me that you have a resolution with relation to this matter in your convention. It would ill become me to suggest what your action should be, but I know the result of the endorsement of the endowment project by this convention would be very, very helpful.

Now the American Legion is and has been carrying forward for some years what it calls a program of Americanism. There are over forty different projects included under this head. Among the principal ones I might mention are the improvement of educational facilities, respect for the flag, better citizenship in all that that involves, restriction of immigration, country and city health, and a variety of projects related to those I have mentioned. And with respect to all this the American Legion is not reaching out and undertaking to establish organizations of its own to carry these projects forward, but it is co-operating with every worthy existing institution which has them in charge. The American Legion does not propose to bite off more than it can chew with relation to special objects, no matter how benevolent. We want to do in the American Legion those things which are closest to our own hand.

The American Legion desires peace and it strives for peace, because the Legion has had exceptional opportunities to acquaint itself with the alternative of peace, which is war. The American Legion belongs to, and one of its members is the president of Fildac, an association of the veteran organizations of nine nations. The purpose of that association is to promote world disarmament and world peace, each group working in its own country, through its own government, to this end, that it may make audible to the world the voices of twenty million men who know what war is, because they have been a part of war.

The American Legion is working here at home for peace. It is doing what it can to secure a reduction of armaments, and it hopes that its labors in this direction will result in a convention of the powers bringing about a reduction of all military establishments, something after the manner of the reduction of the number of capital ships in the navy, but until that day comes the American

Legion will insist that the United States take its own steps to be sure that war and the prospects of war are made more remote.

To this end the American Legion will press before the coming Congress what is popularly known as the universal draft bill, which places upon all citizens an equal obligation in war, by utilizing through the government man power to fight, man power to work, factory power to produce, and money power to finance.

Now, gentlemen, that is a peace measure, because it places the burden of war equally upon all citizens; it is a preparedness measure, because it provides the nation with a way in which it can conduct war if forced into war, in which it can protect itself and defend itself if forced into war, with the maximum of efficiency and the minimum of cost.

The American Legion believes that there will never be lasting peace until we have justice between nations, that there will never be permanent justice without a permanent tribunal to establish justice, and that means the erection of some form of competent court to deal with causes of international disturbance. The American Legion will support that with all its strength. Until international concord has been reached for disarmament and for the adjudication of all controversies between nations on the principle of justice, the United States must maintain a navy the equal of any in the world. It must have an army, small, but very competent and capable of immediate expansion to war time size, it must have adequate air service for the army and for the navy. It must have air, land and sea reserves of adequate strength. Moreover, industry must be kept current and prepared in peace for its war time emergencies.

And now what of our men, your brothers and mine, your associates and mine, the men we loved who died in the war? Probably there is not a man or woman in this room who has not lost blood kin or close friends in that war. Every nation worthy of the name, every man fit to live in the world of men, willingly moves to honor the noble dead, those who died that other men might live. We may build magnificent monuments, and we may dedicate them with ceremonies so impressive that all men stand in awe, but the richest monument to the men of our race who died for us, for their country and for the world, is that which we raise in our hearts—a monument of memory and reverence.

Those of us who knew them and fully valued their service can most assuredly honor them, we can most easily interpret what they would say if they were here to speak to us today.

Each would hope that the passing should not have been in vain. I believe

in the providence of God nothing is ever wasted. We know in the realm of material things there is no waste, there is only change of form, nothing is ever lost. May we not safely assume, then, in the world of spirit things, that being a higher order, that there is no waste? Not one man of those who, from the beginning of this nation, laid down their lives that the nation might live, with time to speak upon approach to the dark river but would say, "It is all right, only I do not wish my life to be wasted." It is for those of us who remain behind to see to it with all the strength that lies within us, that those lives and those sacrifices shall not be wasted, and we can do that.

Thus in part is the goodness and wisdom of God shown toward us, because while some of us may feel not a little, and all of us may fall short of the best, yet in the long run it is sure that every one of us will do something to guarantee that the treasure of those lives shall not have been poured out in vain, no matter how generously or unselfishly.

We of the American Legion stand in a special place among those who honor the noble dead by making their deeds live after them. The American Legion exists that through it the spirit of self-sacrifice, of devotion to duty, of love of country, shall, by every true soldier in war, whether he died or lived for his country, be perpetuated in peace. In very truth the American Legion is the sure means through which those who were in the military service in war may show in peace the same spirit of patriotism which ruled them in the war. In over 11,000 posts of the American Legion today over 700,000 men are meeting peace-time tasks in the war-time spirit of unselfishness, standing for God and country in peace as they fought for God and country in war. Fighting so for God and country and standing so for God and country they helped to bring peace out of war, and they will help to keep war out of peace.

For mark you this very definitely, the American Legion serves God and man without partisanship in politics, without intolerance in religion, brought together by the unbreakable ties of comradeship, born of hardships, of dangers and of joys shared, under the most powerful influence in America for every righteous purpose.

I believe and I know that the men and women of the American Federation of Labor and the men and women of the American Legion fully appreciate and value the priceless heritage of freedom and opportunity under the law which is theirs, and I believe and I know that in and out of each organization they are going to do their full share to see that this country of ours, this America which we love, shall grow each day a better and better place

for men to live in and a stronger influence for good in the whole world of men.

At the conclusion of Commander Drain's address, Chairman Green presented him with a badge of the convention.

Commander Drain: We speak the same language, folks, we understand each other.

Vice-President Green: I am sure I voice the sentiments of the audience when I say that we deeply appreciate the visit of Commander Drain. The sentiments he has expressed must find

a response in the hearts and the minds of all of us. We want to thank you, Commander, for your inspiring address and for your visit with us on this occasion.

Commander Drain: Mr. Chairman. I thank you for having me.

At 3 o'clock p. m., under suspension of the rules, the convention adjourned to permit the delegates to accept the invitation of the local committee to the entertainment at Juarez, the convention to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Friday morning.

## Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

El Paso, Texas, Friday, Nov. 21, 1924.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Gompers.

### Absentees

M. W. Martin, Chas. Murphy, Stetsky, G. Marshall, Thos. Redding, Yarrow, M. P. Higgins, H. W. Sullivan, M. W. Collins, Cashen, R. H. Johnson, R. W. Robinson, Freeman, Drum, Iglesias, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Gentry, Hughes, Frank, Costello, J. S. Horn, Scanlan, Franck, Ferns, Spaugh, Laylor, A. P. Bower, Hoefgen, Hourigan, R. T. Wood, Covert, Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Camous, Cokely, Rincker, Brasfield, Browne, George, Portway.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate McKeon, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

We beg to report that a communication has been received from Jas. P. Noonan, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, requesting that the name of P. F. Sullivan be substituted for that of Vice-President Frank J. McNulty, who is unable to attend the convention on account of illness.

He further requests that the name of

Murt Enright be substituted for that of Julia S. O'Connor, who was called home on account of illness.

We recommend the seating of P. F. Sullivan and Murt Enright as delegates from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to take the places of Frank J. McNulty and Julia S. O'Connor, in accordance with the request of President Noonan.

We further recommend the seating of Michael F. Garrett as a delegate of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, in place of Charles M. Rau, who was compelled to leave the city.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Reports of the various committees were called for, and the chairmen of several indicated that their reports would be in readiness for presentation to the convention later in the day.

Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

No committees were prepared to report, and by motion of Secretary Morrison, the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

## Fifth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Gompers.

### Absentees

Martin, M. W., Shamp, Bryan, W. W. E. Yarrow, Higgins, Johnson, Roscoe, Walden, Freeman, Drum, Finley, Iglesias, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Gentry, Costello, Franck, Ferns, Spaugh, Laylor, Bower, A. B. Hourigan, Wood, R. T., Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Abrams, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Camous, Cokely, Rincker, Brasfield, Browne, George, Portway.

Secretary Morrison announced that 260 persons had signified their inten-

tion of making the trip to Mexico City, and stated that final notice must be given by 9 o'clock November 21, in order to secure the necessary Pullman accommodations.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Delegate C. A. Weaver, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

**To Notify All Affiliated Unions That the Label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Is Not Recognized by the**

**A. F. of L.**

Resolution No. 30—By Delegation

Soderburg of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Union Label stands for honesty in its relation to the public; and

WHEREAS, The public in general do not know the difference between various union labels; and

WHEREAS, An organization known as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is using a label not recognized by the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to notify all unions connected with the A. F. of L. that the label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is not recognized by the A. F. of L. and should not receive the patronage of organized labor, or friends of the labor movement.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 30 be amended as follows:

Strike out the third Whereas, and substitute in lieu thereof the following—"Whereas, There are organizations and associations infringing on the union label principle, not identified with or recognized by the American Federation of Labor;"

Also by changing the phraseology of the Resolving paragraph to read as follows:

RESOLVED, That the officer of the A. F. of L. be instructed to notify all unions connected therewith that the labels of the Journeymen Tailors and the United Garment Workers of America are the only labels recognized in the men's garment industry by the American Federation of Labor.

The resolution as amended reads:

WHEREAS, The union label stands for honesty in its relation to the public; and

WHEREAS, The public in general do not know the difference between various union labels; and

WHEREAS, There are organizations and associations infringing on the union label principle not identified with or recognized by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify all unions therewith that the labels of the Journeymen Tailors and the United Garment Workers of America are the only labels recognized in the men's garment industry by the American Federation of Labor.

With these changes your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Urging Demand For Union Label

Resolution No. 34—By G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, W. A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton—Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is apparent that the freedom and privilege of independent industries are being encroached on by the autocratic power of corporations and combined financial interests, seeking by nefarious methods to destroy fair and legitimate competition on the field of commerce and labor by a systematic process engineered by big business, that of absorbing the weaker industry or squeezing it to the wall; and likewise by intimidating the workers in an attempt to prevent them from organizing and thus bettering their economic standards through collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, Insidious efforts have been carried on for the past number of years by the allied enemies of labor, who are instrumental in controlling the money powers and wielding a mighty force in subjugating industrial conditions to a degree of stagnation, when it suits the purpose and yields more profits in the scheme of antagonizing labor and crushing out of the field of competition all fair employers who deal on a plane of justice and equality with labor; and

WHEREAS, The inalienable rights of the workers are being denied by combinations of large employers, assisted by various business interests, barons of industry, money brokers, the minions of the so-called chamber of commerce throughout the country, who are utilizing every effort to disintegrate organized labor and stifle industry where it cannot be controlled and operated on the basis of non-union "open shop" plan, and the non-recognition of union labor; and

WHEREAS, The workers have at their command a potent weapon to combat that force of opposition, by directing the purchasing power of the consumer to demand only articles and commodities bearing the union label, and to refuse all merchandise or articles of wearing apparel, cigars and tobacco products or commodities of any description that are not made under organized union conditions, thereby withholding patronage from all scab products, refusing to support the propaganda for the nonunion shop, and by helping to defeat the campaign made by the enemies of labor with the increased consumption of goods bearing the union label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our allegiance to and faith in the principles of the union label and its potentiality in protecting the interest of

the workers, when given due recognition as an emblem to designate fair paid labor, and a guarantee of union-made articles whenever the legitimate union label is contained thereon; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That all members of organized labor, likewise friends and sympathizers with our cause and the consuming public, herewith be admonished and urgently requested to demand the union label as a beneficial friend and safeguard and an economic factor, when making a purchase.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

Fraternal Delegate Peter Grassman in the Chair.

A motion to adopt the report of the committee was made and seconded.

Delegate Sexton, Cigarmakers, spoke in support of the resolution, and said, in part: There is a condition that exists in our industry today that is worthy of consideration by all delegates to this convention—that of the unorganized condition of the workers in our craft. It is true that our organization, perhaps, has not suffered more materially in failure to gain membership during these depressing times of recent years than any other, but we still have a considerable number engaged in the industry that are yet outside the folds of our organization.

There is now being put in operation a vigorous effort on the part of the large industries to monopolize that business against the economic interests of the workers in the organized labor movement. I call attention to the American tobacco trust and to the General Cigar Company, linked up in gigantic combinations for the purpose of defeating the interests of the workers in our industry when attempting organization. The United Cigar Stores are part and parcel of these corporations that I have mentioned. There are approximately 2,500 of these stores, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, dealing in non-union made products, and someone is consuming those products. The time is ripe, the opportunity is now at hand, to combat that condition through the purchasing power of organized labor.

I call attention to the unsanitary

conditions that exist in many of the nonunion factories, especially those factories on the Pacific coast that are now employing a great number of Chinese workers, in the same factory, though in a separate room, with white cigarmakers. All these cigars are being distributed throughout the country. The time is now at hand when we can and should arouse ourselves to the necessity of protecting the industry and assisting in the work of organization by pointing to the union label, a weapon which is a guarantee of fair made products, the only sure and safe weapon at the command of organized labor.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, also endorsed the resolution and the report of the committee. He said, in part: I want to take advantage of this opportunity to point out to the delegates to this convention and to the members of organized labor generally, how they can add to the valuable assistance to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and its union stamps. Many of our manufacturers who have contracts with our organization do not place the stamp on all of their shoes.

Since coming to El Paso I have received information from our Boston office that two large shoe manufacturing concerns that have been doing business with our organization for some twenty years have made inquiry as to when their contracts expire. I have also received information that both of these concerns have discontinued placing the union stamp upon their shoes. There are only two reasons that come to my mind for such action: One is because they probably believe they can get more favorable adjustments of wages in their interests by dealing with their individual shops, and the other is it is probably their desire, along with some others who may take the same action, to punish us for our activity in the recent political campaign.

Now you can assist our organization by insisting not only that you see the stamp on the shoe you purchase, but that the salesman show you the

union stamp, because there are too many members of organized labor who buy shoes because they understand that the manufacturer operates a union factory. We have been consistently informed by stores operated by these concerns that there was little demand for the union stamp, simply because too many do not insist that the sales people show them the union stamp.

I think the same applies to the labels of every other organized trade in the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Fraternal Delegate C. T. Cramp in the chair.

**Urging Support of the Cigarmakers' Union Label**

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Geo. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, W. A. Campbell and R. S. Sexton of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Cigarmakers' International Union is engaged in an intensive drive to organize all wage earners in the cigar industry; and

WHEREAS, The rapid introduction of improved machinery has revolutionized the cigar industry and such improved machinery has so specialized the industry that unskilled and semi-skilled workers are gradually supplanting the former skilled workers; and

WHEREAS, Under these conditions the workers must depend wholly upon the union for protection and their necessity for organization is correspondingly greater than heretofore; and

WHEREAS, The union label has been a helpful force in organizing the workers in our industry and maintaining them in the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention call attention to its endorsement of the Cigarmakers' Union Blue Label and because of the circumstances enumerated in the preamble, earnestly urge the delegates to report back to their unions the substance herein set forth and urge all unionists and all friends to continue to give their support to the union label and to redouble their efforts in that direction.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The commendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Support For Union Hatters' Label**

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates M. F. Greene, Christopher Donigan, Jeremiah J. Scully, United Hatters of North America:

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America have maintained their union label on men's fur felt hats since 1886 and in men's straw, Panama and wool hats since 1912; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters have spent several million dollars during these years through advertising work and label agents in every state of the Union to carry on this work of education in appealing to the organized workers of America to purchase only union label hats; and

WHEREAS, The hats bearing our union label can be purchased in every city in the United States, and at prices suitable to the purchaser, whether expensive or inexpensive, and in all qualities, grades and styles; and

WHEREAS, For many years the members of the United Hatters have made the same struggles, and sacrifices as all other international unions have in fighting the "nonunion shop" or the so-called American plan, "open shop," in the effort to maintain their international organizations and its union label, without which we could secure neither wages or living conditions in the hat industry; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that, notwithstanding our efforts to increase the demand for our union label, we find the amount of nonunion hats increasing, alarmingly and particularly in the south and western portions of this country; and

WHEREAS, The major portion of these nonunion hats are sold by non-union concerns, one in particular, who is an arch enemy of organized labor, and has for years used every effort to eliminate the United Hatters of North America, namely, the Stetson Hat company of Philadelphia, which employs the largest amount of nonunion labor of any hat concern in America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fourth annual convention requests all delegations to this convention to make every possible effort to communicate with their local members to demand the union label of the United Hatters when buying a hat; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to all international unions, state federations and central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.



The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Resolution No. 73—By Delegates G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, W. A. Campbell and R. S. Sexton of the Cigarmakers' International Union:**

**WHEREAS**, There has always been some delay and difficulty in getting union watermarked paper by organizations for the purpose of printing their official journals and papers, and this delay and difficulty are said to be partly due to the fact that the official organs are of different sizes, qualities, finishes, weights, etc.; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That it is the sense of this convention that considerable time and expense can be saved by a more uniform standard of print and book papers by national and international unions, and the labor press generally; and be it

**RESOLVED**, That the president be and is hereby requested to co-operate with the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers in an effort to bring about a condition whereby there may be got out three or less standard sizes of each kind in the quality, size, finish, weight, etc.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION**

In its report to the Portland convention, the committee on labels expressed the belief that if a plan for wider dissemination of union label propaganda could be outlined, developed and carried out successfully, it would not only materially increase the knowledge of our members and friends on this important question, but would also increase the demand for and sale of union label goods, and at the same time lend substantial support to employers in contractual relations with our affiliated unions.

Your committee is advised that at the convention of the Union Label Trades Department action of this character was taken which will, when put in operation, do much to develop the field covered by the Union Label Trades Department.

It is proposed that an investigation

be made and a plan outlined covering a wide field of advertising, including newspapers, magazines, theatres, and establishing a bureau under which traveling lecturers will address mass meetings and other gatherings of people, informing them of the true mission of the union label. There is no doubt in the minds of your committee that tremendous good is bound to result from a campaign of this kind.

Decision was also reached in the department convention to attempt a greater development of the Women's Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary, so that these earnest women who are voluntarily doing what they can for the organized labor movement will receive the encouragement and co-operation which they deserve.

We have learned fairly well how to organize and protect our interests on the great industrial field, and with the knowledge that we have a powerful weapon always ready for use to advance our cause without additional expense or industrial strife, it is our duty to use it at every opportunity that is offered.

Finance plays an important part in our economic condition. This being true, there is every reason why we should use the money which comes into our hands as a result of our trade union membership to help us on to further progress. In season and out of season, we should keep in the minds of our members the knowledge that whenever they make a purchase they become employers to the extent of the money expended.

When money is expended for non-union goods by our members, they immediately indicate their approval of the policies and activities of nonunion and anti-union employers and their general hostility toward the organized labor movement.

Your committee recommends the re-endorsement of all union labels, shop cards and working buttons now endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and we urge our members and friends to be consistent and give these

emblems of fair conditions their purchasing preference at all times.

JOHN MANNING, Chairman,  
C. A. WEAVER, Secretary,  
THOMAS SWEENEY,  
MAX HAYES,  
H. C. DIEHL,  
J. R. WEYLER,  
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,  
R. S. SEXTON,  
CHARLES KREINDLER,  
JACOB GOLDSTONE,  
LEON WORTHAL,  
FELIX BELAIR,  
FRANK E. COOK,  
C. DONIGAN,  
P. J. RYAN,

Committee on Labels.

Delegate Weaver moved the adoption of the committee's report as a whole. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: There are one or two observations I would like to make on this report which I think very apropos. Only the other day we listened with rapt attention to an address made by Miss Fitzgerald, representing the Woman's International Union Label League. I believe I voice the sentiments of the convention when I say that every delegate really wants to help Miss Fitzgerald in the work she is carrying on.

At the meeting of the Union Label Trades Department a motion was adopted assigning certain work to the secretary in behalf of these women. It proposes that the secretary communicate with the proper officials of all our international unions, whether they be affiliated with the department or not, asking these general officers to write their several local unions, urging them to have at least five women from the families of their members named as a nucleus for building up this organization, so that it may be our strong right hand in time of need.

These women are working solely for their love of the movement, and if the only reward they are going to get is having Miss Fitzgerald come here once a year and plead for help, her time, money and health is going to be wasted. We believe with the proper help of our international officers, we can have in a short time as big an organization of the women as we have

of the men, and once we have that kind of an organization there is no question about the progress and advancement we are going to have.

I urge the officers to act on the matter in the spirit in which it was originated and the spirit in which it was forwarded to them.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as a whole was carried by unanimous vote.

Vice-President Woll in the Chair.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate John T. Mugavin, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee finds that one of the subjects referred to this committee, appearing on pages 63 and 64 of the Executive Council's report, under the caption, "Women in Industry," has already been reported by the committee on Organization, so we beg to be relieved of the responsibility of reading this, because we do not feel that any further action is necessary.

The request of the committee was concurred in and its report unanimously adopted.

#### Lincoln Day

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, page 73, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

We have noted with great satisfaction the progress made in declaring Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday in the District of Columbia. We endorse this most commendable, patriotic and inspiring recognition of the work and life of that great patriot and liberator, and we recommend the continuance of the movement started to secure this legal fulfillment and urge that every effort be made to secure the enactment of this law in the present Congress of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Porto Rico

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report on pages 73 and 74, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

We are in full sympathy with the

hopes and ambitions of the people of Porto Rico, for a greater autonomy in the affairs of their civil government. We approve the attitude and activities manifested by the Executive Council for the early attainment of this end, and urge continuance of this effort on behalf of the people of Porto Rico.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Federal Aid in Construction of Roads**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report on page 75, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

The construction of roads and highways is of vast importance to the social intercourse of our people, and the economic and industrial development of our land. It is an enterprise, national in character, and therefore should receive national consideration and attention. We commend the earnest efforts put forth by the Executive Council toward the early realization of these national improvements, and urge continuance in the support of the pending bill before Congress, and herein reported.

#### **Legislation in the States**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, pages 75 to 80, inclusive, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has carefully analyzed the report on legislation enacted and defeated in the several state legislatures having met in session since the Executive Council's report of a little more than a year ago.

The record of affirmative legislative achievements in the several states in behalf of the well-being of the wage earners and the welfare of the people generally is only overshadowed by the defeat of proposals intended to limit the rights and defeat the hopes and opportunities of the workers of our several states, and to benefit solely the possessors of great wealth or those scheming for wealth without giving in return full and adequate and helpful service.

The achievements, both affirmative and negative, are a great tribute to the alertness, efficiency and proficiency

of our several State Federations of Labor. They demonstrate clearly that the policies heretofore pursued are practical and effective in character and present a force in our several state governments that makes for constant, progressive, constructive, helpful and beneficial legislation to the common people of our several state governments.

Your committee not only recommends words of commendation for that which has been done, but urges even greater attention in the future on the part of our several State Federations of Labor in the field of wholesome and beneficial legislation for the masses.

We too commend the Executive Council for its practical and constructive guidance and co-ordination of the organized endeavors of the wage earners in all our states and territories in this legislative sphere of action.

Your committee gave a hearing to representatives of the State Federations of Labor who were in attendance at the convention. Their desire was to have a more thoroughly co-ordinate method established through which the several State Federations of Labor could be kept informed of the legislative efforts and programs of the other states.

Your committee, after having given the subjects presented that consideration to which they were entitled, recommends that the Secretary of the A. F. of L. communicate with the officers of all State Federations of Labor requesting them to forward to him copies of all important measures which they have introduced into their state legislatures, and that they also forward such opinions as they secure from the attorney they may employ to assist in drafting such bills, and in addition forward from time to time reports upon the legislative progress they are making. In connection with such subjects the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall have copies made of all such legislative measures, attorneys' opinions and legislative experiences and shall forward them to the officers of all State Federations of Labor, so that these

bodies may become acquainted with the legislative efforts of all other State Federations of Labor.

Your committee makes these recommendations because it is convinced that such a method of collecting legislative information and keeping all State Federations of Labor fully informed will greatly assist all state federations in more successfully carrying out their purpose.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ryan, Chairman: As chairman of the committee, I desire to say that the committee requests a slight correction in their report to the effect that these reports referred to should be made to the President of the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the Secretary. That was a mistake in writing out the reports, and I would like to have that understood.

Vice-President Woll: With the statement of the chairman of the committee, the original report stands before the convention amended in that way.

The motion to adopt the committee's report, as stated by the Chair, was carried unanimously.

**Urging Affiliated Organizations to Contribute Necessities of Life to Evicted Miners in West Virginia and Kentucky Districts**

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Fred Mooney of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers of District No. 17 of West Virginia and District No. 23 of Kentucky are engaged in a life and death struggle to obtain renewals of wage agreements which expired March 31, 1924; and

WHEREAS, In some communities in District No. 17 the struggle dates back for three and one-half years, imposing hardships which are indescribable, because of wholesale evictions of miners from the only habitations they have ever been permitted to call homes; and

WHEREAS, These evictions have necessitated the establishment of barrack and tent colonies located upon land leased by the United Mine Workers, and these strikers are facing the rigors of winter with nothing to shield them from the elements but tents and board shacks; and

WHEREAS, These strikers are sore-

ly in need of clothing, shoes and school books for children, many of whom are of school age, and their numbers are being augmented daily by others who are becoming disgusted with the open shop system and low wages; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of the United Mine Workers of America are doing everything in their power in both districts to care for these men, women and children, in an effort to reduce their suffering to a minimum, but in spite of the monthly expenditure of fabulous sums for food, tents, barracks, medical attention, attorney fees, etc., their ability to meet the situation has been and is being taxed to the limit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor appeals to all international unions, state federations of labor, central bodies and local unions, to collect clothing and shoes and to contribute funds where such contributions can be spared and forward same to Will C. Thompson, secretary-treasurer District No. 17, box 1332, Charleston, W. Va., and H. H. Vincent, secretary-treasurer District No. 23, Central City, Ky.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the said international unions, state federations of labor, central bodies, and local unions, at the earliest possible date.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the above resolution, and urges a liberal response thereto by the various bodies connected with the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate H. H. Stickel, Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America:

Delegate Mugavin, secretary of the committee: There has been referred to this committee Resolution No. 63. The author of the resolution appeared before your committee and asked the privilege of withdrawing said resolution. The committee recommends approval of the request.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously concurred in, and Resolution No. 63 was withdrawn.

Delegate Mugavin: That concludes our report, Mr. Chairman, and it is

signed by all the members of the committee.

MARTIN RYAN, Chairman,  
JOHN T. MUGAVIN, Secretary,  
S. C. HOGAN,  
C. M. PAULSEN,  
J. M. GILLESPIE,  
CARL BERGSTROM,  
D. P. HAGGERTY,  
BENJ. LAGING,  
C. W. LAWSON,  
P. J. KELLY,  
FRED W. BAER,  
WM. P. WALSH,  
M. J. HYNES,  
T. M. TAYLOR,  
JOHN L. BERRY.

Upon motion of Delegate Mugavin the report of the Committee on State Organizations was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers in the Chair.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Henry F. Schmal, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

##### Urging Support of A. F. of L. Publicity Service

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate William Kohn, International Upholsterers' Union:

WHEREAS, The two old parties in the recent election, particularly the Republican party, by the use of slush funds, were able to confuse the voters on the issues of the campaign through widespread propaganda in their press; and

WHEREAS, Labor's candidates had only the agency of the labor press, the information and publicity service, international labor news service, and the A. F. of L. news letter, to aid them; and

WHEREAS, Our press services were handicapped by lack of funds, but favored by brilliant and devoted service of its editors and staff, with the result that labor's political views were never more clearly stated or more widely published; and

WHEREAS, This broadcasting of labor's political program has increased the prestige of our leadership and demonstrated the integrity of the spokesmen of the American Federation of Labor, with the result that increased respect is held for the political power of the organized workers; and

WHEREAS, This wholesome result was made possible by the courageous and outspoken utterances of the A. F. of L. national non-partisan political campaign committee, in answering the propaganda of our adroit political foes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Fed-

eration of Labor in forty-fourth annual convention assembled, that we commend the officers, editors and the staff engaged in the vital work of disseminating information about our movement, for their brilliant and devoted service at a most critical period, that we urge all unions to give this important function of the Executive Council the fullest financial and moral support, and that we pledge ourselves to expand these activities, with the knowledge that the trade union movement will be richly rewarded, as the result of the better understanding of labor's aspirations that will result from this essentially educational and public service.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Proposing Conference to Determine Relation of Labor Costs to Selling Prices in Textile and Cloth- ing Industries

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The so-called high cost of clothing and garments are charged to labor by many selfish interests; and

WHEREAS, The members of organized labor know these statements to be untrue; and

WHEREAS, The officials of international unions whose members are engaged on textiles (manufacture and finish), and are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have in their possession sufficient data to prove that labor is but a small part of actual cost; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to call the officers of these organizations together in the near future to determine the approximate labor costs and give the results of their findings the greatest publicity possible.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for its consideration and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted,  
Vice-President Ryan in the Chair.

##### Proposing Endorsement of American Legion Campaign for Endowment Fund for Child Welfare.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Geo.

L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The American Legion has inaugurated a campaign for the establishment of an endowment fund of five million dollars for rehabilitation of child labor and kindred subjects; and

WHEREAS, This great work on the part of the American Legion is in harmony with the spirit and sentiments of the American Federation of Labor, recorded in their endorsement of the projects instituted by the American Legion in the interest of rehabilitation; and

WHEREAS, Child welfare is recognized as a matter in which the American Federation of Labor is deeply interested and committed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor congratulates the American Legion on this humanitarian and educational project, and endorses the efforts being put forth by the American Legion in this direction, and calls upon the several international unions, state bodies, central councils and federal organizations, to render their moral and financial support wherever possible in assisting in the consummation of this meritorious and outstanding program of the American Legion herein referred to.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Endorsement of Woodrow Wilson Memorial College and Erection by Labor of an Educational Building Upon the Grounds of the Memorial**

Resolution No. 36 — By Delegates Geo. L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; Walter N. Reddick of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; B. A. Larger of the United Garment Workers of America; Wm. Green of the United Mine Workers of America; Wm. H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists; Martin F. Ryan of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America; James Wilson of the Pattern Makers' League of North America:

WHEREAS, There is now in course of construction a great memorial in honor of the late President of the

United States, Woodrow Wilson, to be located at Valdosta, Georgia; and

WHEREAS, This memorial is to be in the form of an undenominational college dedicated to education; and

WHEREAS, There has been subscribed one million dollars and one hundred acres of land upon which this memorial is to be built; and

WHEREAS, The executive committee of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College is committed to the proposition that labor shall have representation on the board of control, and that the American Federation of Labor shall appoint some person for said place; and

WHEREAS, The Georgia State Federation of Labor, the various state departments of the American Legion, and the American Legion in national convention, associated with scores of other state and national bodies, and forward-looking citizens of the republic, have endorsed this project in honor of that forward-looking citizen, the former chief of the army, the navy, the republic of the United States, former President of the United States, and labor's friend and champion, Woodrow Wilson; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College project at Valdosta, Ga., and instructs the president of the American Federation of Labor to issue a call upon all international, national, local unions, and state central and federal bodies, to make similar endorsement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to call upon all international, national, local union and state central and federal bodies to make financial contributions, which shall be used by the American Federation of Labor through its president and executive council in the construction of a suitable building upon the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College, same to be used for such educational development as may be determined upon by the president and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing That the Committee on Education Continue and Expand Its Survey of Social Study Text Books**

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. Larkin, Daniel Hag-

erty, James Murray of the International Association of Machinists; Geo. L. Berry of the Printing Pressmen's Union; Luther Steward of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The committee on education, by its comprehensive and scholarly survey of the teaching of the social studies in our public schools and the evaluation of the texts used in connection therewith rendered a splendid service to public education and the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Permanent machinery for sustained work in the field of public education on the part of organized labor is now being perfected, chiefly in the form of local standing committees on education of state federations and city central bodies which will become of ever growing importance in furthering the proper and adequate teaching of the social studies and the use of satisfactory text books in connection therewith; and

WHEREAS, Both the authors and publishers as well as the teaching profession have accepted the findings of the committee on education already made in respect to social study texts as important and valuable in the preparation, publication and use of such texts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention direct that this work of surveying social study text books from the viewpoint of the organized labor movement as inaugurated by the committee on education and in keeping with the methods already devised be continued and applied to all new texts published, and the resulting reviews with appropriate comments be made available to authors, publishers, educators, the established local standing committees on education and other interested parties for their guidance and use in connection with the proper and adequate teaching of the social studies in all our public schools.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Favoring Systematic Campaign to Bring About Practical Support of the Labor Press**

Resolution No. 52—By delegation of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Repeatedly at conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the labor press has been warmly complimented for the splendid services rendered in behalf of the trade union movement in the North American continent; and

WHEREAS, It appears that these expressions of good will have not been translated into the practical support due the labor press by the members of

of local unions in order to increase the influence of these publications; and

WHEREAS, There is now a well-defined determination being displayed by the internationals affiliated to this American Federation of Labor to accept the challenge of the anti-union elements to disrupt and destroy this splendid structure of trade unions that has been built up by hard struggle and sacrifice; and

WHEREAS, It is fully understood by the officers of these internationals and all others who are active in the movement that organization of the workers can only be made permanent and powerful through education by word of mouth and by the printed word, and, as it is most difficult to reach the unorganized workers through mass meetings alone; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention herewith desires to re-affirm all that has been recorded in past assemblages with regard to the labor press, but also to emphasize the necessity of the membership of local unions to (1) subscribe for and read the labor papers printed in their communities, and to (2) adopt ways and means to secure the distribution of labor publications among the non-union workers they may be acquainted with or who reside in their neighborhoods, to the end that a systematic campaign of education can be prosecuted to strengthen the whole labor movement.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**CHILD LABOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report on page 32, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

It is a historical fact that the American Federation of Labor has been the pioneer force in promoting and furthering child labor legislation, it sponsored and inspired the enactment of state legislation prohibiting the employment of children in industry. It was largely responsible for the enactment of federal legislation which sought to protect child life. When, at a later date, this federal legislation was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, the American Federation of Labor was the first to suggest and initiate a child labor constitutional amendment. Our great organization, the American Fed-

eration of Labor, has consistently pursued a policy looking to the protection, by proper and appropriate legislation, of the child life of our nation. It was assumed, when the first federal statute providing for the regulation of child labor was enacted into law, that public sentiment was universally in favor of this character of humane legislation. It was our opinion and deliberate judgment that if a constitutional amendment were adopted by the Congress of the United States providing for the enactment of federal child labor legislation, the legislatures of the different states would promptly and willingly ratify such constitutional amendment.

In conformity with this belief the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with other groups which were friendly, prevailed upon Congress to adopt a constitutional amendment which reads as follows:

"Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.

"Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress."

As stated by the Executive Council, in its report, the proposal for the ratification of the child labor amendment is now before the state legislatures, four of which have already acted. To the genuine surprise of the friends of child labor legislation, strong opposition has developed against the ratification of the child labor constitutional amendment. The enemies of the proposed amendment have misrepresented its purport and have endeavored to prejudice unsuspecting and well-meaning people against it. It is astonishing to observe the means and methods employed by those who are hostile to this form of legislation in the attempts which are being made to defeat it. The farmers of our nation are being told, no doubt by those who seek to profit by the employment of children in industry, that if this constitutional amendment be ratified no person un-

der eighteen years of age can perform any work at all. This vicious propaganda and misrepresentation is having its effect. More and more it becomes apparent that a campaign of education must be vigorously waged in order to offset and counteract the harmful and untruthful statements which are being circulated.

We can not help believing that the enemies of child labor legislation know full well that the Congress could not and would not enact legislation preventing persons under eighteen years of age from performing work if the proposed constitutional amendment were enacted. If, as the Executive Council states, that was the intention of the amendment, the words "to limit" and "to regulate" would not have been incorporated. It is clearly evident, therefore, that the campaign of opposition is based upon deception, misrepresentation and hypocrisy.

Organized labor must lead in the campaign of education, information and persuasive effort which has for its purpose the ratification of the child labor amendment. Obviously it is going to be a bitter struggle between those who seek to exploit the child life of our nation and those who have for their purpose the conservation and protection of child life. The issue is clearly drawn between the opponents of child labor legislation and those who favor it. There is no doubt about the attitude of organized labor. It must be on the side of the children of our nation and must stand solidly in support of the child labor amendment.

Your committee recommends that all who favor the enactment of the child labor constitutional amendment study the report of the Executive Council upon this subject. There will be found therein a very complete answer to the baseless propaganda which is being circulated in opposition to the ratification of the child labor amendment. The information submitted by the Executive Council can be utilized in combating the arguments of the opponents of the constitutional amendment and also in prevailing upon men and women in different communities to



support in an affirmative way the ratification by the states of this child labor amendment.

We further recommend that each and every member of organized labor actively interest themselves in their respective localities in support of the child labor amendment. We also recommend that national and international unions, state and central bodies, and local unions, engage earnestly in the campaign. In order to succeed in this great humane adventure all the forces of organized labor must vigorously and actively engage in the work of education and information.

We commend the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the service it has rendered and the work it has performed in securing the adoption by Congress of the child labor amendment to the constitution of the United States. We recommend that it continue its efforts to secure ratification by the required number of states so that this beneficent and humane legislation looking to the conservation of child life can become operative.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President Green, chairman of the committee: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: Because of the importance of this subject I wish to speak to you for just a few moments in an effort to direct your attention to two things in connection with this very, very important question—first, the importance of it, and second, the fact that we are now engaged in a campaign to bring about the ratification of the child labor amendment to the organic law of the United States.

It seems strange indeed that there could be found anyone living anywhere within the United States who would oppose the adoption of such humane legislation, and yet we find, as the campaign has developed, and the atmosphere has become clear, that those who favor the protection of the child life of our nation are face to face with an intensive campaign and a most vigorous struggle.

You remember quite well when we secured the adoption of a federal stat-

ute prohibiting the employment of children in industry. We were then of the opinion that public sentiment was almost universal in its support of this statute, and when the Supreme Court of the United States declared that statute unconstitutional you will recall that a most vigorous protest was offered by groups of people in all walks of life. We were then compelled to inaugurate a policy of trying to prevail upon Congress to amend the constitution of the United States so that the Congress would be authorized to enact federal child labor legislation.

It was after much difficulty and after the exercise of most diligent effort that the Congress of the United States was prevailed upon to adopt the constitutional amendment which has now been submitted to the states for ratification. I repeat again what the committee said in its report, that no doubt the average person was of the opinion that the public would most generously support this constitutional amendment; but to our surprise we find opposition developing here and there, opposition of a kind and character that has awakened us to the fact that we have before us now a fight, a struggle, in order to secure ratification by the required number of states of the amendment herein referred to.

I know it must have been a surprise to the working people of Massachusetts, as it was a surprise to the working people of other commonwealths of our nation, when on election day in last November the voters of Massachusetts voted down the proposition that that commonwealth approve of the constitutional amendment. A great industrial state like Massachusetts, filled with splendid people, populated by the sons and daughters of those who have made history in our great nation, voting against the adoption of this great, humane proposition! The action of that commonwealth has aroused us. It means that the enemies of child labor legislation have challenged us, and we would be untrue to the principles of organized labor if we refused to accept the challenge.

I am of the opinion that the opponents of child labor legislation are deceiving the people by the vicious propaganda that has been circulated. For instance, many farm organizations in many states have adopted resolutions in opposition to the adoption of this constitutional amendment. They base their action upon the information they have been given, that if this constitutional amendment was adopted, farmers' children under eighteen years of age would be prevented from performing useful service, from doing work in the home. This is false, because the constitutional amendment in no way prohibits the employment of children under eighteen years of age on farm or in factory, but it does confer upon Congress the authority and power to enact a statute limiting and regulating the employment of persons under eighteen years of age.

And where is there any Congress that may be elected by the sovereign citizens of our nation that would dare to pass a statute that would be unreasonable, unjust and unfair? That in itself is an answer to these untruthful statements that are being circulated among the farmers of our nation.

You know that in most of the northern, western and central western states we have secured the passage of child labor legislation that is regarded in most instances as reasonable, fair and just. It is not to be expected that the adoption of this constitutional amendment will greatly modify or change the existing child labor statutes now in effect in these states to which I have referred, but it is expected that if the Congress of the United States may be delegated the power contained in this proposed constitutional amendment, it will adopt a child labor statute uniform in its application and approximately as fair and as reasonable as the best child labor statute in effect in any state, and in that way the backward states where little children of tender years are now employed in the factories will have the protection of the statutes of our nation, as have the children in these progressive states.

Vice-President Duncan, in discussing the report, said in part: Massachusetts did not vote as it did because it is in favor of child labor; it voted entirely against the child labor amendment because the citizenship of that advanced state considered that the federal government is imposing a little too much upon so-called state rights. We have the best child labor law in Massachusetts there is in America; we have the best factory laws there are in America, and I want the delegates to know this so that when they go home and discuss this matter they may be able to tell the truth about Massachusetts.

Our factory laws in Massachusetts are so drafted as to keep our children from the factories. They govern the employment of women, not only as to hours, but also as to wages, so that with a reduced working day and the fair compensation paid to them in the factories there is extra efficiency in the factories. Under the shorter work-day, the shorter work week and the increased pay they receive for their labor, they are fair competitors of the black belt of the south.

This action was not necessary to require the northern states to conform to this very excellent legislation; it was principally because some of the southern states very much interested in textiles work children at exceedingly low wages. If the delegates desire to get a detail on this subject, I advise them to ask their congressmen to send them a copy of the speech Senator Beveridge delivered to the United States Senate on this subject. He was serving upon a committee in the Senate and heard our argument, which we had to state in a conservative way lest they would think we were overstating something.

Senator Beveridge was one of the men who did not believe what we said, and he took the first opportunity he could find to go to the black belt I refer to. Not only did he come back convinced we were right, but the subject matter as delivered by him in the Senate went so far beyond anything we had presented that he said we had only presented an apprentice's job. He told the Senators this in his speech and did a great deal by his influence to help in the Senate in this legislation. It is easier to reach the House of Representatives, because you get a chance at the members every two years, while we have to wait six years to get a chance at the Senators.

Senator Beveridge said that in some of the cotton mills of the south the greatest industry he saw was the very large burying grounds around the church, and in looking at the little amateur tombstones he found about 85 per cent of them were over the graves of children under twelve years of age. It was because of that condition, which applies in other industries than the

textile industry, that we have had to revert to Congress and to the federal government to induce a reactionary or a slow moving state legislature to bring its legislation up to where the child life of our country would be preserved.

I do not agree, of course, with the decision in Massachusetts upon this subject. The purpose of my standing up, I am sure, is plain to you. I feared when my colleague, Chairman Green of this committee, referred to Massachusetts it might be considered as a reactionary state, which it is not. There is a peculiarity about it, especially in the textile industry, that places its legislation in a condition and position different, perhaps, from any other state.

A great many of those who own the textile mills in Massachusetts are either English themselves or of English parents, and many of the expert textile workers came to Massachusetts from Lancashire, England, and they have written into our legislation duplicates of the factory acts of England for the benefit of the women and children in our factories. I hope that nothing will ever happen to bring the legislation we have on that subject into the United States Supreme Court, for fear there may be another five-to-four decision on that subject to knock out some of the excellent and advanced legislation we have.

Vice-President Duncan spoke briefly on the question raised in Massachusetts prior to the election with the purpose of prejudicing voters against the child labor amendment.

Vice-President Woll: I cannot agree with the previous speaker that the peoples of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in voting as they did on this proposed constitutional amendment were taking an advanced position in our legislative, governmental, social and economic life.

Whatever state legislation they may have on the subject of child labor they may be commended for; but for their conception that child life is a state and not a national proposition they deserve no commendation. If ever there was one subject deserving of the attention of our national government, then it is indeed the human life and the citizenship of the peoples of our country; if ever there was a problem requiring the attention of our national government it is the safeguarding and the upbuilding of the child life of our nation.

It is not a question of whether some states have assumed an advanced position or other states a backward position; it is a question of the child life of our nation, the wards of the state, of the nation, are we concerned of human life as a nation? We speak of state rights and national rights. It is a strange doctrine that Massachusetts should accept at this late date, when our national Congress on two previous occasions believed it was a national problem and that the national government had authority to deal with it, for did we not as a national government adopt a law prohibiting interstate commerce facilities to the commodities produced by child labor.

Yes, our Supreme Court intervened and ruled that that was not a proper exercise of national authority, and then again our national Congress adopted another law placing an excise tax on the products into which the work of children entered. Two congresses of the United States, two presidents of the United States, believed it to be a national problem, and now the enlightened people of Massachusetts have recorded their conviction that it is a state and not a national problem.

I know little about the textile industry of New England, but if the processes of industry and of economics are governing the textile industry as they are governing in any other industry, I am quite sure they apply in the textile industry. I am inclined to believe that the same interests that control the textile industry in New England control the textile industry in the south and that their whole purpose is to continue the exploiting of child life in those communities where their power still is so great and so strong, and merely go along with a wave of advancement in those communities where they dare not assume a different position.

I am sorry that the question of state right and national rights has been submitted to this convention as an excuse for Massachusetts having defeated that constitutional amendment, for in it I can see but one interpretation, and that is that those who are opposing this constitutional amendment raised the hue and cry of state rights versus federal rights to defeat that great, most wholesome, most heavenly blessing which our nation should enjoy. I sincerely hope when we go out into our communities we shall not be blinded by this fallacious doctrine of state rights and national rights, but do all in our power to see that this constitutional amendment shall be speedily inserted into the national declaration of our great republic.

Delegate J. H. Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor: There is just one aspect of this matter I want to bring out. The report of the Executive Council and the report of the commit-

tee make it clear that the enactment of this constitutional amendment will not in any way control or affect child labor. At the same time the enemies of the measure, those who are interested in exploiting the children, have taken advantage of the fact that the amendment provides an eighteen-year limit for the regulation of child labor and try to convince people that if the amendment is adopted it will prohibit anyone who is under eighteen years of age from doing any useful labor, and particularly do they make that appeal to the farmer.

In Illinois I think we have about as up-to-date an organization in opposition to labor as there is anywhere in the country, and I know of no publication that has in it such distortion of the facts, particularly on that aspect to the question, as has the official publication of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. They are making mis-statements and telling falsehoods in the hope of influencing the Illinois State Legislature against the ratification of the child labor amendment.

I feel sure that the Illinois legislature will ratify the amendment. In the last election the labor movement of our state, in harmony with the plans laid down by the American Federation of Labor, was influential in nominating in the primary and later influential in the election of the governor and a majority of the state senate and house of representatives. I don't think there is any question about the ratification of the amendment, but the enemies of the proposition are going to make a desperate fight.

That amendment will give Congress the power to regulate the employment of boys and girls until they are eighteen years of age, but it does not mean that it will prohibit their employment. It will give them the power, if they see fit to exercise it, to provide that at least if a boy or girl under eighteen years of age is below what you consider the standards in knowledge and education our citizenship should have, to require that the boy or girl, while working, will attend school a certain number of hours.

That is the reason, I think, they are most opposed to the amendment, because Congress will not only enable us in the northern states to require that those under eighteen will be compelled to give a certain amount of their time to acquiring an education, but it necessarily follows they will be compelled to provide the same means for their education in the southern states, and keep the boys and girls out of the factories until after they have reached an age where it will not injure them mentally or physically to work.

Treasurer Tobin: I understand this amendment to the constitution is not finally disposed of in Massachusetts. I understand the legislature has the

power to still pass on this amendment Vice-President Duncan: It has, the referendum was simply to get an expression of opinion.

Treasurer Tobin: I do not quite agree with Vice-President Woll that Massachusetts made this just a state issue; I am more inclined to agree with Vice-President Duncan. It was unfortunate that this question was voted on at a time when there was this general wave of reaction which existed during the recent election. Of all the interests that helped to prepare this bill in the conferences that were being held in Washington and promised their support, I know of no other organization and no other particular group that helped in Massachusetts, or are helping in any other state, to get this amendment ratified with the exception of the labor movement of our country.

If the labor movement desires to amend the constitution you will have to get busy, you will have to do everything in your power to get a sufficient number of states to look at this in the sense in which it was prepared. You must put forth everything that is in you, because the influence of the action in the election in Massachusetts will be injurious to the campaign for this amendment.

There is still hope that if the labor movement in Massachusetts, with the assistance of the Federation, will get to work the amendment may yet be ratified by the legislature of that state. But whether the legislature ratifies it or not the labor movement of our country must put forth every effort to get sufficient states to ratify the amendment. If that is not done the work of the trade union movement for years will be destroyed.

Delegate Barringer, North Carolina State Federation of Labor: I come from a state that has felt the curse of child labor in more ways possibly than a number of you from the northern, western and central states have felt it. We of the south have looked constantly to the great textile centers of the north to help remove the great curse of child labor in our state. I was surprised to learn that a state so far advanced as Massachusetts should raise the issue of state rights.

The legislature of North Carolina failed to ratify this amendment. Upon the final roll call we had only two votes that stood all the way through. This amendment came up in a special session of the legislature. We of the labor movement had been assured by the prominent politicians of the state, from the governor down, that it would not come up at the special session, but would be deferred until the regular session in January. Labor did not even have a chance to lay its plans before the legislature.

We need this amendment in the south and we are justly entitled to

it, and I am sorry, indeed, that a northern state we have been trying to follow as an example has brought up the question of state rights. I was of the opinion that the aristocracy of politics existed only in the southern states — I little dreamt it existed in Massachusetts.

Delegate Green, Arkansas State Federation of Labor: I am from Arkansas, the only state that has ratified the amendment. I am very glad to have heard what has been said. First, permit me to ask for a correction in the report of the Executive Council. Governor Jonathan M. Davis had nothing to do with the ratification. Chief, your personal friend, Thomas C. McCray, for eighteen years in Congress, is the governor of Arkansas, and he has been in accord with us in this matter. He was asked to embrace this in the call for the extraordinary session of the general assembly, and he did so.

In the general assembly we met state rights, we met the profiteer, we met the manufacturer, and I don't care whether the press incorporates this in their report or not, but Dr. George Sands, of the State Farmers' Union, at the instigation of Charles Barrett, denounced us as "reds" and "bolsheviks" in print. Despite that, the amendment was passed in a state that is colossal in its illiteracy, ranking forty-sixth in the column of literacy, but ranking high in other respects.

Our membership in the labor organizations is numerically small, but in ability to grapple with statesmen and near statesmen we have been successful. We have an educational law, we have uniformity of school books, we have a minimum wage, limitation of working hours for women, and we have a child labor law.

As I said, Arkansas is forty-sixth in the literacy column, based largely on our negro population — no black belt, but we have Rastus down there in the proportion of five to one. When you take the negro from our literacy test we rank almost up to Massachusetts. Our Farmers' Union said, "We want no centralization of power," and we said, "Bless God! We don't want it either, because we have got all in Arkansas we need, but North Carolina and South Carolina and Georgia needs us; we will get along, but we want to help the other fellow to get along."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

President Gompers in the chair.

#### PERSONAL RESEARCH FEDERATION

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above

caption, page 80, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee observes that the American Federation of Labor has been identified with the Personal Research Federation since its organization through the auspices of the National Research Council. It is gratifying to learn through this report that "there are now in the making plans to finance the Federation for sustained and active work." Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that the American Federation of Labor continue membership in the Personal Research Federation and participate as actively as possible in the work of the bureau. We furthermore concur in the recommendation that "our representation on the board of governors should urge trade-union representation on those agencies directly concerned with the development of specific research projects."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY SERVICE

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 81, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee fully appreciates the work accomplished through the Information and Publicity Service. Through "Labor Information," issued frequently, and the "News Budget," organized labor receives data, news and information of incalculable value. The need for service of this kind is ever increasing, and it naturally devolves upon the American Federation of Labor to supply not only organized labor but the general public with information regarding the aims, purposes and accomplishments of organized labor.

We concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council that this Information and Publicity Service be continued and expanded where possible. We urge international unions to contribute funds as generously as possible to the support of this work.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 82, the committee reported as follows:

The American Federationist, which is the official publication of the American Federation of Labor, serves a most important purpose in the educational work of the American Federation of Labor. Since the first issue of this important publication it has grown and expanded in usefulness and service. Its editorials, prepared by President Gompers, are inspiring and instructive. At various times special articles written by leaders or organized labor and dealing with special subjects are published in the Federationist. Besides, many men, specialists in the subjects of economy, history and legislation, have contributed documents and essays which are of great intellectual and historical value. By this process the American Federationist has become the medium through which authentic information is distributed and disseminated to the membership of organized labor.

Your committee commends the work of the American Federationist. We recommend that it be more widely read and more generously supported by the members of organized labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### A. F. OF L. WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 82, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee fully appreciates the valuable work performed by the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service. It is issued each week and furnished to all labor papers free of charge. In this way it is fulfilling a need which is imperative.

We recommend that it be continued

and that the labor press avail itself of the information and service thus supplied.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### THE LABOR PRESS

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 82, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee notes with feelings of gratification that "the Labor Press of America has improved steadily through the years." The steady growth and expanding influence of the Labor Press is apparent. As the instrumentality through which news of interest to labor is transmitted, the Labor Press occupies a position of commanding importance. Through its accurate news service it influences public sentiment in favor of organized labor and serves to create a healthy public opinion toward organized labor by a presentation of facts unobtainable through other publications and other sources.

The scope of the work of the Labor Press may be better understood when we take into consideration the fact that there are in the United States approximately three hundred monthly, weekly and daily publications, with an aggregate circulation of millions of copies.

The Labor Press deserves and should secure the unstinted support of organized labor and its friends. The service it can render the cause of organized labor will be in proportion to the financial and moral support it receives from the members of organized labor.

We recommend that the bona fide Labor Press of our country be given a full measure of support.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m. an adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 22.

## Sixth Day—Saturday Morning Session

El Paso, Tex., Nov. 22, 1924.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by Vice-President Duffy.

### Absentees

M. W. Martin, Shamp, W. E. Bryan, G. Marshall, Thos. Kennedy, Yarrow, M. P. Higgins, John P. Burke, E. W. Sullivan, W. M. Collins, Thos. P. Reynolds, R. H. Johnson, Walden, J. H. Walker, Freeman, Drum, Barry, Finley, Iglesias, Short, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral Gentry, Hughes, Costello, Scanlan, Franck, Ferns, Spaug, Laylor, Eower, Hourigan, R. T. Wood, Covert Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Abrams, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, A. Lee, Williams, Camous, Brasfield, George Browne, Portway.

Secretary Morrison made an announcement concerning the invitation extended by the wife of Congressman Hudspeth to attend the tea to be given at her home in honor of the visiting ladies on Saturday afternoon.

A communication from the Oratorio Society of the First Presbyterian Church, announcing the presentation of a special program by the society in compliment to the delegates and visitors, on Sunday evening, was received. The following telegrams were read:

Carson, Nev., Nov. 21, 1924.  
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, El Paso, Tex.:

The Executive Board in session sends best wishes to the forty-fourth convention. May it see our hopes fulfilled, and may it be rich in the successful accomplishments of labor's highest aims!

LILLIE M. BARBOUR,  
Secretary-Treasurer, Nevada State Federation of Labor, Virginia City, Nevada.

New York, N. Y., Nov. 21, 1924.  
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention, El Paso, Texas.

Venezuelan labor union of United States, organization of workers compelled to function outside our country by the ruthless power of the dictatorship established there, heartily greets convention of American workers, envying them their freedom to organize and agitate for justice, and wishes it the most complete success in its strug-

gle to extend this freedom and enrich this justice. We confidently await from your generous humanitarian spirit that you will continue to extend beyond the boundaries of your nation your endeavors for popular liberty and equity, and in so doing carry on the work so righteously undertaken at your Portland convention for the emancipation of our people from the tyranny under which it groans. We are first and only bona fide association of Venezuelan workers. We believe Brother Santiago Iglesias of Porto Rico will be glad to testify as to our character. Address 29 Willow Street, Brooklyn.

R. YRIARTE, Vice-President; LUCIANO SUAREZ, Secretary; L. HERRERA, Treasurer; RAFAEL DIAZ, Secretary; B. SUAREZ, President.

President Gompers in the chair.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

#### Library

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 82, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with satisfaction that "considerable progress has been made in developing the library of the American Federation of Labor into a standard reference library of literature covering the history and work of labor." This is an initial work which will add greatly to the educational facilities of the American Federation of Labor. Through the establishment and development of a library valuable information of interest will be accumulated, not only for present day needs, but also for the use of posterity.

Your committee is highly pleased with the work which has thus far been performed in creating and establishing a library at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. We recommend that the work of creating and extending the literary advantages

which such a library offers be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 83, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council advises, in this section of its report, that "the second volume of the American Federation of Labor History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book was on the press at the writing of their report." Your committee has learned, since the preparation of the report of the Executive Council and the convening of this convention, that this second volume is off the press and available for use and distribution. Those who secured the first volume can fully appreciate the importance and value of the second volume. It is a book which contains historical information concerning important matters considered and acted upon by the American Federation of Labor for the years 1919-1923, inclusive. It has been edited in an able manner, is handsomely bound, and should be owned and read by all members of organized labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Labor Day and Labor Sunday**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 98, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee directs special attention to this section of the report of the Executive Council. It deals with the subject of Labor Day and Labor Sunday in a most interesting and convincing way. The Executive Council has pointed out, in this report, that either through neglect or failure to properly appreciate the significance and importance of Labor Day and Labor Sunday the workers are not observing Labor Day and Labor Sunday in an appropriate and impressive manner. Labor Day is Labor's holiday. It should be observed in a fitting manner so that the cause of Labor may

be dignified and its interests promoted.

We most heartily concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council and we recommend that local unions, city and state bodies, and international unions carry out the advice and instruction given by the Executive Council regarding the observance of Labor Day and Labor Sunday.

We further recommend that a copy of that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "Labor Day and Labor Sunday," and the committee's recommendation relative thereto be sent to all international unions, state federations, local central bodies and federal unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Provisions for Guaranteeing Democratic Administration of Sterling-Reed Education Bill**

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate F. G. Stecker of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its St. Paul convention in 1918 instructed its Executive Council to initiate and support federal legislation appropriating one hundred million dollars to be apportioned by a federal department of education, if one is created, or that failing, by a federal board upon which organized labor and education shall be represented, such fund to apply only to the payment of salaries of public school teachers in a state (including teachers of physical education and of English to adults under public school supervision) after such state shall have satisfied the federal department or special board that adequate standards are to be maintained and shall have appropriated an equal amount; and

WHEREAS, The national education bill now before congress, known as the Sterling-Reed bill, provides for a department of education and welfare, and is in danger of being reported out of committee without appropriation for state aid, and provides for a national advisory council of state superintendents of education, and fails to make adequate provision for the guarantee of equalization of educational opportunities; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that education is so basic in our democracy that it is entitled to be placed on a parity with the departments of war, agriculture, commerce or labor, so that it may receive the consideration it warrants; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that an appro-



priation of one hundred million dollars a year for state aid is necessary for the purpose of equalizing educational opportunities, of removing illiteracy, of promoting physical education, of improving teaching and encouraging educational research; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that the National Advisory Council, if it is to be created, should be so constituted as to be as widely representative as possible; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes in equality of educational opportunities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their influence for legislation to embody the following provisions:

1. A department of education in charge of a secretary of education,

2. An appropriation of one hundred million dollars a year or more for the purposes of the bill,

3. A National Advisory Council to be created upon which both organized labor and education shall be represented,

4. The law to be administered and the funds appropriated on the principle of equal educational opportunity for all persons or groups within the states.

Your committee recommends that the fourth Whereas be amended by striking out the words "appropriation of one hundred million dollars a year" and substituting therefor the words "adequate appropriation," making the amended Whereas read as follows:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that an adequate appropriation for state aid is necessary for the purpose of equalizing educational opportunities, of removing illiteracy, of promoting physical education, of improving teaching and encouraging educational research;

Your committee further recommends that the third provision of this proposition be amended by striking out the words "and education," making the amended section read as follows:

A National Advisory Council to be created upon which organized labor shall be represented.

The amended resolution reads:

**Provisions for Guaranteeing Democratic Administration for Sterling-Reed Education Bill**

Resolution No. 31 — By Delegate F. G. Stecker of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its St. Paul conven-

tion in 1918 instructed its Executive Council to initiate and support federal legislation appropriating one hundred million dollars to be apportioned by a federal department of education, if one is created, or that failing, by a federal board upon which organized labor and education shall be represented, such fund to apply only to the payment of salaries of public school teachers in a state (including teachers of physical education and of English to adults under public school supervision) after such state shall have satisfied the federal department or special board that adequate standards are to be maintained and shall have appropriated an equal amount; and

WHEREAS, The national education bill now before Congress, known as the Sterling-Reed bill, provides for a department of education and welfare, and is in danger of being reported out of committee without appropriation for state aid, and provides for a national advisory council of state superintendents of education, and falls to make adequate provision for the guarantee of equalization of educational opportunities; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that education is so basic in our democracy that it is entitled to be placed on a parity with the departments of war, agriculture, commerce or labor, so that it may receive the consideration it warrants; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that an adequate appropriation for state aid is necessary for the purpose of equalizing educational opportunities, of removing illiteracy, of promoting physical education, and encouraging educational research; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that the National Advisory Council, if it is to be created, should be so constituted as to be as widely representative as possible; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes in equality of educational opportunities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their influence for legislation to embody the following provisions:

1. A department of education in charge of a secretary of education,

2. An appropriation of one hundred million dollars a year or more for the purposes of the bill,

3. A National Advisory Council to be created upon which organized labor shall be represented,

4. The law to be administered and the funds appropriated on the principle of equal educational opportunity

for all persons or groups within the states.

The committee recommends that this resolution as amended be concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, stated that he was in entire sympathy with the report of the committee and believed it wise and proper that such a resolution be adopted at this time. Continuing, he said, in part:

The Sterling-Reed bill is a measure that has been very carefully considered by all the people of the country who are interested in education. It has the approval of all the teachers' organizations in the United States, beginning with the National Education Association and going down through the state organizations. It has been approved by every organized body before which it has been properly presented. It does not have serious opposition from those who are not in favor of state control of educational institutions.

The bill does not at any time or any place or under any circumstances undertake to substitute federal control for state control of the public schools. The bill specifically states in each of its several appropriating sections that the money so appropriated shall be expended under the authority of and in conformity to the state laws or district regulations in each case, and finally the bill specifically says that nothing in this act contained shall be construed or applied to bring about the substitution of federal control for state control.

The framers of the bill and the advocates of the bill are firm in the belief that the matter of education is a matter for state administration, that the children of the United States wherever situated, or in whatever grade of society, are entitled to be given the very best possible educational training at the expense of the public.

The purpose of the bill is not to build up a group of intellectuals. If that was the purpose of the plan we might far better abandon it. The thing is to establish equality of opportunity for education.

Vice-President Green, chairman of

the committee: It might be well for me to make this brief explanation regarding the resolution as amended by the committee. The resolution simply carries forward the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor which has been repeatedly given to the Sterling-Reed bill.

In its original form it places the convention on record as demanding from Congress or suggesting to Congress that at the enactment of the measure the Congress would make an appropriation amounting to \$100,000,000. The committee had no scientific information or details before it that would advise it fully as to whether or not we were justified in demanding that an appropriation of \$100,000,000 be made. If we were asked why we asked for \$100,000,000 we could not give an intelligent answer to such an inquiry, so the committee amended the resolution to provide that the convention recommend that Congress make adequate appropriation of funds with which to enable the department of education to carry forward its work in the event the Sterling-Reed bill became a law.

The other amendment that the committee made was to strike out the recommendation by this convention that education be represented upon the advisory board. We felt that what we were concerned in primarily was that organized labor be represented upon the advisory board. We felt that if we went so far as to ask that organized labor be thus represented we were going about as far as we could consistently.

I understand the resolution is substantially the same as resolutions adopted by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Stecker, Teachers: As the introducer of this resolution I wish to emphasize that the purpose of it was not so much to promote the Sterling-Reed bill as it was to insist upon certain safeguards. Since 1918, when the American Federation of Labor first endorsed the idea of the National Department of Education and an annual appropriation for state aid to the

amount of \$100,000,000, much has developed in our national political life. It brings us to a place where we must either withdraw the endorsement of this bill or provide for certain safeguards.

The purpose of this resolution is to insist upon those safeguards: First, that it be a department, if at all, of education—not a department of education and welfare, as insisted upon by both President Harding and President Coolidge; second, that there shall be an appropriation of \$100,000,000 in the terms of the resolution of six years ago which would mean less than \$100,000,000 in the same currency today.

There is a very strong effort being made to bring this out without the appropriation. Without the appropriation the whole thing would lose its force, and I am advised that the effort is being made now to compromise with the President and have him withdraw his insistence upon the department of welfare being included in return for the omission of the appropriation. I am in agreement with the committee's recommendation that the \$100,000,000 be left in the terms of "an adequate appropriation."

President Gompers: At this stage the secretary will please read a telegram apropos to the subject now under consideration:

Washington, Nov. 22, 1924.  
Samuel Gompers, El Paso, Texas:

Greetings from the National Education Association to the American Federation of Labor, and congratulations on your continued stand for the rights of childhood, shown in your endorsement of the child labor amendment to the constitution. Your great organization is the one above all others to offset the appeal which is being made to ignorance and prejudice.

J. W. CRABTREE, Secretary

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers: May I interrupt the further report of the committee by saying that we have with us this morning a gentleman who is a representative of the Secretary of Agriculture of the Republic of Mexico, Mr. Jose Miguel Bejarano. He represents Mr. R. P. De Negri. He has an an-

nouncement to make and a request to submit, and I ask that he be given the opportunity for a few moments to present the matter to this convention.

**ADDRESS OF MR. JOSE MIGUEL  
BEJARANO**

**Representing the Secretary of Agriculture of the Republic of Mexico**

Mr. Chairman and comrades: I represent the Secretary of Agriculture of Mexico and I am a delegate to the convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor on the other side. My only announcement was to say that I consider it a great honor to be here today, and I ask you to pardon my intrusion.

I just want to say a few words about the agricultural conditions in Mexico at the present time. Mexico was hardly developed agriculturally, and during the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz the country was forced from the beginnings of the agricultural stage into the industrial stage. About ninety per cent of the population were in the hands of capital, under the system of peonage and the sweatshop. The revulsion from capital, then from the church, from capital, then from the church, and now from ignorance.

At the beginning we started to give back to the Indians a piece of land. Anyone requesting a piece of land to cultivate was entitled to all he could handle. Those are not lands we are taking away from anybody, but lands belonging to the government. It was not only the question of giving land, but a question of giving agricultural implements and means of support until the harvest was obtained.

Then the question of education. We began by starting agricultural schools and up to date we have schools second to none in the world. We have in conjunction with the Department of Education rural schools, or rudimentary schools, where the principles of free, primary education are given.

Then the most important thing we have is the missionary teachers. Where the church missionary teachers used to go in days gone by under Spanish domination, now the missionary teachers go. The working men in Mexico were in exceptionally good condition to become educated, because they were living in cities. They are now perfectly well organized. We have about 1,200,000 persons organized in Mexico, about ten per cent of our population.

It may be of interest for you to know that in Mexico City alone we have more teachers in proportion to the population than New York City. The problem we have before us is to educate those masses and to educate the Indians, and the Federation of La-

bor of Mexico is taking that subject well in hand. Every laborer in Mexico who is educated is endeavoring to give his share to the education of the Indians. Of the 16,000,000 people in our country, there are only three or four million of actual consuming power; only about that number wear shoes. Just imagine, when they come into our system of civilization what buying power they will have.

It is extremely foolish to try and make Mexico an industrial nation. We are still in the agricultural stage. We should develop agriculturally and get our manufactured products from those who are much further advanced. That is one of the main reasons why Mexico is one of the best customers the United States ever had. There was one year when Mexico imported from the United States more than all continental South America combined.

I thank you for your attention, and I am at your disposal.

**President Gompers:** In the Pan-American Federation of Labor activities we have had a representative of the labor movement of Santo Domingo in the person of Mr. J. E. Kunhardt, who has been exceedingly active and is still, but who is denied the opportunity of being with us to convey a fraternal message. He has asked, in the name of the labor movement of Santo Domingo, that Dr. F. Ellis Cambiaso, representing him at this convention, speak to you for a few moments. I have the honor of presenting him to you.

**ADDRESS OF DR. F. ELLIS  
CAMBIASO**

**Representing the Santo Domingo Labor  
Movement**

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: It is a high honor to bring a message of greetings from the Dominican Republic, and especially from the working men. The Dominican Republic is really indebted to the American Federation of Labor because you have done a great deal to advance conditions in Santo Domingo. Our debt of gratitude to you is unlimited.

The condition of the labor movement in my country is really chaotic. By this I mean that all the laws that could protect the workers are not put into effect. For instance, we have the same problem that the United States has with the Asiatics, but we have it with the negroes, with the Africans from Haiti and the small islands that belong to Great Britain — Barbados, Santa Cruz and other small islands. These workmen continue to work for fifteen or twenty cents a day. The

Dominican working man cannot meet this competition.

Besides, these working men who come from Barbados and other small, British islands and the neighboring state of Haiti, save money from that wage of fifteen or twenty cents. It seems impossible. They lead a kind of a primitive life and they don't leave any good thing for my country. We want to bar them and we have barred their entrance by our immigration law, but this law has not been respected, this law has not been put into effect,

The assistance given to us by the American Federation of Labor, as I said before, has been great, but we need further assistance from you from the humanitarian point of view, and I think if you people could visit Santo Domingo and study the situation in our country you would really feel sympathetic for our fellow working men.

Then there is the American steamship company, the Clyde Line, which operates about twelve freighters and two to four passenger boats a month, and in going to Santo Domingo they take people from these British possessions, and in going back to the States they leave them with us, and they don't utilize our services at all. We have made representations to avoid that condition, but we have been helpless.

So much about the wage earners and this steamship line. Now I must tell you that working men's associations are prohibited. Freedom of speech is prohibited, too. Under these circumstances there is hardly any opportunity to do anything for my country. Our leader, Mr. Kunhardt, is a tireless man, just as much so as Mr. Gompers. He has tried to do everything, but his efforts find no sympathy from the politicians. We don't want to be politicians, we don't want to have any minglings with the political parties of my country; we want to make real progress, we want to develop an organization as good in proportion to our population as you have. We want to develop our labor movement in such a way that in the future, say in ten or fifteen years, we will be able to carry out all of our ideals. I mean to put into practice our good laws that are not now obeyed or respected, laws favoring the development of our working men.

Mr. Gompers is an idol in Santo Domingo. Mr. Matthew Woll, Mr. Frank Morrison and Mr. Hartwell Brunson are also idols in my country. We like the American Federation of Labor, we need it, and we are really indebted to you. As Abraham Lincoln was the emancipator of the negro, so Samuel Gompers is the emancipator of the working man. The American Federation of Labor is the foremost institution in this country, it is the foremost institution in the Latin-American countries.

and I think it is also the foremost institution in the world. The American Federation of Labor is paving the way for the Latin-American republics, you are making it possible for the Latin-American working men to civilize themselves and to come into a condition like yours.

I want to convey again the greetings and the congratulations of the Dominican working men, as well as the whole Dominican Republic. Any one of you who would come voluntarily or on a special mission to my country would be very welcome and you will be made to feel at home. Anything that we can afford we will give it to you.

I feel really honored to have been permitted to bring this message of greeting to you.

**President Gompers:** The convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor still in session on the other side of the river at Juarez, Mexico, sends one of its representatives as an ambassador to the convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session in El Paso. Mr. Haberman has a special message from that convention to us here today, and I have the pleasure of presenting him.

**MR. ROBERTO HABERMAN,**  
(Representing the Mexican Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman and brothers, last night we introduced at our convention a resolution by Brother Trevino, who is our general secretary, and the resolution was passed unanimously. The resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has given unequivocal proofs of solidarity to the Mexican labor movement and has defended energetically the Mexican Federation of Labor from all the attacks from which we have been victims in the United States, reciprocating loyally to this noble attitude; be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Mexican Federation of Labor will oppose all attacks which the enemies of the A. F. of L. will attempt to undertake against it in any part whatsoever of the Mexican Republic.

Convention Hall, Juarez, Chihuahua, November 21, 1924.

Unanimously adopted.

Mr. Haberman: This, brothers, refers to attempts that may be made in Mexico by various groups that have been the enemies both of the American Federation of Labor and the or-

ganized labor movement of the world to operate from Mexico.

**Vice-President Woll:** Mr. Chairman, I move you that the president of this Federation convey to the Mexican Federation of Labor our appreciation for this declaration of loyalty to the ideals of democracy and pledge of support and co-operation with the American Federation of Labor in the promoting of the ideals of trade unionism which, after all, is the beginning of the Monroe Doctrine of American labor to apply to the western hemisphere.

The motion was seconded and adopted by a unanimous rising vote.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

#### To Assure the Maintenance of Labor Representation in the Supervision of Vocational Education

**Resolution No. 53 —** By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is pending in the congress of the United States a legislative proposal known as the Sterling-Reed resolution, seeking to create the office of secretary of education in the president's cabinet for the purpose of promoting education and to afford through federal effort greater and equal educational opportunities; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the Federal Board of Vocational Education created under the Smith-Hughes law in 1917, a body comprising representatives of employes, employers and farmers, and which board, in the early period of vocational school development, functioned splendidly because of its representative character, is to be discontinued and its functions absorbed by the proposed secretary of education; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in considering the Sterling-Reed or similar resolutions, seek to maintain the representative form of supervision of federal activities relative to vocational education, and that every effort be made to secure real labor representation on the Federal Board of Vocational Education.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Ratification of Child Labor  
Amendment**

Resolution No. 13 — By Delegates Thomas H. McMahon and Sara G. Conboy, of the United Textile Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States is now before the several states for ratification or rejection; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to have three-quarters of the forty-eight states ratify same before it becomes a law; and

WHEREAS, Many attempts are being made to destroy or kill this very humane amendment to our laws by powerful interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this forty-fourth convention of the A. F. of L., pledge our solemn word to use our every effort to place on the federal statute books a law which will compel backward child labor law states to observe common decency toward children in mill, mine and factory.

Covered by report of committee on child labor constitutional amendment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Schmal: The committee will be prepared to report later on other matters assigned to it.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON  
SHORTER WORKDAY**

Delegate Keough, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates William H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, William Larkin, James F. Murray, of the International Association of Machinists.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Education.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Proposing Endorsement of Bill for  
Extension of Time for Government  
to Consider Recommendations  
for Awards of Honor to  
World War Veterans**

Resolution No. 28 — By Delegates Jerome Jones, Georgia Federation of Labor, and Robert E. Gann, Atlanta Federation of Trades:

WHEREAS, In April, 1923, our government ceased to consider recommendations for the award of medals of honor, distinguished service medals, distinguished service crosses, to veterans of the world war;

WHEREAS, Senator Harris of Georgia introduced bill S. 1866 during the last Congress, for the extension of time one (1) year, for the consideration of proper recommendations;

WHEREAS, This bill was read twice and referred to the committee on military affairs, but could not get the endorsement of the Secretary of War;

WHEREAS, The passage of this bill will not cost the government any appropriation, but will recognize a just debt of gratitude to those who served with distinction and valor in time of her dire need;

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always stood behind all just legislation, and especially felt a close relationship for fairness to the soldiers of the world war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor indorse this measure, through the legislative committee, and do all in its power to facilitate justice to those who served the nation; that a copy of the resolutions be sent Senator Harris of Georgia.

Your committee reports favorably on this resolution, and recommends concurrence therein.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Saturday Half Holiday**

Resolution No. 55 — By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Straup, R. L. Riter, T. Grant Woodward, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Galnor, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Stewart, Jas. P. McKeon, John Fitzgerald, M. J. Hines, National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Saturday half-holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employes and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in private industrial pursuits and in state and municipal governments; and

WHEREAS, In some instances notable progress has recently been made in applying this beneficial policy in federal activities, with resultant bene-

fits to the public and the employes; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated government employes for the purpose of having the Saturday half holiday observance in government establishments extended to benefit every possible worker.

Your committee reports favorably on this resolution and recommends concurrence therein.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Wilson in the Chair.

#### **To Extend the Forty-Four Hour Week and Saturday Half Holiday**

Resolution No. 68 — By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, International Association of Machinists: .

**WHEREAS**, The forty-four hour week and the Saturday half holiday working schedules have been established throughout the country in many large industries, and accepted by progressive employers; and

**WHEREAS**, The movement for the forty-four hour week was endorsed by the 1919 convention of the A. F. of L., the Metal Trades Department, and District 44 of the International Association of Machinists, and by the sixteenth annual convention of the International Association of Machinists, held in Rochester, N. Y., in 1920; and

**WHEREAS**, Public opinion demands that the United States government be a model employer, at least to the extent of taking the lead in the movement for the shortening of the hours of labor; and

**WHEREAS**, For a period of thirty-nine or forty years the navy yards and arsenals have been operating on an eight-hour working day schedule; and

**WHEREAS**, The extension of the Saturday half holiday the year round for employes of the United States navy yards and arsenals would have a tendency to stabilize employment and confer upon that group of workmen a measure of progress to which they are entitled; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the city of El Paso, go on record as favoring the establishment of the above schedule; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to use their efforts in

bringing about the establishment of these conditions.

Your committee reports favorably on this resolution and recommends concurrence therein.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE**

Your committee, in addition to its report upon the resolutions submitted to it, believe that the subject of the eight-hour day is of such importance to the American trade union movement that we would be negligent of our duty if we failed to incorporate some thoughts upon the general subject.

The eight-hour day which exists in America was secured through complete reliance upon trade unionism, its principles, policies and methods. We created a public sentiment in its favor through educational methods. We secured it through friendly conferences with employers, and where employers were obdurate, when they refused to recognize the moral, social and industrial value of the eight-hour day, we did not ask the state to grant it to us, we established it through the militant strength of our trade union movement, we collectively refused to work more than eight hours.

While the eight-hour day has been an objective of our movement, it is not the final goal which we are endeavoring to reach.

It is not the minimum but the maximum—eight hours' labor in any twenty-four should be the limit of time devoted to production. There are processes in industry and transportation which place such a strain upon the worker that the hours of labor should be less than eight.

The records of industry, and of our own experiences, prove that under normal conditions the wage earners working eight hours per day can produce not only all that is required for the country's social, financial and national welfare, but in addition produce all that is required for the international markets where the products of American labor are sold.

During the war, when five million of our men in their prime were taken

from industry to follow their country's flag, we produced a far greater volume of manufactured products than ever in the nation's history. With the return of these defenders of the country's safety to civil life and to industry we have within the borders of the United States and Canada a capacity for production far beyond the nation's demands or those of international markets. The development of giant power, the increasing inventions of labor-saving machinery, the more intelligent co-operation of management with organized labor, all create a condition which makes long hours of burdensome toil no longer necessary.

We are entering a period where every workman should have more time for self development and education so that he may more fully and more effectively take his part in the development of social conditions which will make the lives of those who will follow us more generous in providing for that human happiness so eloquently referred to in the Declaration of Independence.

Delegate Keough: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of the committee, which is signed by all the members:

M. J. KEOUGH, chairman,  
E. J. MCGIVERN, secretary,  
E. J. GAINOR,  
THOMAS P. HYLAND,  
WADE SHURTLEFF,  
WM. T. STRAUP,  
H. J. CONWAY,  
SAMUEL PERLMUTTER,  
PETER BEISEL,  
HARRY SCHWARZER,  
CHARLES F. SCOTT,  
JOHN C. HARDING,  
C. E. MAKE,  
GEO. JONES,  
THOMAS KENNEDY,

Committee on Shorter Work Day.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Mr. Salvador Campa Siliceo, artistic director of a dramatic troupe composed of members of the Mexican Federation of Labor, extended an invitation to the officers and delegates to attend a per-

formance to be given at 8:30 o'clock Saturday night at the Estrella theater in their honor. The invitation, which was elaborated upon by Mr. Humberto Ruebla, stated that the theme of the drama to be presented had to do with trade unionism.

The invitation was accepted.

President Gompers: The Governor of the State of San Luis Potosi is a delegate to the Mexican Federation of Labor. I have the honor to present him to you for a few minutes' address.

**ADDRESS OF AURELIA MANRIQUE,  
(Governor of San Luis Potosi, Mexico)**

Mr. Gompers, Friends and Comrades: It is with a sense of awkwardness that I begin to speak, but I am quite sure you will be kind enough to excuse my poor English. I have only been in your country once, and that for a few weeks four years ago. I am going to tell you something about our Mexican problem, and I will speak quite honestly and frankly.

I come to greet you and to thank you for the generous aid you have given to our Mexican movement in the last few years. When President Obregon began to do something for the Mexican workers and for the people it was the American Federation of Labor and President Gompers who lent him a helping hand. Later, when De la Huerta rebelled against our revolutionary government it was President Gompers and the American Federation of Labor who again lent us a helping hand. We cannot forget this, and I come here only to thank you for that attitude of yours, which is a generous and friendly one.

I am now the governor of San Luis Potosi, which is one of our states. I have endeavored to realize some of our socialist principles. I have done something in favor of the workers; I have done something against alcohol. Our state is the first prohibition state in Mexico. There are no saloons there now. Some one must begin. I remember that before passing your Volstead Act you began the fight by counties, by states, and later a national bill was passed—the Volstead Act. I realize that in Mexico we can do something of the same kind.

I want you to be our friends. In a general way you Americans do not know us and we Mexicans do not know you. The first thing necessary to love each other is to know each other. That is why we Mexicans would be very glad to have you come to Mexico City on the occasion when President Calles takes the oath of office. I know Mr. Haberman has also invited you. We all want you, and, to speak a little



slangy, we dare you to come to Mexico City.

You may be sure, friends and comrades, that your great men are also ours. Washington is not only yours, Washington is also a hero, a man of humanity, a man of ours also. Abraham Lincoln, or better, Abe Lincoln, is a teacher of ours, also, and a great man of ours. Lincoln gave liberty to some million slaves. We had slavery in Mexico for a hundred years, real slavery. In books it was said they were free, but there were real slaves there. In the fields the worker was a real slave whose wages were ten, twenty and thirty cents a day. The Mexican revolution, Obregon, Calles, we all together have endeavored to give liberty to these people.

We understand no progress is possible without liberty, without freedom, and what we Mexican revolutionists want today in Mexico is to give Mexicans a country, and only freedom and liberty can give a country, can give happiness and progress to that country.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Gompers, friends and comrades, I thank you.

President Gompers: May I take the liberty to present you, Mr. Soto y Gama, of the Agrarian party of Mexico.

**ADDRESS OF SOTO Y GAMA**  
(President of the Agrarian Party  
of Mexico)

Mr. Gompers and Delegates—Greetings: I shall use as the basis for my speech a sentence used by Brother Manrique, in which he said that true love between nations must be based on mutual understanding.

For just a few minutes I shall explain to you what I consider our grave problem, the agrarian problem. The problem of Mexico is so different from the problems of other countries it is hard to understand. In almost all countries of the world we have only two classes of people, the rich and the poor; in Mexico we have three classes, the rich, the poor and the still poorer class. That is the class that has been poorer than any other class for hundreds of years, the indigenous race, or the peasants.

This will also help you to understand why we had to have violent revolutions in Mexico. In Mexico the peasants lived in a state of feudalism which has been forgotten in Europe and was always unknown in North America. Now we have a government that will prevent a new feudalism being imposed upon the peasants and we will not need to have further revolutions.

I will give you an example of what that feudalism meant to us up to 1910. This is what I saw. In 1910, when the revolution of Madero began, which was the first revolution against Diaz, in a large hacienda, one day a peon was plowing a field with a team of oxen.

One of the oxen was not working as well as the other. The foreman asked why, and the peon said the ox was young and could not pull as well as the other. The foreman said: "I think the trouble is due to your laziness. Let me try it."

He got rid of the ox and harnessed the peon to the plow with the other ox. Naturally the peon could not pull as well as the ox. In those days they drove the oxen with a long stick that had a steel point in one end. He drove the peon with the steel point until he fell down. Then he was beaten. A group of peasants objected and they were all beaten and punished. When the foreman went through the town he was looked upon as one of the respectable citizens of that community.

That is not all. The peon had no liberties whatever, neither did the members of his family. If there were any good looking women in the peon's family they became the common property of the owner, his sons and the foremen of the ranches.

The same thing applies to the industrial workers. There was no such thing as the right to strike in 1906 and 1907. When we had the first big strike of textile workers in Orizaba, Diaz sent his soldiers with guns and they shot so many of the strikers they had to load the bodies on flat cars and dump them in the sea. You can understand why we had to use violence to destroy that condition.

I would like to ask you whether you know of any country in the world, no matter how pacifist it might be, that would not have used force against such terrible conditions? But now that through force we have obtained such conditions for the industrial workers as are contained in Article 123 of the constitution, and for the field workers in Article 27 of the constitution, we feel we can take our place with the rest of the nations and through law and not violence carry on our progress.

If there are any more armed troubles in Mexico they will not be started by the workers, they will be started by our enemies, the reactionaries. Mexico today is safe. Mexico today even invites foreign capital to come and work here within the laws of Mexico. You can rest assured from now on of a lawful and gradual progress of Mexico, the same as the progress of all other civilized countries. I thank you.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON  
BOYCOTTS**

Delegate Farrington, Mine Workers, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

**Conference to Adjust Differences With  
Whitehead-Hoag Company**

Resolution No. 8—By James O'Con-

nell, of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The Whitehead-Hoag Company of Newark, N. J., manufacturers of badges, buttons and novelties, reduced wages in June of 1921, March, 1922, and again in April, 1922, affecting their employes affiliated with the following international unions: Metal Polishers' International Union, International Association of Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, Iron Trade Council of Newark and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, This firm was declared antagonistic to organized labor by the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This firm has continued to run an open shop, and have been and are now employing strikebreakers; and

WHEREAS, This firm is constantly endeavoring to convince the general public that they are fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The facts are that the only agreement this firm has is with the Allied Printing Trades; and

WHEREAS, This firm is now sending out to the trade letters claiming they are still a union concern for the reason that they are entitled to the use of the Allied Printing Trades label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the Executive Council to call a conference of representatives of all unions involved and representatives of the Allied Printing Trades, for the purpose of trying to bring about an adjustment of the grievances.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution after striking out all the language after the word "grievances" in the ninth line of the last paragraph.

Following is the language omitted by the report of the committee:

"and in case of the firm refusing to settle, that all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to refuse the use of their label in the future to the Whitehead-Hoag Company of Newark, N. J."

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, asked what assistance the resolution would give the fair firms. He stated the report would still allow the Whitehead-Hoag Company to continue the false impression that they are fair.

Chairman Farrington: Representatives appeared before the committee and advised us that to withdraw from

the Whitehead-Hoag Company the label of the Allied Printing Trades would mean nothing more than that a considerable number of the members of those organizations would be thrown out of employment for the reason that the company would take its printing to nonunion shops.

Those representing the Allied Printing Trades feel that so long as that much of the work of that concern is being done by organized labor nothing would be accomplished by taking the label away from them; it would simply mean that their printing would be done by nonunion print shops. Influenced by those appearing before the committee, the committee decided to strike out that part of the resolution asking for the withdrawal of the Allied Printing Trades label.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion to adopt the report of the committee. Delegate Koveleski asked for a division. The request was complied with, and after the votes had been counted Secretary Morrison announced that 90 votes had been cast in favor of the report of the committee and 65 votes against it.

Vice-President Wilson: The report of the committee is adopted.

#### To Declare Holland Furnace Company Unfair

Resolution No. 11 — By delegation representing International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Holland Furnace Company's foundry in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is on strike; and

WHEREAS, The efforts to organize the Holland Furnace Company's foundry in Holland, Mich., met with the company's bitter, active hostility; and

WHEREAS, In connection with this effort to organize members of the Molders' Union were mobbed, its organizers driven from the city by mob action, local members assaulted, and the son of one of the members kidnaped; and

WHEREAS, The city authorities, apparently dominated by the Holland Furnace Company, declined to take any steps to protect the citizens of Holland, Mich., who were members of the International Molders' Union; and

WHEREAS, Every effort to bring about a friendly understanding with the Holland Furnace Company has resulted in failure, the last statement made by the company to the president

of the International Molders' Union being that they would "continue to operate an open shop;" and

WHEREAS, A number of State Federations of Labor and a large number of Central Labor Councils have declared the Holland Furnace Company to be unfair, because of its attitude toward the International Molders' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare that the Holland Furnace Company is unfair because of its open, active hostility to the International Molders' Union, and that the officers of this department be instructed to convey this information to all of the affiliated organizations, after the Executive Council has failed to negotiate a settlement.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution after amending same by adding the words "after the Executive Council has failed to negotiate a settlement."

Chairman Farrington: I will say by way of explanation that the resolution asks that the convention declare this concern as being unfair without any further parley or delay, or without anybody making any further effort to negotiate a settlement. The committee concurs with the qualification that before the firm is declared on the unfair list the Executive Council endeavor to negotiate a settlement. Failing to do so, that the firm be declared as being on the unfair list.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Protest of Metal Polishers Against Attitude of the Eugene Berninghaus Company, Cincinnati, Ohio**

Resolution No. 29.—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Eugene Berninghaus Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, manufacturers of barber chairs and distributors of barber supplies, did deliberately and maliciously violate and abrogate their union agreement with the International Metal Polishers' Union No. 68, said signed agreement having ten months to run, and declared for the open shop by discharging all union polishers, buffers and platers on but five minutes' notice, and is now sending their work to nonunion shops to be finished; and

WHEREAS, Every effort toward a settlement by this firm has been rejected; the committee from Local No. 68 acting; a committee from the Metal

Polishers' International Union, consisting of the international president, general secretary and officers of the local union also met with the flat refusal; a committee including the international organizer and business agent of the Barbers' International Union was turned down, and the efforts of the grievance committee of the Central Labor Union of Cincinnati met a like fate; and

WHEREAS, On Saturday, September 6, James Shanessy, president of the Barbers' International Union, requested a conference with the international officers of the Barbers' Union and the Berninghaus Company; this was also refused; and

WHEREAS, This company openly stated that "dollars and cents was their aim, they cared not how their employes or their wives or children lived, just so long as they made greater profits," and were frank enough to say that they would be able to make greater profits with the work done in nonunion shops and they proposed to keep those profits themselves; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare this firm antagonistic to organized labor, and that all national and international unions, state branches, city centrals, local trade and federal unions, be so notified, after the Executive Council has failed to negotiate a settlement.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution after adding the words "after the Executive Council has failed to negotiate a settlement."

The report of the committee was adopted.

**To Call Conference of Interested Organizations in the Effort to Adjust Dispute With the Whitehead-Hoag Company, Newark, N. J.**

Resolution No. 47.—By Delegate John J. Manning, Union Label Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The Whitehead-Hoag company of Newark, N. J., manufacturers of badges, buttons and novelties, reduced the wages in June, 1921, March, 1922, and again in April, 1922, affecting their employes affiliated with the following international unions: Metal Polishers' International Union; International Association of Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, Iron Trades Council of Newark, and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, This firm was declared antagonistic to organized labor by the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This firm has continued

to run an open shop and have been and are now employing strike breakers; and

WHEREAS, This firm is constantly endeavoring to convince the general public that they are fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The facts are the only agreement this firm has with the Allied Printing Trades; and

WHEREAS, This firm is now sending out to the trades letters claiming they are still a union concern for the reason that they are entitled to the use of the Allied Printing Trades label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to call a conference of representatives of all unions involved and representatives of the Allied Printing Trades for the purpose of trying to bring about an adjustment of the grievances.

The subject matter of this resolution is covered by Resolution No. 8, which has been concurred in by the committee and as amended by the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Pledging Support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers in the Contest with the Ward Baking Company**

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, Jacob Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, operating bakeries in the cities of New York, Brooklyn and Syracuse, N. Y., Providence, R. I., Boston, Mass., Newark, N. J., Baltimore, Md., Pittsburgh, Pa., Youngstown, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, South Bend, Ind., and Chicago, Ill., has declared for the non-union ship in all of its manufacturing departments; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company by such declaration cancelled its agreement with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in behalf of its subordinate local unions, locking out all of its union employes; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company by its declaration has assumed the leadership and dictatorship of the reactionary anti-union employers of the baking industry in America; and

WHEREAS, The Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor declared for its undivided support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union in this con-

test, which has been of invaluable assistance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirm its Portland convention decision, continuing its undivided support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in this contest until a satisfactory termination of the controversy has been reached by the reunioining of the Ward Baking Co.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Delegate Beisel: The Bakery Workers do not come here at this time, as is usually the case, to complain of the labor movement not giving us the proper support in our struggle against this big corporation. The Bakery Workers are here this morning to thank the delegates and the labor movement for the noble support they have given us in this fight during the last year. If they continue that support we cannot fail to be successful in this struggle.

It is not only the Ward interests we have to contend with. A few days ago the Ward corporation and other similar corporations united in a gigantic, half-billion dollar corporation. And it is not only the bread interests that are combined in this corporation, but the cracker interests are connected with it. It is not only the trade unionists that will suffer from this gigantic corporation, but the public will suffer. They will control the daily bread the public eats. We know what it means to wage earners and the public at large to have such a corporation established.

Delegate Beisel gave further details of the struggle of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers against the Ward Company, and in closing expressed the conviction that the bakery workers would be successful if they continued to receive the help of the labor movement.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**To Notify All Unions of the Anti-Union Attitude of the Waltham Watch Company**

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, Inter-

national Association of Machinists; W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union;

WHEREAS, The Waltham Watch Company of Waltham, Mass., introduced a reduction of wages ranging from ten (10) to twenty (20) per cent about the first of July, 1924, affecting machinists, metal polishers and jewelry workers; and

WHEREAS, After all efforts on the part of the employes of the Waltham Watch Company had failed to reach an honorable adjustment relative to said reduction in wages, all employes ceased work; and

WHEREAS, All efforts of employes, the State Board of Conciliation and the U. S. Department of Labor to effect an honorable compromise have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the attitude of the Waltham Watch Company is antagonistic to organized labor, and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby directed to attempt to make an adjustment of this controversy. Failing to do so, the Secretary of the A. F. of L. shall notify all central labor unions, state federations of labor, international unions and labor press of the attitude of the Waltham Watch Company in this controversy.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Protest Against the Attitude of the Coal River Collieries, Whose Stockholders Are Largely Members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Toward the United Mine Workers**

Resolution No. 46 — By Delegate William Turnblazer of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Coal River Collieries operating mines in District 17, United Mine Workers of America, which are located on Little Coal river in southern West Virginia, and also operating in northeastern Kentucky; and

WHEREAS, The stockholders of the Coal River Collieries are largely made up of members of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Mr. Warren F. Stone, president of the Engineers' organization, is chairman of the board of directors of the Coal River Collieries; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the United Mine Workers of America in District 17 and the international officers have done everything within their power to bring about a renewal of contractual relationship by and between this company and the Miners' Union, on the basis of the Jackson agreement; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Coal River Collieries have discharged a number of the members of the mine workers' organization for exercising their constitutional rights of affiliating with the union of their craft, and it is reported that this company is following out the same policy that is being pursued by the nonunion coal operators of southern West Virginia in evicting the miners from their homes, and, therefore trying to establish a nonunion or open shop mine; and

WHEREAS, The same company is operating a mine in northeastern Kentucky which is surrounded by armed guards, and a representative of the United Mine Workers of America is jeopardizing his life in trying to secure admission into this company's camp for the purpose of having them affiliate with their union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in convention assembled, that we condemn the action of the Coal River Collieries for the attitude they have and now are taking against the United Mine Workers of America and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Mr. Warren S. Stone, chairman of the board of directors of the Coal River Collieries Co. and president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, be also condemned by this convention for the position he has taken in the exchange of correspondence by and between Mr. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Mr. Warren S. Stone in arbitrarily refusing to meet the representatives of the Miners' union for the purpose of renewing their contract, and that all affiliated organizations, including State Federations and Central Labor unions, be notified of the action that this convention has taken in regard to this all-important matter, which deals with collective bargaining and the trade union movement in America.

**To Condemn the Anti-Union Policy of the Coal River Collieries and the Chairman of Its Board of Directors**

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates George L. Berry, Pressmen's Union; Charles H. Moyer, Miners; Frank Ledvinka, Ohio State Federation; Harry W. Bor; Neal Culley, New Mexico State Federation; Stephen Ely, Montana State Federation of Labor; Wm. Turnblazer Kentucky Federation of Labor; D. A. Prampton, Moberly Central Labor Union; Frank W. Snyder, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; T. N. Taylor, Indiana State Federation of Labor; H. J. Conway, Retail Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Coal River Collieries operating mines in District 17, United Mine Workers of America, which are located on Little Coal River in southern West Virginia, and also operating in northeastern Kentucky; and

WHEREAS, The stockholders of the Coal River Collieries are largely made up of members of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Mr. Warren S. Stone, president of the engineers' organization, is chairman of the board of directors of the Coal River Collieries; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the United Mine Workers of America in District 17 and the international officers have done everything within their power to bring about a renewal of contractual relationship by and between this company and the Miners' Union, on the basis of the Jacksonville agreement; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Coal River Collieries have discharged a number of the members of the mine workers' organization for exercising their constitutional rights of affiliating with the union of their craft, and it is reported that this company is following out the same policy that is being pursued by the nonunion coal operators of southern West Virginia in evicting the miners from their homes and, therefore, trying to establish a nonunion or open shop mine; and

WHEREAS, The same company is operating a mine in northeastern Kentucky which is surrounded by armed guards and a representative of the United Mine Workers of America is jeopardizing his life in trying to secure admission into this company's camp for the purpose of having them affiliate with their union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in convention assembled that we condemn the action of the Coal River Collieries for the attitude they have and now are taking against the United Mine Workers of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Mr. Warren S. Stone, chairman of the board of directors of the Coal River Collieries Co., and president of the brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, be also condemned by this convention for the position he has taken in the exchange of correspondence by and between Mr. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Mr. Warren S. Stone in arbitrarily refusing to meet the representatives of the Miners' Union for the purpose of renewing their contract, and that all affiliated organizations, including state federations and central labor unions, be notified of the action that this convention has taken in regard to this all-important matter, which deals with collective bargaining and the trade union movement in America.

Resolutions Nos. 46 and 72 deal with

the same subject matter, and in lieu of both resolutions your committee recommends the adoption of the following:

Your committee finds that a strike has been in effect at four mines of the Coal River Collieries in West Virginia since April 1 of this year, due to the failure of this company to renew its wage agreement with the United Mine Workers of America. We find further that the officers of the United Mine Workers have made repeated but fruitless efforts to reach a settlement with Warren S. Stone, chairman of the board of directors of this corporation, who assumes responsibility for its labor policy. We find also that this coal company has served eviction notices upon the union men who are on strike and has resorted to the employment of strikebreakers.

In view of these facts, and as a further constructive effort, your committee recommends the following:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exercise its good offices to secure a settlement of this unfortunate controversy at the earliest possible date; that in the event of failure of such negotiations the Executive Council be instructed to advise the membership of the American Federation of Labor of all facts in the premises.

Delegate Lewis (John L.), Mine Workers: I arise to advise that Delegate Turnblazer, the introducer of the resolution, representing the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, and representatives of the United Mine Workers, are in entire harmony with the report of the committee. We desire to spare the convention the necessity of listening to an extensive debate or numerous addresses providing the resolution is satisfactory to the delegates of the convention.

There have been, however, some mutterings and murmurings from certain quarters concerning this controversy. The Mine Workers' delegates here are amply able to indulge in discussion on this ad infinitum. However, as a further effort to settle this

unfortunate and shameful controversy in the ranks of organized labor, the Mine Workers' representatives are willing to vote for the report of the committee, with the hope of an ultimate adjustment, rather than take up the time of the convention considering the details of the subject matter. If it develops that there is objection to the resolution, I expect, in behalf of our organization, to discuss the matter in this convention; otherwise we are willing to let the matter pass.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Chairman Farrington: This completes the report of our committee, which is signed:

FRANK FARRINGTON,  
Chairman.

CHARLES H. CLARK,  
P. J. DOWNEY,  
M. J. McGUIRE,  
A. J. PICKETT,  
WALTER SNOW,  
WALTER WALLACE,  
E. E. CLARK,  
CHARLES D. DUFFY,  
W. F. FUNDER BURK,  
JOS. FAY,  
TIMOTHY HEALY,  
G. V. MORESCHI,  
CHARLES J. CASF,  
JAMES F. BROCK.

The chairman asked for further reports of committees. The chairman of

the committee on Executive Council announced that his committee would be ready to report during the afternoon session.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, asked if the convention would hold a session in the afternoon.

President Gompers announced that it was within the power of the convention to decide. He called attention to the fact that there was a disposition on the part of the delegates and officers to transact the business so that the trip to Mexico City could be taken by those who desired to go.

Vice-President Green: I move that when we adjourn for the noon recess the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to meet at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

Delegate Royster, Shreveport, La.: We never work on Saturday afternoon. Why not take up our meetings and give us the Saturday afternoon off?

Delegate Gainor suggested that the afternoon session begin at 2 o'clock.

The motion offered by Vice-President Green was carried, and at 12:30 p. m. an adjournment was taken until 3 p. m. of the same day.

## Sixth Day—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock p. m. by Vice-President Duffy.

### Absentees

M. W. Martin, Shamp, W. E. Bryan, G. Marshall, Higgins, H. W. Sullivan, T. P. Reynolds, Sumner, M. W. Mitchell, R. H. Johnson, Walden, J. C. Lewis, Freeman, Drum, Barry, Barringer, Pinley Sparh, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Gentry, Frank Hughes, Costello, Franck, Ferns, Spaugh, Laylor, A. P. Bower, Hourigan, R. T. Wood, Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Abrams, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Lee A. Williams, Camous, Cokely, Rincker, Brasfield, George Brown, Portway.

Reports of committees were called for in their order, and Delegate Duncan, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, stated that their report would be in readiness for presentation

Monday morning, November 24. He offered a motion setting the hour of 10 o'clock on that date as a special order of business to hear the report of that committee. The motion was seconded and carried.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate Scharrenberg, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee offers the following substitute for Article XIII, Section 17, presented by President Gompers:

No local trade or federal labor union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any local trade or Federal Labor Union, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the local trade or federal

labor union which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

The committee concurs in the substitute and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Increase in A. F. of L. Organizers' Expense Allowance**

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates John J. Hynes, M. J. Keough, John Coefield, Frank Feeney, Frank Farrington:

Amend article 9, section 7, on page 15, line four, to read Ten Dollars (\$10.00) per day.

As this resolution means an increase in the hotel expenses from \$8.00 to \$10.00 per day for organizers employed by the federation, your committee desires to say that having given the subject matter due consideration, and understanding the financial condition of the American Federation at this time, also in view of the fact that the hotel allowance was increased at the Montreal, 1920, convention of the American Federation of Labor, from \$6.00 to \$8.00, we feel that at this time it is inadvisable to make any further changes in the hotel rates allowed to organizers.

We also find upon investigation that a great number of international unions, in fact, the vast majority of the international unions, pay a smaller allowance, or at least not more than that allowed at the present time by the American Federation of Labor to its organizers when on the road.

Your committee therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Tobin, chairman of the committee: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the committee on laws on all matters assigned to it, and

it is respectfully submitted and signed:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman,  
PAUL SCHARRENBURG, Secretary,  
DENNIS LANE,  
E. J. EVANS,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
WM. H. JOHNSTON,  
JAMES P. HOLLAND,  
THOMAS McMAHON,  
CHARLES ANDERSON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
M. E. SHAY,  
FRANK DOYLE,  
J. J. CORCOKAN,  
A. KELSO,  
WILLIAM TRACY,

Committee on Laws.

The report of the committee on laws was adopted as a whole.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT**

Delegate T. A. Rickert, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

**Jurisdiction**

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Frank Thompson of the Coopers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There has been in effect a verbal working agreement between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Coopers' International Union of North America regarding the building of erecting of tanks since February 7, 1916, which provides that the Coopers are to build the tanks and the Carpenters to build the platforms and roofs; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America did not consistently live up to the agreement made with the Coopers' International Union of North America. The Coopers' International Union of North America instructed their delegate to the thirty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Buffalo, New York, November, 1917, to introduce the following resolution, and the American Federation of Labor records show that instructions were compiled with:

**Resolution**

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union of North America:

RESOLVED, That this convention direct that signed agreement be entered into between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Coopers' International Union of North America, and approved of by this convention, and lived up to by both organizations; and

WHEREAS, This resolution was referred to the adjustment committee of the thirty-seventh convention of the American Federation



of Labor, and the adjustment committee's report on resolution was to have the entire matter referred to the president of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to arrange for a conference of both parties within ninety (90) days for adjustment, and if occasion warrants it an agreement be drawn to safeguard jurisdictional rights of both parties; and

WHEREAS, The report of the adjustment committee was concurred in by the thirty-seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor, the international representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Coopers' International Union of North America met July 15, 1918, at the general office of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Indianapolis, Ind.; and

WHEREAS, In the course of the debate it developed that at the date of July 15, 1918, no disputes exist. The conclusions arrived at are as follows:

1. If a local controversy should arise in the future it shall be referred to the president of the two organizations for adjustment.

2. In order to avoid future trouble the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America proposed amalgamation of the Coopers with the Carpenters. The representatives of the Coopers claim a matter of that kind would have to be ratified by their members. It was agreed that the general officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America propose terms and conditions leading up to amalgamation.

3. It was further agreed that one of the general officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America attend the next convention of the Coopers' International Union to be held in New York City, September, 1919.

WHEREAS, The representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America did make a proposition of amalgamation to the Coopers' International Union at the Coopers' New York Convention, held September, 1919, and said proposition of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was not accepted by the Coopers; and

WHEREAS, There had been no case of infringement of the jurisdiction of the Coopers by the Carpenters that had not been adjusted according to agreement that the Coopers would build and erect the tanks and the Carpenters the platforms and roofs. It was quite a surprise to the Coopers' International Union when authentic information was received that the United

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America had issued a charter to Tank Makers in the City of Chicago, Ill., that were known as Local Union No. 193, of the Coopers' International Union of North America. This local union of Tank Makers and Erectors, No. 193, were granted a charter by the Coopers' International Union of North America, in 1903, and have been in continuous good standing with the Coopers' International Union, until after a charter was granted them, October 1, 1924, by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. These same tank makers in Chicago, Ill., have worked under a signed agreement with their employers, endorsed by the general executive board of the Coopers' International Union, and there is at this date a contract in effect covering wages and conditions, also granting use of Coopers' union label, which they have used for years, that does not expire until May 31, 1925; and

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union sent letters of protest to General President Wm. L. Hutcheson and General Secretary Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, protesting against the Carpenters and Joiners taking over any of the local unions of the Coopers' International Union that are engaged in the manufacture and erection of tanks; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have ignored this protest, and it being a clear case of abrogating their agreement with the Coopers' International Union of North America, also a violation of the decision and instructions of the thirty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, direct the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to cancel charter or charters issued by that organization to Tank Makers and Erectors, and also direct that the agreement that has been in effect between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Coopers' International Union of North America be lived up to, namely, that the Coopers manufacture and erect tanks and the Carpenters build platforms and roofs.

After hearing the representatives of the Coopers, your committee is of the opinion that inasmuch as the differences that have arisen in the past have always been settled by conferences between both organizations affected, the same can be done again in this instance, and therefore recommends that the president of the American Federa-

tion of Labor call a conference within ninety days of representatives of both organizations for the purpose of trying to effect an adjustment.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Request for Conference to Adjust Jurisdiction Dispute Relative to Awning Industry Between Upholsterers and Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union, Chicago**

Resolution No. 25—By delegate William Kohn of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Upholsterers' International Union of North America has since its inception had jurisdiction over awning workers; and,

WHEREAS, The members of Local Union No. 9 of Chicago affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union, and whose members are mostly awning workers, have suffered a loss of work; and,

WHEREAS, The members of Local Union No. 9 have been intimidated by members of Local Union 14872 of the A. F. of L. known as Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers; and,

WHEREAS, The sign and bulletin board hangers claim jurisdiction to hang awnings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to arrange a conference between the contending parties, with an object in view of bringing harmony and peace in the awning industry of the city of Chicago.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor call a conference within ninety days, in the city of Chicago, of representatives of both parties to this dispute, and, if possible, a member of the Executive Council be instructed to be present at same.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Protest of Electrical Workers Against Railroad Signalmen**

Resolution No. 38 — By Delegates James P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Martin J. Joyce, Chas. M. Paulsen, Frank J. McNulty, Julia S. O'Connor, Chas. Murphy, and Edw. J. Evans:

WHEREAS, For years past the organization known as the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America have been openly, deliberately and

ly trespassing upon the known and accepted jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, by ordering their members to do all classes of purely electrical work in the signal departments of railroads, without regard for the limitations of the charter granted to them by the American Federation of Labor, and in direct violation of the agreement arrived at and signed by them with the railroad administration and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America, prior to July 1, 1922, repeatedly declared to all the other trades affiliated their purpose to join with the other railroad crafts in the strike to be called July 1, 1922, and not only failed entirely to keep faith with the kindred crafts, but proceeded during said strike to order their members to do the work of all crafts in the signal departments, and employed their organizing force to induce striking electrical workers to return to work for the railroads and join the B. R. S. of A.; and

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Portland, Ore., in 1923, adopted a resolution providing for a conference of the B. R. S. of A., and the I. B. E. W.; the conference provided for has been held, and, at the request of officials of the B. R. S. of A. made before the adjustment committee at Portland, it was held without the presence of any representative of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, At this conference the I. B. E. W. did offer a basis of settlement strictly in conformity with the agreement subscribed to in 1920 by the B. R. S. of A., and the B. R. S. of A. refused to even discuss this proposition; offering instead a claim to all work in the signal departments of railroads as their final and only solution (and on some railroads all telegraph, telephone and high tension work, as well as station wiring and maintenance, is placed under the signal department); and

WHEREAS, The charter granted to the B. R. S. of A. by the American Federation of Labor in 1914 was under the condition that they were not to encroach on the jurisdiction of any organization then affiliated; and

WHEREAS, Ever since their admission to the American Federation of Labor, they have continuously and persistently encroached upon the jurisdiction of all crafts generally and particularly that of the I. B. E. W.; and at this time blatantly proclaim that all the work granted to them by the railroad managements while the other crafts were on strike, now comes properly under their jurisdiction; and refuse to make any apparent or sincere effort to carry out the purpose

and intent of the action of the American Federation of Labor convention in the adoption of resolution No. 12; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America be and hereby are ordered to confine their activity to the men coming properly and in conformity with their charter provisions under their jurisdiction, and to refuse admission or continuation of membership to men who are engaged in the performance of electrical work on railroads that was covered in the agreements of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the railroads before and during the life of the national agreement with the railroad administration; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That in case the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America refuse or fail to comply with the provisions of the foregoing resolution, within ..... months after the adjournment of this convention, the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to suspend the charter of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America until such time as they can show full compliance with the above resolution.

After hearing the contending parties to the above resolution, your committee finds that in 1919 the presidents of both of the organizations affected agreed to and signed the following:

#### Jurisdictional Claims

All work pertaining to the maintenance and repair of electric, electro-pneumatic, electro-gas, electrical mechanical, or mechanical signals, interlockings, interlocked switches, derails or railroad crossing gates, train staffs, automatic train stops or controls, highway crossing alarms or signals, and all other signal appliances maintained and repaired by the regular signal department forces, coming under the supervision of the signal engineer.

This shall include all composite mechanics, their helpers and apprentices, who hold regularly assigned positions in the signal department, and shall not be construed to include electricians, linemen, machinists, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers and carpenters or signalmen, who for fifty per cent (50%) or more of their time perform work as defined in Articles 140 and 141 of shop crafts national agreement, under date of September 20, 1919, or other craftsmen who for the performance of their craft work may be recruited from other departments or outside industries, for the purpose of constructing new sections of signal appliances.

(Signed) JAS. P. NOONAN,  
I. E. of E. W.

(Signed) D. W. HELT,  
B. of R. S. of A.

Your committee is of the opinion that inasmuch as both organizations agreed to the above in 1919, as a fair settlement of the then existing differences, that it should be and is a fair settlement of the differences existing at present.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that this convention go on record to that effect.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Helt, Railroad Signalmen, vigorously opposed the committee's report, and in doing so made the statement that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers repudiated the agreement referred to by the committee nineteen days after it was made. He stated that the organizing efforts of his organization had been confined strictly to the jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor in 1914 and that they had refrained religiously from over-stepping their jurisdictional rights. He vigorously condemned the statements contained in the whereases of the resolution and maintained that they were not true in any respect.

In a period of seven years, he said, the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen had succeeded in building up an organization with an agreement with ninety-five per cent of the mileage railroads of the United States and Canada that have the signal system.

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers, in replying to the statements made by Delegate Helt, alleged that eighty per cent of the agreements made by the signalmen's organization were made after the other crafts were on strike. He stated that where men do less than fifty per cent electrical work the electrical workers do not claim jurisdiction over them and do not want to make such a claim, but that where men do more than fifty per cent electrical work the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers lay claim to their membership.

He asserted that the electrical workers' organization lost members during the strike, and that the signalmen's organization formed unions composed

of former members of the electrical workers.

He pointed out that the resolution asks that the signalmen be confined strictly to the work belonging to them, and added that while his organization was not entirely satisfied with the report of the committee they were willing to accept it in the interests of harmony, even though he felt some consideration should be given to the fact that before admission to the American Federation of Labor of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen, members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers were doing this work on the railroads and had agreements covering the work, all of which, he said, could be substantiated by voluminous documentary evidence.

Delegate Helt, by permission of the convention, spoke the second time and replied to statements made by Delegate Noonan. He said that the signal work involved in this question was purely a craft of its own. The position taken by the electrical workers, if sustained, would mean the annihilation of the signalmen's organization. He stated further that the signalmen had fulfilled all their obligations to the labor movement and had arrived at jurisdictional settlements with the machinists, the sheet metal workers and the blacksmiths, who, in 1919, had protested their jurisdiction. He denied the claim made by Delegate Noonan that eighty per cent of the agreements now held by the signalmen were made since the shopmen's strike.

Delegate Evans, electrical workers, stated that the representatives of his organization were very careful in drawing up the resolution to include in it nothing but truthful statements that could be supported by documentary evidence. Continuing, he said:

"It is entirely within the province of the railroads as to what employes will be under the direction of the signal department, and, as has been stated, since the date of the shopmen's strike, July 1, 1922, the railroads have been placing linemen, electricians and other mechanics working in the tele-

phone, telegraph and power departments under the signal department employes' and the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen have taken these men into their organization as signalmen. We have no control over what the railroad managements of this country do.

"If it is true, as it has been said here, that this organization has organized all of the signalmen on ninety-five per cent of the railroads, it is not reflected in the per capita tax paid by that organization to this Federation."

Delegate Greene, Hatters, a member of the committee, supported the committee's report. He explained that the committee had disregarded the resolution entirely and made no reference to it in its report, and that in doing so they felt they were doing a kindness to the signalmen's representatives, when the committee simply accepted that which they presented before the committee.

Delegate Cone, Signalmen, spoke briefly and said that he wished to correct a statement made by Delegate Evans concerning the Signalmen being organized on ninety-five per cent of the railroads in the United States and Canada. In this connection he said:

"The statement made by President Helt was that we had agreements on ninety-five per cent of the mileage in the United States and Canada on which there are signals." He denied the truth of the statements contained in the resolution and said that the Signalmen were simply demanding their jurisdictional rights as granted them when their charter was issued in 1914.

Delegate Kline, Blacksmiths, also a member of the committee, said it was his understanding that the Signalmen had repudiated the agreement referred to in the committee's report, but that the Electrical Workers had not repudiated that agreement.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers, another member of the committee, also said that the statements contained in the resolution were entirely eliminated from the discussion before the committee and that

their purpose and desire to bring in an equitable recommendation, something that would be fair to both sides, based upon the facts in the case.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Rickert: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the work of the committee on adjustment, which is submitted and signed:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman,  
D. A. CAREY, Secretary,  
J. B. ETCHISON,  
J. W. KLINE,  
H. B. PERHAM,  
F. H. FLJOZDAL,  
M. F. TIGHE,  
WILLIAM F. CANAVAN,  
FRANK KASTEN,  
JAMES MALONEY,  
M. F. GREENE,

Committee on Adjustment.

Report of the committee on adjustment was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers in the chair.

#### PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Gompers: It is the custom of the delegates to each of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor to manifest in some kindly way a recognition, not for the passing hour, but for all time, of the visit of fraternal delegates from trade union movements who have honored us by sending delegates to our annual conventions, and to which we have honored ourselves by sending reciprocal delegates. We have not lost sight of that practice in this convention.

In the early days of this week a petition was circulated among the delegates, as is the usual custom, by the two fraternal delegates who visited the British Trades Union Congress most recently. In this case it was Brother Peter J. Brady and Brother Edward J. Gainor. Voluntary contributions were asked; no money was taken from the funds of the federation, it was voluntarily given by the delegates out of their own pockets as a testimonial to the kindly feeling manifested toward our fraternal delegates.

The committee has, in addition to having secured the contributions, made the purchases. I have here a Hamilton watch, and I ask Fraternal Delegate

Swales to face the convention and accept not only this evidence of our regard and affection, but to accept it as expressive of a deeper sentiment—accept it with the best wishes of the convention.

In accepting the gift, Fraternal Delegate Swales said, in part:

"I want to take this opportunity of expressing my very great pleasure and very deep appreciation of all the kindness that has been shown to us by every man and every woman in this convention. Out of my heart, Mr. President, I want to sincerely thank all the delegates and officers, and in the years to come it will encourage me to continue what effort and what service I can give to bring about that international solidarity of the trade unions of the world that we so much desire."

President Gompers: As an evidence of our esteem and affection and with the hope of a long life of further useful service, we present to you, Brother Cramp, this diamond ring.

Fraternal Delegate Cramp responded briefly, and said, in part:

"My capacity for being astonished is exhausted. Whenever it has been my lot to go to a new country, there is to say, a new country to myself, I have always felt a little embarrassed the first day or two, a little awkward at not being able to comply with the customs and habits of that country. I never had that feeling wear off so quickly as was the case on this occasion. It lasted, I think, for about two steps on to American soil, and I have never recovered my embarrassment since. From the moment we stepped from the gangway of the boat and were received by Brother Hugh Frayne in New York up to the present time, we have felt ourselves surrounded by real friends—not in the formal and official sense merely, but in that more spiritual sense of meeting kindred spirits whom we felt we would enjoy meeting with again and upon any occasion.

"As I said the other day, occasion such as this come usually but once in a man's lifetime. The badges which both yourselves and the Mexicans have

given to me I shall have framed and put in a conspicuous place in my home, and they will always remain with me, because after all it is not the length of years solely which make up a man's life, it is not merely his faculty for being on earth, but it is the experiences through which he passes, the kind hearts which he encounters that make his life either happy or miserable, either memorable or uninteresting, and this will stand out as being one of the very greatest occasions in my life.

"My friends, I salute you. My heart is too full to say more, but I hope I may meet many of you again and as many of you as possible on my side of the water."

President Gompers presented to Fraternal Delegate John Colbert, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, a Hamilton watch, and in doing so said:

"When you cross the ferry again, take this with you. Follow this with the hopes of the toiling masses of America—I mean all America—follow this and work hard, in all your ability and energy, in all your spiritual effort; give it in the future, as you have in the past, and always remember that you live in the affections of the men and the women of the labor movement composing the American Federation of Labor. Accept this Hamilton watch, the product of American labor and genius."

Fraternal Delegate Colbert responded briefly, saying in part:

"I cannot find words to express my appreciation of this token of your friendship. I have not been in the labor movement for many years, but I have during my short time, tried in every way to promote the international trade union movement, and I am satisfied that I will go back to my own country with a double effort to promote the international trade union movement, of which your movement is part and parcel."

President Gompers: I wish, Brother Grassman, that I could express in your language, fully and freely, the words and sentiments that well up in my soul, to convey to you and through

you to the great rank and file of the toiling masses of the democratically inclined people of Germany, our feelings.

Believe me when I say that I am thoroughly convinced that I interpret the sentiments of one hundred per cent of the great rank and file of the men and women in the labor movement in America when I say that you are heartily welcome among us.

The people of our respective countries were not at war with each other of their own volition. To us there was no other course open than the one we assumed in that titanic struggle. Conditions in your own country were considerably different than those prevailing in ours; force and power were exercised over your people. With us it was our own voluntary act. We feel sure now that had the voice of German labor been given the opportunity of being fully heard the war would never have occurred. But be that as it may, with us, I repeat, the war is over and we want the democratic peoples of all the nations of the earth to strive in the common cause of justice, freedom, democracy and humanity.

As a token of the affection which the delegates to this convention and those they have the honor to represent feel, we ask that you accept at their hands and my hands this testimonial of our binding affection and fraternity, to wish for you, the German toilers and the German people and the German Republic, your place in the world with every other democratic, peace-loving and liberty-loving people. Accept, sir, not only this splendid watch and chain as that testimonial but my right hand, which goes with it, and the hope for your return home in happiness, with a greater joy and future for the great mass of the people of Germany.

The response of Fraternal Delegate Grassman was made in German and interpreted by his secretary, Mr. Maschke. He said:

"You will already have noticed it is difficult for me to express my sentiments in your own language, but it is all the more embarrassing in this mo-

ment. We came over to your country with a certain feeling of fear, and you will understand that when I tell you that we German people feel that we have only a few friends left in the world.

"From the very first moment we put our feet on American soil in Brooklyn we have been the subjects of the most fraternal affection and consideration at the hands of our American friends here. Our friend Frayne in New York and all the others we cannot name here, were like mothers and fathers to us.

"It was quite evident even before you gave this present to me, that if I was not convinced of the truth of what President Gompers said the first day about the war being over and there being no enmity between us, I am sure of that feeling now.

"I do not intend to leave this watch at home. I shall wear it every day, and say to all my German friends—look, that is the visible evidence of the friendship of our American colleagues. And in this solemn hour I will state that we are going to do our part in helping the world to maintain peace, so that we may enjoy peace ourselves."

President Gompers: In many of the great things of the world's inventions I think it is true that the peoples of the United States stand in the forefront and among the marvelous products of the brain and hand of America's genius and work is the invention of the fountain pen. It is doubtful if a more appropriate, even if a little more modest present, can be made to the efficient secretary of Fraternal Delegate Grassman than a gold American fountain pen, which I present to Brother Walter Maschke as a memento, as well as for his efficiency in the work he has done in serving Brother Grassman.

Secretary Maschke expressed his appreciation of the gift in a short address in German. President Gompers translated the address as follows: "Permit me to express the deep feeling of appreciation I have for your consideration, your kindness and your courtesy toward my associate and my-

self. It is a great pleasure to have been here and to assure you, in the service I am trying to perform in behalf of the trade union movement of Germany, I am helping as best I can the ideals for which your movement stands. I thank you sincerely for this gift."

Mr. Roberto Haberman was not present at the time the other presentations were made, but later when he appeared President Gompers said: "I will not make a speech, but, in appreciation of the services you have rendered for the cause of labor and democracy, both in the United States and in Mexico I ask you to accept this diamond stick-pin."

Mr. Haberman: All I can do is just to thank you. You have my gratitude and my thanks for this expression of your appreciation of the little I have tried to do. It has been nothing but following in the footsteps of yourselves and being inspired by what you have been trying to do in all these years to make a better world in which to live.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

##### Local Committees on Education

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee shares with the permanent committee on education the conviction of the desirability of state federations of labor and central bodies authorizing standing committees on education to co-operate with the Federation in carrying out labor's educational program. This is an important step in the direction of more active participation on the part of labor in the educational institutions of their local communities, which we have repeatedly urged. We add our endorsement to the purpose and aim of such committees, and we desire to express our appreciation to the Workers' Education Bureau for its assistance in printing an educational directory of

these committees for the trade union movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Decisions for Educational Policies**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

In the opinion of your committee, it is of the utmost importance that the permanent committee on education should make a scientific and dispassionate study of such educational questions as the junior high schools, the platoon or work-study-play system, intelligence tests during the next year. Our public school system belongs to the people of the United States and labor should co-operate in every way to make them of the highest service to our citizenship. To do this, labor must have an educational policy based upon careful study and upon impartial judgments influenced only by facts and experience.

Your committee recommends this study and urges that the co-operation of the American Federation of Teachers be secured in making this study.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Teaching of Social Studies**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 59, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with interest the disposition that has been made of the important survey of the teaching of social studies which was issued at the forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It is the opinion of your committee that it would be altogether appropriate that copies of this survey be sent to the local committees of education which are being set up by labor throughout the country. The possession of this survey by such a committee should be of assistance in securing for labor a proper recognition of its role in the life of the community.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Vocational Education**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above cap-

tion, page 59, the committee reported as follows:

The Federal Board of Vocational Education represents so completely an agency with which the American Federation of Labor has been concerned, both in its creation and in its administration, that local organizations of labor, both state and municipal, should give their unceasing attention to the development of the plans and policies of this work.

Your committee joins with the permanent committee on education in recommending to the President of the United States that a trade-unionist of high standing be selected for the commissioner of the federal board for vocational education. We recommend to the delegates to this convention that they record their unanimous conviction that the American Federation of Labor make strong presentations to the President of the United States and to the Senate that such action be taken in the best interest of this important service.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Trade Education**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 59, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the permanent committee on education give consideration during the coming year to the best method by which trade education can best be promoted in this country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Adult Education**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 59, the committee reported as follows:

A year ago your convention committee on education called attention to the highly significant fact that the principles of local autonomy, group responsibility and the voluntary basis of adult education are the principles upon which the American labor movement rests. In his eloquent opening address to this convention President Gompers has set forth the principle



of voluntarism as applied to our trade union movement, with great conviction. Your committee has read with the greatest interest the statement of the philosophy of adult education (in the report on the permanent committee on education) and the remarkable social and cultural results of this alliance between labor and learning.

Your committee again records its belief that adult education should be spread uniformly and systematically over the whole community. It is an indispensable aspect of democratic citizenship and should be universal and life-long.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Workers' Education Bureau**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 60, the committee reported as follows:

For more than three and a half years the Workers' Education Bureau of America has been actively promoting adult education in the American trade union movement. Its aims and services have been most carefully studied by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and commended to our trade union movement. President Gompers has repeatedly recommended its valuable educational work. The permanent committee on education of the federation has given the bureau its most cordial support, as have the committees on education at the Cincinnati and Portland conventions. Finally, the delegates to these last two conventions have themselves, without a dissenting voice, recorded their positive judgment of this educational work within the American trade union movement, and have recommended that national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and other affiliated unions undertake active affiliation with the Workers' Education Bureau.

Your committee has considered with great care these successive endorsements of the bureau. We have examined the record of this organization during the past year, and its service in the field of international workers'

education. It has been a most constructive service. We firmly believe that the achievements of the bureau are due not only to its wise direction but also to the fact that its work has been both in the American trade union movement and of it.

Your committee is of the deliberate opinion that the time has arrived when, in addition to endorsing and recommending the service of the Workers' Education Bureau to the trade union movement, some plan should be adopted whereby this bureau of education for the workers would be financed by the workers.

This workers' educational service should reach and include every local union of every national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Adequate provisions should be made to make this possible, for education is an investment in the future growth and progress of the trade union movement.

Your committee has prepared a plan which is adequate for the present need, which is equitable in its burden upon the organizations of labor and in keeping with the educational aims of the American trade union movement. We, therefore, recommend to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor the following plan of financial support for the Workers' Education Bureau.

1. That each national and international union provide each year an educational fund equivalent to one-half cent per member per annum.
2. That this educational fund be paid quarterly to the Workers' Education Bureau for the educational service to their membership.
3. That the local unions be urged to undertake active affiliation with the Workers' Education Bureau, and pay an annual membership fee of one dollar for the regular educational service of the bureau.

In this manner an educational service to every trade union in the American Federation of Labor can not only be made possible, it is guaranteed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Study Classes**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above

caption, page 61, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with deep interest the report of the encouraging growth and development of trade union colleges, study classes, and institutes for the workers during the past year. It is a matter of particular satisfaction that these workers' education enterprises are for the most part co-educational. We believe that it is sound in principle and in practice for working men and women to study together. This sort of training and education will aid in promoting mutual understanding and will afford a splendid opportunity for working men and women to comprehend and analyze the problems with which they will be confronted in the industrial field.

We commend the mass educational work which has been done in the trade union halls throughout the country in the past year. With the development of the radio and the portable motion picture it should be possible to greatly increase the educational work which is carried on in the local unions.

As an expression of our endorsement of this splendid work, your committee submits the following recommendations:

1. We recommend to the workers of this country the establishment of study classes, institutes, summer schools, on a co-educational basis, for the free and impartial study of such problems as are of interest to them and that they avail themselves of the educational service of the Workers' Education Bureau in the organization and conduct of such study classes and summer schools.

2. We recommend that the origin, significance and purpose of the union label be included in the course of study adopted by said co-educational schools.

3. We recommend to the local organizations of labor the development of mass education for their entire membership.

4. We recommend that city central bodies appoint permanent educational committees or authorize existing edu-

cational committees to assist in the promotion of this work.

5. We recommend that each State Federation of Labor establish a permanent educational department and appoint an educational director to cooperate actively with the Workers' Education Bureau in providing for the educational needs of the organized workers in each state of the union.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **International Conference on Workers' Education**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 61, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Workers' Education Bureau for the active part it is taking in the development of the international workers' education movement, and it endorses most heartily the letter of greetings from President Gompers to the Second International Conference on Workers' Education which was held at Ruskin College, Oxford, England, in August of this year.

We are impressed by the definite educational value of the exchange of students and teachers between the various workers' colleges and summer schools in the various countries. It will be of great value in promoting international good will if maintained as a genuine educational venture. We invite the national and international unions to a consideration of the granting of scholarships to qualified members of their unions for such exchange.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **American Legion**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 62, the committee reported as follows:

We have reviewed the mutually beneficial relationship of the American Legion with the American Federation of Labor. It is the deliberate judgment of your committee that this relationship should be continued for future service to one another and to the country

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Report of American Federation of Labor Bureau of Co-Operative Societies**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 62, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee congratulates the permanent committee on education on its admirable and detailed report. It recommends that the A. F. of L. bureau of co-operative societies be consolidated with the permanent committee on education, and be known as the committee on education and co-operation. It further recommends that it hold regular meetings each year, and for the direction of this important activity of the Federation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Child Labor**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

This section of the Executive Council's report contains valuable information, but the subject matter dealt with has been fully covered by the report of the committee on child labor constitutional amendment.

**District Teachers' Wage Increase**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 70, the committee reported as follows:

We commend the representatives of the American Federation of Labor on their successful campaign in behalf of the underpaid teachers of the District of Columbia before the last Congress.

Your committee recommends, in addition, that the American Federation of Labor give every assistance to strengthen and develop the service of the American Federation of Teachers in their efforts to organize the teachers of this country.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Department of Education**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above

caption, page 71, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee adds its endorsement and recommendation to the work of the American Federation of Labor in the development of a department of education with a secretary in the President's cabinet. It is an appropriate recognition of the high position which we in America place on the educational process. Such a department must be freed from every political influence so that, as a nation, we may enjoy not only an educated leadership but a leadership of education.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Schmal: The following originated in the committee on education and is not referred to by subject matter covered by the Executive Council's report:

**Samuel Gompers' Fellowship**

Your committee has given earnest consideration to some appropriate way in which to celebrate this historic linking of the Mexican and American Federations of Labor in fellowship and brotherhood. To us this joint meeting of the representatives of the working people of the two republics is a prophecy of peace and good will for the future.

There is no better way, in our opinion, to lay the foundation of an enduring peace than by the promotion of mutual understanding between the peoples of these two countries. This is the task of education. For the working people of these two countries this is the task of workers' education.

No representative of labor has more devotedly and unsparingly promoted the cause of better understanding between the peoples of America and Mexico than our president, Samuel Gompers. As a loving tribute to his great-hearted service to this cause of mutual peace and good will, and as a fitting memorial to this historic occasion, we recommend to the delegates of the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor the establishment of a joint exchange scholarship between the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Fed-

eration of Labor, to be awarded annually and alternately with an American trade unionist and a Mexican trade unionist. We recommend that this joint exchange scholarship be known as the Samuel Gompers Fellowship.

And we further recommend that the details about the conditions of the annual award of this scholarship be referred to the Executive Council for negotiations and subsequent public announcement.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Urging Co-operation With the U. S. Veterans' Bureau in Training and Employment of Disabled Ex-Service Men**

Resolution No. 58 — By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The seventeenth convention to the International Association of Machinists, held in Detroit, Mich., commencing Sept. 15, 1924, is on record as adopting a very forceful and specific resolution relative to co-operating in a practical way with the United States Veterans' Bureau in its problem of rehabilitating the disabled ex-service men of the world war; and

WHEREAS, The seventeenth convention of the I. A. of M. instructed its delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to assist in obtaining justice for the disabled ex-service men of the world war, especially as it applies to those who are being given vocational training for the various trades or callings decided upon to be the best for their future welfare in employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends that all delegates take the necessary steps to have their respective organizations, and the local unions of their organizations, appoint committees to co-operate with the U. S. Veterans' Bureau in the training and employment of the disabled ex-service men; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the director of the U. S. Veterans' Bureau.

The committee reported as follows:

**Vocational Rehabilitation of the Disabled Ex-Service Man**

1. In the report of the Committee on Education to the Denver convention in 1921 and to the Cincinnati convention in 1922, attention was called to

the great work being performed by the government as regards the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled ex-service men and women of the World War.

2. The director of the U. S. Veterans' Bureau, General Frank T. Hines, addressed the Portland, Oregon, convention last year, 1923, in detail, indicating the progress made to that time, and outlined the plans of the bureau for the future welfare of its beneficiaries.

3. At this time, the committee deems it not only advisable, but necessary, that the delegates to the forty-fourth convention be further advised in detail of the progress of this work of rehabilitating those men injured by wounds and disease in the service of their country.

4. Mr. Charles H. Taylor, assistant chief, employment service, appeared before the committee and presented a great deal of interesting and specific information on the work and progress of rehabilitation as of October 1, 1924.

5. The Vocational Rehabilitation Act became law on June 17, 1918, being one of the greatest pieces of legislation placed on the statute books of the country. Great credit is due to the American Federation of Labor for the part they took in securing such legislation.

6. The records of the bureau indicate that the total number of disabled veterans who have applied for vocational training since June, 1918, is 650,253.

Of the above number there were found to be eligible for training 330,943.

The number who have actually entered training is 173,632.

Number rehabilitated on October 1, 1924, 78,774.

There was in training on October 1, 1924, 35,505. This figure indicates that within two years, or under the present law, by June 30, 1926, the work of rehabilitating ex-service men will be practically completed.

7. Those now in training, 35,505, are

distributed in the four main vocational classification as follows:

Agriculture .....	6857
Commercial and business....	5636
Professional .....	5634
Trade and industrial.....	17378

From these figures it is interesting to note that 42 per cent of the number now in training are being trained for jobs in the trades and industries.

Every one of the handicapped men require some degree of special consideration in the light of their particular disability. They are in many cases requiring a special character of training.

6. It is the policy of the Veterans' Bureau to "train the disabled veterans into employment," and in order that an "employment opportunity" may be ready for the rehabilitated man as he finishes his training, an employment service was organized by the bureau for that purpose.

9. Your committee has made a thorough study of the work of rehabilitating the disabled ex-service man, and is of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor should extend its efforts to assist the government in successfully disposing of its problem of "training" and finding "employment" for them. In order that practical and positive assistance may be given the veterans' bureau, the following recommendations are made:

(a) That the delegates to this convention take the necessary steps to have the organizations they represent make a study of the subject of vocational rehabilitation, to the end that their local lodges and unions may be made better acquainted with it.

(b) That each international or national union advise its local lodges or unions to appoint a rehabilitation committee to assist in the training and employment of the disabled ex-service men in the particular trade and locality over which such union has jurisdiction.

(c) That the Executive Council issue an official circular on the subject of vocational rehabilitation to all the affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor, setting forth definitely the need for practical co-operation and why it should be given.

(d) That wherever misunderstandings occur between local unions and the regular officers of the veterans bureau, that the specific question or case be referred directly to the chief of rehabilitation, U. S. Veterans' Bureau, Washington, D. C., through the national or international officers of the organization concerned.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Opposing So-Called "Trade Schools" and Urging Application of Trade Union Apprenticeship Systems**

Resolution No. 37 — By Delegates James P. Holland, New York State Federation of Labor, and Joseph P. Ryan, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

WHEREAS, Many so-called "trade schools" mislead the youth of America into the belief that through the processes of short and intensive training competent mechanics are being created; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that most of these institutions are more concerned with motives other than benefiting the youth of our land and cannot provide competent mechanics; and

WHEREAS, the Y. M. C. A. has entered this field of endeavor, and it having been demonstrated that it cannot train competent workers to enter our industrial life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the A. F. of L. express its disapproval of this venture of the Y. M. C. A., and other similar so-called "trade schools," that it warns the youth of America against the wastage of time and money involved in patronizing such institutions, and urges their return to the apprenticeship system under union conditions of employment, so that knowledge of fundamentals may be co-ordinated with skill and training, and so that the guidance and direction of skill and training may be confined to those having attained competency in the trades and having an accurate knowledge of conditions within the trades.

The committee offered the following substitute for Resolution No. 37:

WHEREAS, Many so-called public trade schools which are in reality financed and controlled by private interests, mislead the youth of America into the belief that through the processes of short and intensive training competent mechanics are being created; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that most of these institutions

are more concerned with selfish motives rather than that of benefiting the youth of our land, and do not provide competent journeyman mechanics; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the A. F. of L. expresses its disapproval of these so-called "trade schools," which are in reality controlled and used by private interests to serve their own selfish purposes, that it warn the youth of America against the wastage of time and money involved in patronizing such institutions, and urges their return to the apprenticeship system, under union conditions of employment, so that knowledge of fundamentals may be co-ordinated with skill and training, and so that the guidance and direction of skill and training may be confined to those having attained competency in the trades and having an accurate knowledge of conditions within the trades.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the substitute offered by the committee.

Delegate Holland, New York State Federation of Labor, said in part: "I am not in opposition to the report of the committee, Mr. Chairman, but I am sorry they did not mention the organization that is mentioned in the resolution. For years the New York State Federation of Labor has tried to get trade schools taught by trade unionists and not by the Y. M. C. A. We know in New York it is not a good thing for the organized labor movement. During the street car strike in New York the Y. M. C. A. supplied scabs that came from all over this country to the street car company, and in the last strike of the railroads the same condition prevailed.

In the State of New York trade schools were inaugurated by the board of education. It was impossible to get trade unionists to teach the boys in those schools because they would not pay living wages to the practical men who were teaching. For the last eight years, through the efforts of the Pattern Makers, the Plasterers, the Bricklayers, the Central Body of New York and the New York State Federation of Labor, we have been able to get trade unionists to teach those schools at union wages.

The Y. M. C. A. teaches the boys to try to get their fathers to try to pull away from the labor movement. We

are not opposed to the trade school, provided the boys are properly taught. They are not properly taught in some parts of our state.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Conclusion

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 99, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council has, in this section of its report, brought to a conclusion a very instructive and interesting resume and review of the activities of the Executive Council and the work performed and the progress made by the American Federation of Labor during the past year. In addition, helpful and constructive suggestions have been offered. These concluding paragraphs are impregnated with the ideals and purposes of organized labor. They are expressive of the indomitable spirit which has ever inspired the workers to press forward toward the realization of a better day and a better life.

We commend to the attention and studious investigation of the members of organized labor and to those interested in the problems and work of organized labor this comprehensive and detailed report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM GREEN, Chairman,  
HENRY F. SCHMAL, Secretary,  
JOHN H. WALKER,  
FRANK GILMORE,  
JOHN HOVAT,  
H. C. GRIFFIN,  
WILLIAM A. NEER,  
E. H. FITZGERALD,  
A. L. SPRADLING,  
C. C. MORANVILLE,  
WILLIAM YOUNG,  
J. F. MURRAY,  
MORRIS SIGMAN,  
ROSCOE H. JOHNSON,  
M. W. MARTIN,  
Committee on Education.

Secretary Schmal moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Gompers: Were it not that the convention has so much work before it I should like to have addressed myself to some points of discussion which

have come up during our convention. One of them was brought home very effectively this morning in the talk when reference was made to the fact that the people of one of our Latin-American countries found it necessary to adopt protective immigration laws to protect them from their neighbors right beside them.

It struck very deep into my mind that even the dollar-a-day workmen, with their standard of life, find it necessary to protect themselves against peoples of other countries who have failed in their development in defense and advocacy of a standard of life in this twentieth century to conform to the standards of civilized society.

It is in itself an answer to the whole world of adverse criticism upon America and America's workers that we must, if we intend to safeguard the freedom and insure the progress of the civilization of this continent, see to it that we shall not be overrun by hordes of underpaid and undeveloped workers. It is not with us a question of pure nationality or nationalist feeling; but the men who would not defend their standards of life and progress would not defend the chastity of their homes. Self-protection is the first law of nature and it is the duty, as I see it, for the men of the higher standards of life and progress to help the toilers who have lower standards in their own countries. To relieve these countries by allowing hordes of men to leave them and come to our country, simply means to relieve the situation there and perpetuate the conditions which there exist.

If people must fight for right, let them fight as they can in their own land and not tear down the conditions which exist in another land.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

##### Railroad Labor Legislation and

##### Howard-Barkley Bill

Upon the portions of the report of the Executive Council under the above

captions the committee reported as follows:

On pages 51 and 53, inclusive, of the Executive Council's report will be found a discussion of the "Howell-Barkley Bill." This is also referred to on pages 68 and 69 of the Executive Council's report, under the caption, "Howell-Barkley Bill," in which a statement is made of the legislation status of that measure, which is now upon the "suspense" calendar of the House of Representatives and has been ordered favorably reported to the Senate with amendments made by the committee on interstate commerce of the United States Senate.

The Executive Council, in its report, announces that no effort will be spared to secure the enactment of the Howell-Barkley measure. This bill is intended as a substitute for the existing labor section of the Transportation Act of 1920, commonly known as the "Esch-Cummins Law."

The provisions of the existing law, which set up the so-called labor board, have been found so obnoxious and entirely unresponsive to the needs of labor, and so utterly ineffectual in achieving for the benefit of the transportation industry that for which it was designed to bring about, that there is a general belief that any change in the law will be for the better, as it scarcely could be made worse so far as the rights and interests of the railroad workers are concerned. The futile efforts of the Railway Labor Board in its endeavors to secure compliance with its orders from the railroads, and its utter failure to function with anything like an approach to a successful solution of any of the problems presented to it, has made this much vaunted institution an object of pity rather than ridicule.

The vexatious and long-continued delays that have occurred where prompt and speedy adjustment was the promise signify most emphatically the utter uselessness of the agency for the settlement of the disputes created by the Esch-Cummins law.

The admitted desirability of continuous operation of transportation

service requires no elaborate statement. The prosperity and the general well-being of the entire nation depends in a large measure on the steady flow from point to point of commerce, the ready transportation of individuals as well as of commodities. However, your committee wishes to point out right here that the frequently uttered statement that a general cessation of railroad operation would result in untold hardship among the large communities has lost much of its force in the face of the great advance made in the use of the common roads and highways of the country, and the universal presence of the automobile, truck and tractor give assurance that the inconvenience that might flow from the interrupted service of the railroads would be minimized to a point far from being dangerous.

Representatives of the railroad organizations affected by the Howell-Barkley bill request that this convention give its approval to the measure which they now advocate. In making this request these representatives express the belief that the measure, as offered, is not a perfect one. It does provide an agency through which the hope of early clearance of grievances and disputes between companies and men is held out. Through its operation, the railroad organizations that will come under the operation of the law feel that they will be in a far better position than they are under the existing board. Their desire to be rid of an institution that has so completely failed of its design may be easily understood. The Howell-Barkley bill looks to the establishment of a regulation under which neither strike nor lockout need be resorted to, because of the facilities offered for the settlement of disputes without interruption of operation.

The American Federation of Labor has, without variation from its birth, steadfastly opposed the principle of compulsory arbitration. From this attitude no recession will be made. We have held and still hold that it is the inherent right both of individuals and of groups to strike and to use all

legitimate means in prosecuting to a successful conclusion any strike against unjust, onerous or unsupportable conditions. There can be no departure from this principle, no matter which of the several industries of the United States may be affected, regardless of their importance to the comfort or the necessities of the people of the United States. We believe that the right of the smallest group, as well as the largest, to enjoy the blessings of liberty and justice under our government, is above any other consideration. Comfort or convenience, happiness, prosperity, material well-being of the nation is not to be purchased at the cost of oppression to any group or division of the nation, however insignificant in numbers or strength that group or division may be.

The state should have no power to enforce the labor of one man or of many men unless the same be taken for the common defense of the nation or in the enforcement of penalty incurred under the law.

Your committee realizes the position in which the organizations engaged in the operation of the transportation industry of the nation are placed. We are in entire accord on the point of the desirability of securing for these organizations such conditions as will not alone insure their right to exist but which will secure for their members the utmost enjoyment of all their rights and privileges as American citizens. In these rights and privileges are included steady employment at remunerative wages and under conditions that are properly in harmony with the American standard of living.

If, to secure these conditions, the organizations affected believe that the passage of the Howell-Barkley bill is essential, your committee recommends that the same be given approval, regarding this as only a single step toward a better state of industrial relations and a more complete and firmer establishment of the principles for settling labor disputes of whatever nature, endorsed on many occasions by the American Federation of Labor, namely, conciliation, mediation and



voluntary arbitration. We must warn all labor organizations and all wage earners of the danger that exists in any approach to compulsory arbitration, no matter in what form it may be presented. We cannot give assent to the surrender of any portion of these principles.

President Gompers: I haven't a report of the committee before me, and am depending entirely upon memory. I want to make a suggestion with regard to the latter part of the report. I was going to suggest that the words, "all wage earners" be added after the words "warn all labor organizations."

Chairman Wilson and Secretary McCullough of the committee accepted the amendment suggested by President Gompers.

President Gompers: All wage earners, when they are in trouble, know where to go—to the men who have spent their lives in working for the protection of the workers, organized and unorganized. I know of instances where unorganized workers engaged in a dispute declared they would accept no condition contrary to the declared policies of the American labor movement. We are the militant body and have had the experience, and we can serve the interests of all the people.

Delegate Bonney, Telegraphers: There is something in there that I am uncertain as to its application. The report, I believe, says "if the railroad group desires this." It does not put this convention on record for it. The railroad group wants it endorsed.

Treasurer Tobin: The committee recommends that the convention adopt it, and one of the reasons is because the railroad group desires it.

Secretary McCullough: I believe if the delegate will carefully study this report he will find that the committee has zealously undertaken to conserve the interests of the railroad group to the best of its ability.

Delegate Bonney: With that explanation, I am satisfied with the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Application of Cloth Hat and Cap Makers for Change of Title to Include Millinery Workers

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate M. Zuckerman, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America:

WHEREAS, The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers adopted at their last convention, held in May, 1923, the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, There is fair promise that every question as to our jurisdiction over the millinery trade will be entirely eliminated within the near future, since the United Hatters have already declared a desire to relinquish all claim of jurisdiction over the millinery trade; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That as soon as the final settlement will be reached the incoming general executive board shall take the necessary steps to change the name of our international union so as to include the millinery workers in the title of our organization;" and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its session held in Montreal in May, 1924, adopted the following decision:

"The decision of the Executive Council is that jurisdiction over all millinery workers be given to the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, in view of the fact that the executive officers of the United Hatters of North America have stated before the council that the Hatters have freely relinquished jurisdiction over these workers. This will include the two locals that the United Hatters of North America have pledged themselves to keep within their organization;" and

WHEREAS, In accordance with the above, a final settlement has been reached between the United Hatters and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor grant the request of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers that the name of the organization be changed to include the millinery workers in the title of the organization; to wit, that this organization be known as "Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union."

Your committee concurs in the foregoing resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

In this connection, your committee desires to record what appears to its members to be an occasion worthy of notice.

Before the committee appeared Bro-

thers Greene and Zuckerman, representing the United Hatters of North America, and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, who reported that they had amicably settled all differences between their two organizations, and joined in a request that the committee give its approval to the foregoing resolution.

We note with pleasure the representatives of the Cloth Hat and Cap Mak-

ers again sitting in full affiliation to the American Federation of Labor and rejoice that the amity and concord between these two great organizations has been fully restored.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m. an adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock a. m., November 24.

## Seventh Day—Monday Morning Session

El Paso, Texas, Nov. 24, 1924.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by Vice-President Duffy.

### Absentees

M. W. Martin, Champ, W. E. Bryan, G. Marshall, John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Roscoe H. Johnson, Walden, Freeman, Drum, George Allen, Barry, Finley, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Mclear, Bruns, Gentry, Costello, Duffy, Scanlan, Frank, Ferns, Spaugh, Childs, Laylor, Bower, Hourigan, R. T. Wood, Covert, Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Abrams, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Lee A. Williams, Camous, Cokely, Brasfield, George Browne, Portway.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

We have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Federal Labor Union No. 17712, San Juan, P. R.—Adolfo Dones Padio, 1 vote.

A communication has been received from Secretary-Treasurer Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, advising that it was necessary for him to leave the city and stating that R. A. Ring has been designated to act in his stead.

We therefore recommend the seating of R. A. Ring as delegate from the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, to take the place of Thos. F. Flaherty.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

The following telegrams addressed to the Officers and Delegates of the convention were read:

Please give members Executive Council and delegates to convention my assurance of very moderate hotel rates at Ambassador, Atlantic City. You know from experience what we will do for you. We want the next meeting of the Federation, and will give you the best convention you ever had from the standpoint of hotel hospitality, facilities, service and cooperation.

S. D. CARBARY,  
Personal Representative Ambassador  
Hotels System

Greetings, with best wishes for a most successful and harmonious convention. Consider this also a cordial invitation to yourself and Secretary Morrison to visit the Culinary Alliance Local No. 659, Dallas, Texas.

Fraternally yours,

W. FARROW, President; J. A. NEWSOME, Financial-Secretary; MIKE O'BRIEN, Business Agent.

Sacramento, through its Chamber of Commerce, cordially invites the American Federation of Labor to hold its nineteen twenty-five convention in the beautiful capital city of California. Sacramento has every facility for entertaining the delegates and insuring the success of the convention. The American Federation of Labor can be assured of royal entertainment and hospitalities which only California knows how to provide, if they select Sacramento for the nineteen twenty-five convention.

Sacramento Chamber of Commerce.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegates James Wilson, chairman of the committee, submitted the following report:

#### Old Age Pensions

On pages 53 and 54 of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, "Old Age Pensions," will be found a report on old age pension laws enacted by four state legislatures two of which have been declared unconstitutional on technical points, the other two of which have not as yet been tested by the courts.

The Executive Council expresses the opinion "that the problem of old age pension be made a part of the larger problem of labor insurance."

In this view, your committee concurs, and we recommend that the action of the Council be approved by the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Philippine Islands

On page 57 of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Phil-

ippine Islands," will be found a record of the action of the Executive Council, taken in conformity with the contents of Resolution No. 84, approved by the Portland, 1923, convention.

Your committee concurs in the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council as a result of the conference with the representatives of the trades affected, and we further recommend the early adoption by Congress of such action as will speedily result in the severance of the relations that now exist between the United States and the Philippine Islands.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Labor and the Farmers**

On page 63 of the Executive Council's report, under the caption "Labor and the Farmers," will be found a recommendation by the Executive Council—"that from time to time there be conferences between the representatives of the farmers and the representatives of labor, that there be greater publicity for facts, and agreement for co-operation upon mutually satisfactory undertakings, political and economic."

Your committee concurs in the foregoing recommendations, and recommends that the same be approved by the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Occupational Diseases**

On page 71 of the Executive Council's report, under the sub-caption, "Occupational Diseases," will be found a statement of the passage of a law to provide relief for federal workers.

This fact will be noted with satisfaction by all who are watching the progress that is being made in building up a system that will provide ample compensation for the victims of industrial mishap or disease.

In this connection your committee wishes to restate the position of the American Federation of Labor that the compensation of those who are unfortunate enough to be brought under the provisions of any law, whether it be to provide relief for accident, disease or maiming, should be so administered that there will be no profit to

anyone because of the necessity of making such arrangements as are necessary to take care of such victims of industry.

We realize fully that the state fund plan as now administered is not an unmixed blessing, but that it does have disadvantages inherent in human institutions. It is, however, freer from the element of profit-taking than even the private insurance plans can become, and therefore is to be preferred.

Your committee recommends that efforts be made in the direction of such legislation as will eliminate the possibility of profit from the plans to protect the worker, and at the same time to wholly safeguard him and those dependent upon his labor.

It is especially noteworthy that the Executive Council reports "twenty state laws now provide permanent total disability compensation for life."

In connection with occupational diseases, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to make the necessary inquiry and then draft an "occupational disease section," naming therein the various diseases, with their derivatives, for which compensation should be paid, which shall stand as a model for all the states, and which we recommend to be engrafted in all state compensation laws.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Jurisdiction**

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Meta. Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America is infringing upon the jurisdictional rights of the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, and other organizations, affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, After numerous conferences we find that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees persist in claiming jurisdiction over all persons employed in the street and electric railway industry, including mechanics properly coming under the jurisdiction of several metal trades organizations affili-

ated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the jurisdictions of the metal trades organizations referred to above, be and are hereby fully recognized; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees stand instructed to discontinue its efforts to induce or accept for membership, employes coming under the jurisdiction of other affiliated organizations; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees stand instructed to transfer all metal trades mechanics now holding membership in that organization to their proper metal trades organizations.

Your committee heard statements from the parties at interest and we recommend that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to call a conference of all interested parties, to meet within ninety days of the time of the adjournment of this convention.

From the statements made before the committee, we believe that such conference will bring a satisfactory adjustment of the matters at issue.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Workmen's Compensation Laws**

On pages 50 and 51, Executive Council's report, under the caption, "Workmen's Compensation Laws," will be found a careful statement of progress made since the last report to the 1923 convention.

We commend this section of the Executive Council's report to the careful study of all who are interested in this important subject. Especially valuable are the suggestions set forth as to the changes contemplated in existing workmen's compensation laws. The Executive Council lays particular stress on the necessity of "insisting that the principles of rehabilitation of maimed workers and of restoring them to useful self-sustaining occupations shall receive attention, and that all commercial methods of compensation insurance be made inapplicable to cover this form of risks and requirements."

On page 71 of the Executive Council's report, under the sub-caption "Workmen's Compensation," will be found a statement of the progress made in the effort to secure an adequate compensation law for the District of Columbia.

This committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council in both of these matters be approved.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ryan, Central Trades and Labor Council, New York: On February 25 last year the supreme court declared that the Johnson-Mills bill was unconstitutional, thereby depriving maritime workers who are unfortunate enough to be injured aboard ship from coming under the benefits of the compensation laws. It is up to the different organizations and the central bodies co-operating with them to enact some form of legislation for the protection of these men. We have already started. Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania is now working on a bill to protect these men. Congressman Tague introduced a bill during the last session, but Congress adjourned before the matter could be acted upon. Mr. Roberts, legislative agent, and others have co-operated with us in the past and will do so in the future, but I think some mention should be made of it so that when we go to Washington they will know that we have the backing of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers**

On page 85 of the Executive Council's report, under the caption, "Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers," will be found the report of the Executive Council in regard to its action taken subsequent to the Portland convention.

After hearing the journeymen tailors' appeal, the Executive Council decided to not sustain the appeal and to grant a charter to the Chicago local of Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers, and also "that cleaners, dyers and pressers' unions should receive charters direct from the American Federation of Labor."

From this decision the Journeymen

Tailors' Union of America appealed to this convention.

**Appeal of Tailors From Decision of the Executive Council Under Which Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Are Chartered Direct by**

A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Thos. Sweeney, Max J. Sillinsky and Gus Soderberg of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The council granted jurisdiction to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America over cleaners, dyers and pressers; and

WHEREAS, The action of the council was approved by the committee on Executive Council report at the Rochester, New York, convention, November, 1912; and

WHEREAS, The council refused a charter to the dyehouse workers of Chicago, Illinois, and the action of the council in refusing said charter was approved by the committee on Executive Council's report at the Baltimore convention in 1916; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council granted a charter to the cleaners, dyers and pressers of Chicago after the adjournment of the Portland, Oregon, convention, thereby striking at the solidarity of the national unions composing the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to revoke the charter granted to the cleaners, dyers and pressers of Chicago, and all other charters, if any, and that the council instruct the cleaners, dyers and pressers of Chicago to reaffiliate with the Journeymen Tailors' Unions of America immediately, in accordance with the action of the conventions of 1912 and 1916.

After hearing the parties at interest, your committee recommends that Resolution No. 41 be not concurred in, and that the action of the Executive Council be approved.

We further recommend that the Executive Council call a conference between the representatives of the Journeymen Tailors and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers within 90 days from the adjournment of this convention, in order that the jurisdiction of each organization be delimited as closely as possible, in order that a complete understanding may be had of the rights of each organization and of other organizations that may be similarly situated as the Journeymen

Tailors with reference to the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Teamsters Vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees**

On pages 84 and 85 of the Executive Council's report, under the caption, "Teamsters Vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees" will be found a report of the action taken by the Executive Council on a complaint filed by President Tobin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, against the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, charging an infringement upon the jurisdiction of the Teamsters.

Your committee listened to the statements made by the representatives of both organizations, and is of the opinion that prompt action in this case will probably avert further occasion for dispute.

We therefore recommend that the Executive Council call a conference between the representatives of the organizations affected, within ninety days from the day of adjournment of this convention, to the end that a speedy adjustment of the differences be had.

In the event of a failure to reach a settlement by conciliation or agreement, then a board of arbitration shall be immediately convened to consist of three members, one appointed by each of the parties to this case, the arbitrator so appointed to choose the third. In the event of the failure of the arbitrators to choose the third within ten days, then the President of the American Federation of Labor shall appoint the third member of the board. The entire subject matter shall then be referred to the board of arbitration so constituted for adjustment, and its decision shall be final and binding on both parties.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzgerald, Street Railway Employees: I do not arise to oppose the report of the committee, but rather

to make an explanation so that the convention will understand that it was good faith on all sides. I would have much preferred that the committee, in their wisdom, had left out the arbitration proposition. It can not be acted upon until our next convention, and that is the point I want the convention and the delegates to understand. I am not opposing the report.

Vice-President Duffy: When will the convention of the Street Railway men be held?

Delegate Fitzgerald: In September, 1925.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Conclusion

Your committee has given careful consideration to all matters referred to it by the Executive Council, and by the convention, and has herewith submitted a full report on the same.

Signed by the committee:

JAMES WILSON, Chairman,  
T. W. McCULLOUGH, Secretary,  
GEORGE L. BERRY,  
JOHN L. LEWIS,  
JERE L. SULLIVAN,  
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,  
A. E. BARTLETT,  
JOHN J. HYNES,  
ANDREW FURUSETH,  
JAMES C. SHANESSY,  
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,  
COLLIS LOVELY,  
JOHN P. FREY,  
JAMES P. NOONAN,  
WILLIAM A. CAMPBELL.

Committee on Executive Council's

report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Vice-President Duffy: By action of the convention, the hour for the special order has arrived, and we will now have the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Matthew Woll, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

##### Industry's Path of Progress

Under the heading "Industry's Path of Progress," on pages 31 and 32, Executive Council's report, we find stated in a new and condensed form the fundamental principles inspiring American labor in our existing indus-

trial life. Both those in the organized labor movement and that public moved by a sincere desire to understand the causes and the hopes and ambitions that animate America's wage earners, will do well to take note of the philosophy expressed and the activities manifested. While the well-known declaration of the Portland convention against "state intrusion" in industry is reaffirmed strongly and without qualification, this year all the emphasis is rightly placed in a different direction. The pronouncement of last year's convention, pointing out that industrial democracy must evolve mainly through industry itself and not through government, presupposed the co-operation at least of the bulk of organized employers. So long as that co-operation is not forthcoming in sufficient volume—and it has not been forthcoming—the evolution towards industrial democracy must give place temporarily to a wasteful economic and political struggle. The experience of the past year has shown that it is this struggle that now dominates the economic and political field:

Too frequently labor is still compelled to fight for the simplest rights. It is compelled to carry on a constant warfare for industrial freedom—for the right to organize, the right to cease work, the right to speak through its chosen representatives, the right to fair conditions under which to work, the right to keep its childhood from the mill, the factory, the mine, the sweat shop.

The Executive Council refers not only to phases of the war against organized labor such as the open-shop campaign injunctions, stopwatch, blind and wasteful managements which we hope are passing phases, but to the more lasting features of the anti-union labor system of production which it describes as a system "inspired by the investor without regard either to the worker or the consumer."

The anti-social character of this profiteering system of production was developed at length in the Executive Council's reports previous to the Portland convention. Labor's constructive policies outlined at last year's convention eloquently set forth hope for industrial democracy to be attained in co-operation with every useful ele-

ment in industry, including forward-looking employers, can be understood only in connection with labor's utter inevitable and irreconcilable opposition to the conduct of industry exclusively or fundamentally for profit. Industrial democracy must be as clearly defined by what it moves away from as by what it moves towards.

As stated by the Executive Council, "democracy cannot come into industry through the state." This refers to the constructive processes of the evolution of industrial self-government. But the foundations upon which industrial democracy must be built can be kept out of industry and are kept out of industry by the state—or with the aid of the state. The existing industrial autocratic order in America is founded on state aid, and especially on judge-made law.

Before a constructive democracy can develop generally in industry labor must be everywhere and fully organized. Before labor can be everywhere and fully organized the rights of citizens presupposed in a politically democratic state must be recognized in a fullness that leaves no room for doubt or question, much less demand a constant struggle for enforcement.

Labor engages in its constructive work whenever and wherever it can. "But the road to democracy is not a road labor can travel alone." Labor is ready, willing and competent to contribute its full share in every field of endeavor to the early attainment of this higher ideal and to make possible the great industrial co-operation and constructive co-ordination so essential to the general well being, to our industrial life and every improvement of our social and political order. Determined to carry on our work in whatever way is made imperative, we await the response of those within our industrial organizations to come to a like understanding to that herein expressed and with us enrich our nation by the fulness of the principles of democracy of opportunity in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness in all manifestations and relations of life. This is the 1924 message of American labor to the world of industry as formulated by the Executive Council. It

is recommended that this message receive our approval and endorsement.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: For the past two years the Executive Council as a council, and I, as president of the Federation as well as editor of our official magazine, the American Federationist, have endeavored to present, not only to organized labor but to employers, to men of affairs, to those engaged in the study of economics and quest of scientific information, and to those who aim to aid in the orderly development of human relations, this new philosophy of an old idea. We have often spoken of industrial democracy and the time when it should come into the realm of our existence, but few have undertaken to evolve a philosophy upon which an industrial democracy may be established, and perhaps fewer still have understood what is really meant by an industrial democracy.

In Russia there has been established by force and by usurpation of power what is called there a dictatorship of the proletariat, or, in common, ordinary English, a dictatorship in the name of the working class of that country. I shall not attempt at this time to present the question of this dictatorship of the proletariat, because it has been presented in previous conventions and other gatherings, but this is clear to all of us, I think, that dictatorship in whatever form is hostile, is in natural antagonism to democracy.

Today, in our own country, and in the other democratic countries, there is, to a larger or smaller degree, an autocracy of what has come to be known as capitalism; in other words, the extreme of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of wealth, of employers, of profiteers, of the possessors of material things. The only influence of power which challenges this employers' autocracy and dictatorship, is the American labor movement, the democratic labor movement of our country, and all other democratic industrial countries — in some backward countries, groping, struggling, sacrificing, as ever the men of labor had to grope and struggle and



sacrifice and suffer in the early days of the labor struggle, we still find the sacrifices which our men and women now must endure and which are even imposed upon the young and the innocent children of our time.

I have an abiding faith that democracy in its purest and best sense in industry will prevail, in spite of all attempts at the maintenance or establishment of autocracy and dictatorship of any kind.

When I arose I did not intend to deliver a homily or an address, but my purpose was to try to impress upon the delegates to this convention and our friends and our people back home, and the people generally, the study of this philosophy of democracy in industry. More of us must know the basic principles upon which our movement is founded and the ideals toward which we are striving.

This is a rough struggle, necessarily, as every mass struggle must be. An expression of Herbert Spencer comes to me, and it is so seldom used that I won't even attempt to quote it, but every struggle for the abolishment of wrong and the establishment of right, for the attainment of freedom, for the attainment of a better standard of life, is a rough struggle until the contestants begin to understand each other's problems, and the great social problem involved in it all.

I repeat, my only purpose in rising to take your time for the minutes I have, is to try to impress upon you, and that you in turn may impress upon all with whom you come in contact, by every means of conveying information, the need to understand the great problem which the American labor movement and the intelligent labor movement, the trade union movement of the civilized world, is undertaking to grapple with and to solve in the interests of and for the betterment of the human family.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Labor and the Courts

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 35 to 41, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council has impres-

sively and accurately summarized labor's position upon the attitude of our courts toward wage earners, beginning with a brief historical sketch and ending with the latest decision of the Supreme Court.

We recognize that our government is a constitutional system of separation of powers into the judiciary, executive and legislative branches. We fully approve that division of powers. Our government is also a government of delegated powers. All power not expressly delegated to the federal or state governments is reserved expressly to the people.

In spite of this three-fold division of our government, there has developed an increasing assumption of power by the judiciary. The steadily increasing usurpation of power and authority by the courts violates and transgresses this most fundamental of all American constitutional principles. This usurpation of authority manifests itself in two forms and in contradiction to each other. In declaring laws unconstitutional our courts deny to the people the right to delegate reserved powers to the state and nation not in conflict with the constitutional guarantees to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The hard and fast restriction and limitation of legislative powers, as defined by the courts, restricts and limits the opportunities of the American people in enlarging the functions and duties of that branch of government which is most responsive to the hopes, ambitions and requirements of the great mass of our people—the legislative branch of government.

While it is true that the courts have exercised and do exercise this usurped function in the interests of and for the protection of property and of property rights, it is likewise true that the most serious and successful attacks on individual and collective rights to life, and liberty, have emanated almost entirely from the courts.

The attacks of the courts on the American system of government have gone so far as to be leveled against the constitution itself. The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes is a complete repudiation of the doctrine

that the rights and liberties of our people cannot be limited, curtailed or taken away other than through legislative or constitutional methods. Injunctions, as now issued, destroy those very articles and amendments of the constitution which are of greatest importance to the people. Property and property rights alone are consistently protected. Human rights are constantly disregarded or violated.

The Executive Council calls attention to a recent decision—*Sandefur vs. Canoe Creek Coal Co.*—rendered on October 20 of this year, in which the Supreme Court recognizes the abuse of power by the courts. It recognizes this abuse, however, only in part. It does not do anything to correct the wrongs the courts have inflicted upon the people in the labor movement, even in those instances now admitted to have been unconstitutional. This decision, as the Executive Council points out, marks a great victory for labor insofar as it re-establishes trial by jury in contempt of court cases arising in the federal courts.

The correction of judicial abuses by the courts themselves is neither secure nor satisfactory. The correction of these abuses must come through acts of Congress or by constitutional method. It is probable that the Supreme Court was influenced in this decision not only by the campaign waged by organized labor, but by the fact that Congress had under consideration bills to restrict the power of the courts in contempt cases. The danger is that courts may begin once more by the process of interpretation to restrict the trial by jury and it is to be hoped that Congress will proceed to enact the proposed bills assuring a trial by jury in all cases of indirect contempt.

The American Federation of Labor as the Executive Council points out, has called upon Congress to enact effective legislation against the further evils ineffectively dealt with by the Clayton Act (Sections 6, 19 and 20). That act still leaves the door open for injunctions by providing that organized labor may act "in a lawful manner" without defining what those lawful acts are. A definition has been

successfully made in Great Britain and has been copied from British practice by other countries.

Though the Clayton Act provided that labor unions should not be regarded as trusts under the Sherman Act, it left the door open for them to be regarded by the courts as conspiracies under the ancient common law. This evil has also been eliminated in Great Britain and other countries. Congress can do away with this doctrine in the United States.

We recommend in addition to the endorsement of these and all the other legislative and constitutional measures mentioned in the Executive Council's report, that Congress re-define the quiet powers of the courts. A broad view of industrial problems makes it evident that there is need for a reconsideration of law affecting collective action both by the industry and by wage earners, in order that there may be development of policies for constructive regulation of industry.

An intelligent public opinion thoroughly aroused and a Congress responsive to the will of the people can prevent any and all usurpation of power by the courts and will result in the early attainment of the judicial reform declared for. To accomplish that end we recommend the publication in pamphlet form of this part of the Executive Council's report so that this splendid pronouncement and declaration of intentions may be widely and effectively disseminated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Legal Information Bureau

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 41 and 42, the committee reported as follows:

The establishment and development of the "Legal Information Bureau," as is clearly indicated in the report of the Executive Council, has well earned the deep gratitude of the affiliated international and national trade unions, state and central labor unions and of all concerned in the defense of trade unions and trade unionists whenever the rights of Labor have been challenged in the courts. That this dis-

tinctive service of the American Federation of Labor will become of ever increasing importance and value is best indicated by the greater care and caution being exercised by the courts in more nearly shaping their judgments to the enlightened public conscience of our people and to be less influenced by the judgments of a decayed period of life.

The information disseminated through the Legal Information Bureau, including current decisions of courts of final resorts, involving the rights and liberties of the wage earners has caused an ever enlarging number of workers and citizens to review these decisions of our courts. In turn this has stimulated a greater interest and has aroused a larger number of our people to study and reflect upon the attitudes, purposes and objectives embraced in the decisions of our courts. There is rapidly developing among our judges the realization that their decisions can no longer include fallacious social doctrines, outworn economic theories and repugnant legal fictions.

Then, too, as is indicated in the report, invaluable aid has been given to those selected to present Labor's defense in our courts, not alone from the legal but as well from the economic and social point of view. To that extent enlightenment has been brought to those trained professionally in the law with all its legal fictions and assumptions and to such judges as are prompted by a sincere desire to serve the people justly, fairly, intelligently and beneficially.

We express thanks to the Executive Council, to the director of this bureau and to all having contributed to the success of this great service. We urge continuance and constant enlargement of this service. We solicit the generous co-operation of all trades and labor unions and wage earners in this work. We recommend that the Executive Council make every possible allowance, financial and otherwise, so that this bureau may prove of even greater worth and benefit, by enlarging its functions and opportunities of service and thus become a legal in-

formation service equal, if not more efficient, than that maintained by any single or combination of employers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Banking and Credit

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 42 and 43, the committee reported as follows:

As is indicated in the report of the Executive Council on the subject of banking, the American wage earners and their trade unions are not inclined toward the Marxian theory of government. To the contrary, they are manifesting a constantly growing interest and participation in the institutions dependent upon private and co-operative initiative and personal and group adventure.

Justification for this allegation is well illustrated in the strides made by labor banking institutions and the increasing confidence manifested in them by the wage earners, their friends and sympathizers. While expressing good will and support to these enterprises of labor, to assure continued and permanent success it is essential that the greatest possible care and caution be exercised by the institutions now in existence. More particularly is this true of like institutions in the making or in contemplation.

This new venture of labor has already attracted its adventurers and exploiters. We cannot emphasize too strongly a word of caution and for the need of painstaking research, intelligent study, and discriminating care and judgment in the undertaking of new and additional labor banking institutions.

We express full agreement in the judgment of the Executive Council for the need of controlling credit through a properly constituted and efficiently managed public agency. Private and unregulated or uncontrolled credit has served altogether too well those who would increase unearned incomes at the expense of earned incomes. This is an unnecessary and undesirable burden upon the industry and life of our people and should be removed.

The warning against the investment

by trade unions and trade unionists in so-called investment or holding companies, is both appropriate and timely. Such institutions as these present risks and difficulties that cannot and must not be overlooked. Indeed, labor's activities should be more nearly confined to practices and ventures that will not in any way destroy or lessen the efficiency of the trade union character of the American labor movement.

Your committee recommends full accord in and approval of this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Panama Canal Zone**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under this caption, pages 54 to 57, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has examined with great care the report contained under the above caption and has also gathered much information additional to the report. We desire to commend the zealous efforts of President Gompers and all members of the committee in behalf of the Canal Zone employes, in connection with their visit to and investigation in the Canal Zone and in connection with their later efforts to secure redress from the War Department in behalf of the canal workers. We believe the attitude assumed by the government is indefensible and discreditable. We recommend that the efforts to secure justice for these workers, who are engaged in a most important service in which every American is deeply interested, should be continued most energetically.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Conscription**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 69, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption of "Conscription" the Executive Council makes clear the evident purpose of the attempt made in the United States Congress to place the wage earners of our country under the complete domination and control of the executive branch of our govern-

ment at any time the President of the United States may deem an "emergency" to exist, while in the same proposed legislation property and the material resources of our land would be permitted full freedom of action in any and all emergencies excepting that of actual warfare. It is difficult to conceive of a more subtle and vicious proposal to subordinate life and liberty to the exaltation of property and material wealth. We hold that if preference is to be given that then property and material resources shall be conscripted during any domestic or international emergency and the labor shall not be conscripted unless all classes of citizens are conscripted and then only for the purposes of repelling an invasion of our land or in defending the institutions of our country when challenged by force of arms.

We commend the Executive Council for its opposition to the proposed legislation reported and continued opposition is urged to this and all legislative proposals giving preference to and subordinating life and liberty to property and property rights.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Contempt of Court**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 69 and 70, the committee reported as follows:

We are in complete agreement with the effort made to alter our present method of trial and punishment arising out of the charge of contempt of court, alleged to have been committed outside the presence of the court. Having succeeded in making applicable the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury in all charges of indirect contempt of court arising out of labor disputes and in so far as they relate to our federal courts we must not rest content until the right of "trial by jury" shall be guaranteed to all citizens and govern in all charges of indirect contempt of court, and apply to our state as well as our federal courts.

It is urged that the Executive Coun-

cil continue its efforts to the early accomplishment of this much needed judicial reform.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Soldiers' Adjusted Compensation**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 70, the committee reported as follows:

We note with much gratification the contribution made by the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council to the enactment of the Soldiers' Adjusted Compensation Law and despite a Presidential veto to the contrary notwithstanding. This is but another incident in the progress of the world's movement, demonstrating that the time is fast nearing when personal rights and human welfare shall receive prior and greater consideration than property and property rights and when the material wealth of the nation shall be made to serve the well-being of all our people.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Restricting Constitutional Amendments**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 72 and 73, the committee reported as follows:

We heartily commend the Executive Council for its opposition to the attempt made to make more difficult than at present the amending of our federal constitution. We urge continued opposition to this and like proposals. If evidence is needed to demonstrate that the forces of humanity and democracy are making substantial progress then indeed may we point to the alarm, fears and apprehensions best expressed in these carefully hidden attempts to stem the ever increasing tide for justice, liberty and democracy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

President Gompers: Last year at our Portland convention we had the great advantage of having with us the chief of the United States Veterans' Bureau, General Hines. The convention bene-

fited greatly by his splendid address, and, better than all, the Veterans' Bureau and the veterans themselves benefited greatly. The Executive Council, upon request, has invited General Hines to be present with us at this convention and to report the progress which has been made in the past year in that bureau and for the veterans. He was unable to attend this convention, and has deputized one of his assistants, Mr. Charles H. Taylor, who is here now, invited by the Executive Council to address this convention. Before presenting Mr. Taylor, I ask Secretary Morrison to read this memo.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Chief, Employment Service, United States Veterans' Bureau, Washington, D. C., an active member of organized labor for twenty years, International Association of Machinists, with the rehabilitation work of the bureau since the inception of the work. As a practical man he has been able to materially assist the bureau in properly organizing and functioning, to the end that the disabled ex-service men might be trained and returned to suitable and gainful employment. Federation responsible for initial action in promoting rehabilitation work.

President Gompers: I have the pleasure of presenting Mr. Taylor to this convention.

#### **Address of Mr. Charles H. Taylor Representing the United States Veterans' Bureau**

Mr. Chairman, Delegates to this Convention and Brothers: It is a great honor and a great pleasure to me to be able to represent one of the great branches of the government, the United States Veterans' Bureau, especially as it applies to the rehabilitation work for the benefit of the disabled ex-service men. General Hines has instructed me to express to your chairman, Mr. Gompers, and to the convention, his sincere appreciation for the interest that has been continuously displayed by the American Federation of Labor in the disabled ex-service men since the signing of the armistice in November, 1918.

Prior to that the American Federation of Labor, as has been indicated by your secretary, was responsible for the initial action relative to the law which provides for the rehabilitation of the disabled ex-service men and

women. Your chairman has mentioned that General Hines addressed the Portland convention. In my connection with him since that time I know that he was deeply impressed by meeting that convention, and in his official actions between his various departments, and especially with the department I represent, the rehabilitation division, he has often expressed his desire that we keep in close contact with all the national, international and local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

At this time I want to express to you the deep appreciation of the bureau for the action taken by your convention Saturday in providing ways and means to further extend your efforts in behalf of the disabled ex-service men and women.

The work of rehabilitating the disabled soldier is now being administered by the Veterans' Bureau, having been transferred to that bureau in August, 1921, by act of Congress. The law was liberalized at that time, making it possible for the government to serve our disabled more adequately and with better results as a whole. Errors have been made, this the bureau freely admits, but compared to the accomplishments, such errors are very, very small and are only such as are bound to occur in any large business organization, or in an organization such as yours, where men are the units and where every individual must be considered as such. In fact, I believe even the American Federation of Labor admits making a few mistakes. However, I know they have been minor ones and have been of the head rather than of the heart.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Act has been on the statute books since June, 1918, a period of over six years. Some of you have wondered why we haven't got the job done by this time.

The answer is easily made when we consider that thousands of our disabled men did not at first avail themselves of their rights under the law. They were proud and independent and tried at first to return to work, to forget the war, and endeavor to maintain themselves and their dependents. They broke down through sheer inability to carry on, due to wounds received in service, were forced to accept medical attention, hospital treatment, or both, and then after recovery to accept training in some vocation in which they could carry on.

Hundreds, yes, thousands of other disabled men, did not recover from their disabilities for three or four years after their discharge from the service, and this is particularly true of those men who have the misfortune to contract that plague of mankind, tuberculosis. Hundreds of our men were disabled mentally. Some of them have recovered and are now in training, but a great many of the others will for years need the protection of

the most generous government in the world, the government of these United States.

The United States government, through the Veterans' Bureau, is the leading exponent of vocational education in the world today. We are far in advance of all nations in our conception of the rehabilitation of the disabled and in the salvaging from the human scrap-heap of war that American manhood and man power which, but for a generous and far-seeing people, would be the greatest liability the nation would ever have to contend with.

Probably the greatest accomplishment among the many in this huge undertaking has been the evolution of what is admitted to be the soundest vocational education policy thus far issued. The bureau today, as in the past, conceives this task to be one of fitting a certain specified disabled ex-service man for a specific employment objective. We analyze the objective to determine exactly what it is necessary to know to carry on; we determine how much and what knowledge the disabled man already has and then provide the man with the opportunity to gain the additional information and skill through training. While in training the bureau supports him and his dependents, if any. A single man is entitled to at least \$30.00 and a married man is entitled to at least \$100.00 a month, plus an additional amount for each dependent.

As you realize, you men here are most concerned with those men who are being trained for the trades and industry. Being a tradesman myself I can appreciate your interest in that line of thought. Where disabled men are being trained for the trades I want to ask you, as a favor to me, as a favor to the boys and as a favor to your own trade, to see to it that they are not kept in training too long on any one operation, in order that they may have a chance to thoroughly learn the trade they are being trained for.

The Bureau does not want to make handy men or specialists out of them; we do not want them to be imposed upon by any man or group of men who may seek to exploit them while in training.

While on this point I may say to you that we have found employers who were unscrupulous enough to exploit these men. Those occurrences are rare, but it shows that we must ever be on guard to protect the interests of the disabled men even from those few selfish employers. It is the bureau's aim to train these men to be journeymen in the fullest sense of the word, and to this end we need your help so that if, upon rehabilitation, or, in other words, completion of training, these men desire to join the trade unions having control over the trade in which they are trained they may do so and

be a credit to themselves and to the organizations with which they desire to become affiliated.

I am not going to burden you with a great many figures, as that has already been outlined in the report of your committee on education, but I want to draw your attention to just one phase of our statistics and the importance which they may hold for you. We have in training at the present time only 35,505 men, as compared with 109,000 two years ago, which means that over 78,000 men have been rehabilitated on the whole. Of these 35,000 men now in training, 17,378 are in training in the trades and occupations coming under the trade and industrial category. That is important to you. I know that some of the representatives of some of the international organizations have the thought that perhaps the bureau is going to overcrowd their trade or the other trades to the detriment of their members, but in this connection I just want to convey to you the information that the bureau has at the present time men in training in 125 different trades and occupations over which this organization has more or less control, so that you can see there is no danger of any one trade or occupation being overcrowded.

In this connection I am going to request that this list of employment objectives be recorded in the minutes of this convention in order that you may know fully just what trades and occupations we have men in training for at the present time and which will hold for the years that have passed.

Trade and industrial classified list of employment objectives for which disabled ex-service men are being trained by the U. S. Veterans' Bureau:

- I. Advertising Trades.—Sign painters.
- II. Building Trades.—Builders, cabinet makers, carpenters, cement workers, masons, paperhangers, plan readers and estimators, plasterers, plumbers, road builders, roofers, stone cutters, structural iron workers.
- III. Crafts.—Clock and watch makers, engravers, jewelers, jewelry manufacturers, lens grinders, stone cutters (jewelry).
- IV. Electrical Trades.—Armature winders, electrical supply workers, electricians.
- V. Food Preparation.—Bakers, bottlers, soft drinks, candy makers, cooks, meat cutters, millers (grain and feed).
- VI. Garments and Leather Trades.—Cleaners and dyers, coat and suit makers, designers, dressmakers, furriers, garment workers, garment makers, harness makers, hat makers, milliners, pocketbook makers, shirt makers, shoe makers, shoe repairers, tailors, tannery workers, trunk and bag makers, glove makers.
- VII. Manufacturing Trades.—Ammunition workers, awning and tent mak-

ers, brick yard workers, broom and brush makers, button makers, cigar makers, coopers, factory foremen, factory superintendents, glass workers, lathe operators, musical instrument makers, novelty workers, paint and varnish mixers, paper box makers, paper makers, piano and organ makers, pottery makers, rubber workers, soap makers, surgical instrument makers, turpentine makers.

VIII. Mechanical Trades.—Airplane mechanics, aviators, chauffeurs, construction foremen, cranesmen, locksmiths, machine operators, machinists, mechanics, millwrights, oilers of machinery, saw and planing mill workers, sawyers, stationary engineers, stationary firemen, tool makers, vulcanizers, wheelwrights.

IX. Metal Trades.—Blacksmiths, boiler makers, brass workers, buffers and polishers, coppersmiths, gold and silver platers, goldsmiths and silversmiths, iron and steel molders, iron and steel workers, metal grinders, metal platers, metal solderers, pattern makers, saw filers, sheet metal workers, smeltermen, welders.

X. Printing Trades.—Bookbinders, electrotypers and stereotypers, lithographers, pressmen and plate printers, printers and linotype operators.

XI. Railway Occupations.—Brakemen (R. R.), car and airbrake inspectors, car repairers (R. R. shop), conductors (Ry. street), locomotive engineers, locomotive firemen, motormen (elec. Ry.), signal foreman (R. R.), station agents, street railway foremen.

XII. Repair Work.—Mechanical repairmen, meter installers, repairers (gas co.)

XIII. Textile Work.—Carpet weavers, cotton weavers, dyers (textile mills), hosiery weavers, lace mill workers, loom fixers, silk weavers, textile workers, weavers (N. S. textile mills), woolen weavers.

XIV. Woodworking and Finishing Trades.—Auto Painters, enamelers, lacquerers, japaners, painters and varnishers, wood carvers, wood workers and furniture makers.

XV. Miscellaneous Trades and Occupations.—Barbers, coal mine operators and operatives, copper miners, draftsmen, coal miners, hostlers, janitors, laundry workers, lumber yard workers, motion picture operators, oil refiners, operatives (N. S.), porters, quarry operating, slaughter and packing house workers, stage hands, stewards, truck drivers, upholsterers, weigh masters, yardmen (stock yards).

We have not only been greatly concerned with the training of these men, but we are more greatly concerned with the subsequent employment of the men who have completed their training, and General Hines desires me to express to you the fact that he wishes to have your every assistance in helping these men to secure suitable and gain-

ful employment following rehabilitation.

I have talked with several of the delegates here and find they feel that we are training men in occupations for which they will never be fitted. I think in some cases this is true, for, as before indicated, we have made errors in providing the employment objective for some of the men. However, I think those are very few, comparatively speaking, when we consider the vast problem we had placed upon us at the time of the signing of the armistice, when thousands of men coming back from over there were clamoring to be placed in training—not because, perhaps, they were able to take training at that time, but because of the fact that they were in need of funds to support them and the training program found a way out of it temporarily.

As assistant chief of the employment service it has been my duty and pleasure to have come in contact with a great many officials of this organization. I will say that every contact has been pleasant and we have always been able to come to a settlement of the questions that may have arisen. I have had many conversations and communications with your officers which have materially aided me in specific cases of employment for training veterans. Our employment offices in our regional offices throughout the country, of which there are fifty-one, are doing this job, and where they come in contact with your local and district unions I trust you will give them your sincere and hearty co-operation.

I am not unmindful of the fact that your organization has working agreements with a great many employers. I do not forget that at times misunderstandings arise as to working conditions, hours of labor and wages. It is the policy of the bureau to maintain a strictly neutral position in cases of controversy. However, we have used our common sense in that matter and the records bear out that statement.

The director of the bureau, General Hines, desires that in all cases of misunderstanding from any cause the specific case or cases be referred to him, and he assures that prompt action will be taken toward an adjustment that will be satisfactory to all concerned. Wherever you cannot agree locally on a specific case of misunderstanding it is my suggestion that you at once draw the complaint to the attention of Secretary Morrison or to the attention of your international officers. If it is an employment matter it will most likely come to me or my section for adjustment, and I can assure you it will get every practical consideration.

There is one more thought I wish to bring to you, and that is that the employers of the country so far have given us great co-operation in the way of training and employment for these men. Of course I realize and the director realizes that the American Fed-

eration of Labor is not an employer in the full sense of the word. In my travels through the country and in my contact with the employers, I find that they are prone to criticize the labor unions for what they term lack of co-operation. In other words, they say, "Well, it appears that you ask the employers to do all the co-operating. How about the American Federation of Labor and the labor unions, why don't they help us out?"

I can appreciate why some of these things have been said, and I think that my answer to these men has been of the proper character. The only reason I bring that to your attention is because of the attitude of some who "burn up" as it were the labor unions, whether it may be a local union or an international union—it affects this body as a whole to a greater or lesser extent.

During the past four or five years there have been hundreds of resolutions passed by national, international, state or local bodies which are on file in my office. Many of you men probably have forgotten that you passed those resolutions. They have not and will not be forgotten by the veteran's bureau, and when the history of the rehabilitation work of the bureau has been written, you will find that full consideration will have been given to such resolutions.

I want to thank you for the consideration you have given me while here, and if there are any of the delegates who desire to take up any specific questions of complaint I shall be glad to see you and try to adjust them, if possible.

President Gompers: Mr. Taylor has done us the honor of giving us the credit of taking the initial steps in the establishment of this rehabilitation system for our ex-service men. At least we have helped, and we have endeavored to consistently help as best we could when opportunities offered. Of course it can not be expected that by a given time every local union of the forty thousand local unions throughout the country should at once let down all bars and all regulations which have been in existence since the formation of the union of a trade or industry.

This one thing I desire to emphasize, the difference of the spirit which exists between the head and body of the Veterans' Bureau of the last year and a half and the year before that. After all, all the law that can be enacted is one thing and the spirit of administration is another. General



Hines' policy and his broad vision and the practical co-operation of his assistants have made it easier for all of us to co-operate with the bureau in furtherance of its great objective, the rehabilitation of our ex-service men.

That the employers can give more lip service than we can give actual service goes without saying. It is easy for them to make a declaration, it is ours to meet the problem. I think I may say for the convention and for our movement that Brother Taylor can convey to General Hines the very best co-operation it is within our power to give in furtherance of this splendid service to our wounded, maimed and hurt men.

President Gompers asked for a meeting of the Executive Council on the platform immediately after adjournment.

President Gompers also announced for the local committee that a dinner would be given in honor of the delegates and visitors at Community Center Monday evening.

#### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT**

Secretary Woll continued the report of the committee as follows:

##### **Anti-Injunction Bill**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 74, the committee reported as follows:

The subject of anti-injunction legislation having been previously reported and acted upon, further comment or action is deemed unnecessary other than to approve the attitude manifested by the Executive Council upon the particular legislative proposal submitted for consideration.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

##### **Compulsory Labor**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 74, the committee reported as follows:

The attempt to enforce compulsory labor by direct legislation having been condemned from a constitutional point of view and by the public conscience

and judgment, it is not surprising that those who have not yet learned the lessons of democracy and freedom should now attempt to accomplish by indirection that which enlightened public judgment and judicial decisions will not permit by direct legislative action.

We commend the Executive Council for its alertness in exposing these devious forces at work and in resisting their nefarious efforts to deny, limit or restrict the rights and liberties of America's wage earners.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Reorganization of Government Departments**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 74, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in accord with the Executive Council in the point of view set forth that we are not concerned so much with the reorganization of governmental departments. We are concerned deeply and keenly in the maintenance and the full development of the Department of Labor. Indeed we urge that greater encouragement and support be given this department of our national government because its problems and its functions concern the human welfare and the personal well being of those who do the nation's toil, the greatest factors in our nation's life—the wage earners, the common people of our land.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

##### **Militarism in Civil Affairs**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 74 and 75, the committee reported as follows:

While we justly and rightfully condemn and resent all efforts and tendencies toward pacifism, we likewise condemn and resent all efforts and tendencies toward militarism. The veiled attempt being made to militarize the civilian service of our national government requires our constant and persistent opposition. We commend the Executive Council in the opposition manifested and recommend continuance of this attitude and action.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Insurance

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 44-49, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption of "Insurance," the Executive Council submits for consideration and disposition the investigation and recommendations of a special committee on insurance. Before venturing into an analysis of this report, your committee recommends appreciation and thanks be given to Messrs. Matthew Woll and G. W. Perkins for the extensive survey made, the time and effort contributed, and for the enlightenment presented on this subject.

Commenting briefly on this report of the special committee on insurance, your attention is directed to the fact that nearly all international and national unions provide some form of fraternal insurance or mortuary benefits; that all such ventures are predicated upon the step rate or assessment plan, which existed in some form or other in all early attempts of fraternal and many privately conducted insurance companies, which in the last analysis and final results proved to be complete and disastrous failures. These failures were inevitable, because of lack of scientific methods in calculating risks involved and essential premiums required to assure success.

Group insurance is generally misunderstood. We find that for twelve years past approximately \$13,172,198 were invested in group insurance. In 1923 this amount had increased to \$1,852,593,533. It is estimated that the amount invested today in group insurance is about three billion dollars. Group insurance was originally undertaken by employers who insured their employes, predicated upon the length of service, ranging in sums from \$500 to \$2,500. This insurance was ostensibly furnished free to the employes so long as they remained or retained

their employment. The purpose of group insurance by employers is obvious. Its influence is to chain the beneficiary to his employer.

The report submitted by the special committee indicates that there is invested in the insurance business of our country about sixty billion dollars and that the annual income is approximately ten billion dollars, making it the second largest business venture in volume of income in our country. The total volume of farm products is the only industry that exceeds in value the amount annually collected for insurance purposes.

This report likewise evidences that the profits from fire insurance alone in one particular state range from 14 per cent to 1157 per cent, and that profits in life insurance average approximately 20 per cent.

The financial ramifications of the insurance combination are unlimited and inconceivable. Insurance constitutes one of the most powerful single units in the financial oligarchy in our land. Its ramifications extend to all parts of the civilized world. It is alleged that the tremendous resources at the disposal of the insurance combine have been and are used in the attempt to crush organized labor.

Attention is called to the fact that 70 per cent, or approximately seven billion dollars, flow annually into the coffers of a few insurance concerns located within the shadow of the world's greatest financial center in the city of New York. This constitutes a golden stream of money ever flowing into the hands of those who are not devoting their thoughts, their time, or their energies to promoting the best interests, the well being, the life, liberty and fuller opportunities of working men and women.

It is fully conceded that the insurance business is the safest, surest and most simple of control and management of all present commercial enterprises. Its resources are not affected by sunshine or storm, by earthquakes

or pestilences. The risks are securely safeguarded, amply protected, and fully guaranteed by the premium rates based upon the American experience table of mortality.

Your committee is favorably impressed with the proposal that organized labor should engage in a joint insurance enterprise, owned and controlled by organized labor, based upon the American experience table of mortality, and safeguarded so as to protect fully the rights and interests of every member insured.

We heartily endorse the principle involved and recommend that national and international officers study carefully the report of the special committee on this subject. It is further recommended that the president of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to call a voluntary conference of all national and international officers within the coming year, for such action on this important proposal as shall appeal to the best judgment of those attending and as may be within their power to do. This authorization and direction shall also include the continuance of the special committee on insurance for the purpose of gathering and collating such additional material facts, opinions and judgments as will prove helpful to the proposed conference and the further consideration and disposition of this most important subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President Green: I want to ask, as a matter of information for the delegates, whether or not the committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor commit itself to the organization of a life insurance company? Or whether or not the committee recommends that international or national unions shall obligate themselves to become part and parcel of this program which has for its purpose the organization of an insurance company by the American Federation of Labor?

Secretary Woll: Responding to the first question. The adoption of the committee's report does not bind the American Federation of Labor to any insurance proposal. It does endorse

the principle of insurance to be considered by the international and affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

The second, as to whether the international unions herein assembled, by the adoption of the report, are bound to any insurance proposal, I want to say there is no binding power in the committee's report. The committee's report urges that a conference be called later on of such national and international officers as are interested in the subject, and for them to consider it and decide whether they want to give further consideration to it or not, and the form the consideration shall take. The report specifically states that the American Federation of Labor shall not be bound nor be a party to any such arrangement.

Vice-President Green: I am not certain whether or not the American Federation is ready to commit itself in principle, even to an organization of an insurance company, or to an insurance program. The whole subject involves a matter of very vital consideration. It is so comprehensive that it cannot be passed upon lightly. This subject was discussed pretty thoroughly when the report of the Executive Council was prepared, and I recall that it was the opinion of a majority of the members of the Executive Council that it would be unwise at this time to commit the American Federation of Labor, either directly or indirectly, to a comprehensive insurance program.

My purpose in asking these questions was to bring to the attention of the delegates the recommendation of the committee. While the secretary of the committee explains that it does not commit the American Federation of Labor to any specific plan of insurance organization, it does commit us to the principle.

I can distinguish but a very indistinct line between committing an organization to some specific program and committing the organization to such program in principle. I imagine there is very serious doubt in the minds of most delegates

here as to the wisdom of such a step. You may feel favorably inclined to the idea, but you are not so sure the memberships you represent are ready to embark upon such an adventure. The calling of a conference of the national and international officers involves a consideration of the subject, but the committee's report would commit us to the principle even in advance of calling such a conference.

Secretary Woll: I do not understand that Delegate Green speaks in opposition to the committee's report. The trade union movement, whether we want to acknowledge it or not, has practically committed itself to the proposition of insurance, because almost all international unions at the present time provide life insurance in some form. Whether we style it mortality benefits, graded benefits, or whatever terminology may be used, the overwhelming majority of international unions today provide insurance on the death of members.

It is urged, because a number of international unions have been compelled to study this problem during the past few years, and I am convinced, as years go on, that others will likewise be compelled to study the problems of their insurance features, it is but right and proper that we should attempt to secure a conference of international unions for the purpose of discussing the insurance they have, the successes or failures, the weaknesses or strengths, and then consider the possibility of such a venture as has been suggested by the committee's report.

When the conference is called, if it is the judgment of the conference that the campaign is unworthy, that decides it; if the conference decides there is merit in it, then indeed will we have been of assistance in bringing this report to them. The report does not involve the American Federation of Labor itself but distinctly eliminates the American Federation of Labor as a participating body or to be bound in any way whatever.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: do not rise to oppose the report of

the committee. Our organization has already paid out more than \$3,000,000 in benefits and now has in assets approximately \$1,300,000, and I want to get in the records of the American Federation of Labor that whatever plan is adopted, if one is adopted, in justice to our organization and the other similar, successful insurance organizations of the various internationals, the plan eventually worked out should not take away from us our field of work among our membership; in other words, we hope no plan will be adopted by the American Federation of Labor that will come in competition with the internationals, like ourselves, that have successful schemes in operation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption and upon the following resolutions, the committee reported as follows:

##### Labor Party

Resolution No. 1.—By John T. Wood, George H. Cartlidge, George Chadwick, delegates of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters:

WHEREAS, We, the members of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, do not agree with the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor desist from the non-partisan policy and adopt direct political action, such as an exclusive Labor party.

##### Labor Party

Resolution No. 2.—By the International Molders' Union of North America delegation:

WHEREAS, In the struggle between the organized workers and the employers it has become more and more apparent that the power of the government is being used on the side of the bosses, as witnessed by the infamous Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen, the abolition of the federal child labor law, and women's minimum wage law, and many other similar acts; and

WHEREAS, To protect our interests we workers must so organize ourselves in the various governmental bodies.

which are now almost entirely controlled by the employing interests; and

WHEREAS, To protect our political interests, we must have a political party of our own, the prevailing political policy of labor being incapable of getting the best results; and

WHEREAS, The workers in many other instances, notably in Great Britain, have built powerful labor parties, which exert tremendous influence in their respective governments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare that labor must form a political party of its own, based upon the trade unions and including all working class political organizations, and herewith instructs the Executive Council to take the necessary steps to form such a party; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to permit this action, the American Federation of Labor constitution shall be herewith amended by striking out Section 8, Article 3.

#### Declaring for Continuance of A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Policy

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate R. C. Bonney, Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, Under Article 3 Section 8 of the constitution of the A. F. of L. "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor," and

WHEREAS, The executive committee of the A. F. of L. and its officers did join with organized labor generally in the support of labor's independent candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States and its friends in Congress and for the defeat of its enemies in the non-partisan campaign of 1924 upon platforms independent of party politics, and in accordance with the laws of our organization and the traditions of true fraternalism, to the end that organized labor come into its own for future good of those whom we represent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse and approve the position taken by labor in its concerted acts through the executive committee and officers in the campaign of 1924, and pledge our future support along the same lines, in accordance with the constitution, supporting the friends of labor regardless of their political affiliations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That to accomplish such purpose the A. F. of L. will sponsor

no new party at this time, but will continue, as in the past, upholding the right and condemning the wrong, aiding its friends wherever they may be found, at the same time calling upon every member and friend of organized labor to join in the selection of men in the primaries to be voted upon in conventions or in the general elections who will stand with the masses in their fight for freedom, justice, democracy and human progress, that these faithful friends and servants of the masses may be elected and thus truly represent all of the people.

Your committee has considered the Executive Council's report under caption "A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign" on page 65 and its supplemental report on pages 169 to 173 in the fourth day's proceedings, in conjunction with resolutions numbered 1, 2 and 49.

Resolution numbered 1 directs the adoption of an exclusive Labor Party and the discontinuance of the non-partisan political policy which has heretofore governed the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution numbered 2 directs the amending of section 8, article 3, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor and directs the formation of a political party of trade unions including all working class political organizations.

While resolution No. 1 is all exclusive, Resolution No. 2 is all inclusive; the one would exclude all sympathetic groups from co-operating with Labor, the other would invite all elements, even those bent upon the destruction of the trade union movement. We recommend non-concurrence in both resolutions, not alone for the reasons heretofore mentioned, but because of reasons more fully set forth in our comments upon the Executive Council's report on this subject.

Resolution numbered 49 is intended to confirm the non-partisan political policy and procedure having guided our attitudes and activities heretofore. We are in accord with the spirit and purpose of this resolution and

recommend its endorsement in principle and in so far as it conforms to the recommendations contained in the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

In its supplemental report to this convention, the Executive Council briefly recites the causes that have impelled and compelled the American Federation of Labor to venture into the political sphere of our national states and municipal governments. It sets forth clearly the origin and development of Labor's non-partisan political policy and impressively points out the progress made and achievements realized.

In words of dispassion, without bias or prejudice, free from fault finding or criticism, the Executive Council has presented the attitude and activities of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations in recent Presidential and Congressional political campaigns.

It likewise presents clearly and supported by incontrovertible evidence that Labor's non-partisan political campaign was of tremendous effect upon our body politic and that through its procedure forces have been set in motion that will bring into being consequences of momentous importance to the better and fuller life of all our people.

Your committee unequivocally recommends full approval and endorsement of the attitude and activities manifested and engaged in on the recent presidential and congressional political campaigns. We rejoice in the results achieved in the congressional elections and are inspired by the future opportunities presented to America's wage earners.

Labor having succeeded in elections where Congress and Congress alone was the issue, the effort was made in this recent election to reconquer Congress under the guise of a Presidential election declared to be of paramount issue. Our non-partisan political pol-

icy withstood the test and issued forth triumphant and with its forces intact. The opponents having played their strongest card and having failed, the future belongs to labor and progress.

Upon the several recommendations set forth in the Executive Council's report having for their purpose the enlargement of Labor's non-partisan political policy and procedure, your committee finds occasion only for words of commendation and approval, for embraced in these recommendations there is contained a full understanding and intelligent vision of Labor's needs and requirements.

The world-wide change taking place is not merely political. It does not merely promise to establish governments of, for and by the people. It is also economic and social. In our land it promises to give Labor, the farmers and the other economic groups composing the masses, more influence in our political system and an improved position in our social structure. The object of the non-partisan policy is to make our government more responsive to the will and the needs of the great masses of our people and not submissive to the interests of property alone.

Our non-partisan political policy does not imply that we shall ignore the existence or attitudes of political parties. It does intend that Labor proposes to use political parties and be used by none. Appreciative of present tendencies and future developments the Executive Council accurately visions the future in practical terms when it says we need not concern ourselves so much with the coming or going of political parties, their realignment or the development of new and independent political parties or groups. No one will deny the inevitable change of political parties or groupings made imperative by the ever progressive enlightenment of the masses and changes in the social, economic and industrial order of a people.

There is noticeable at present throughout the world the manifestations of a change of political groupings representing on the one hand the desire to conserve the domination of material forces and wealth, property and property rights—and on the other, the hope and ambition to substitute the human aspirations and personal well-being of all our people as the controlling influence in our governmental affairs.

No one factor has been more helpful in the development of this tendency than the trade union movement. No procedure has done more to increase the wage earners' power and influence in this changing order than Labor's non-partisan political policy. No other method of political expression has developed such a clear and definite moral leadership or has focussed such helpful consideration of and attention to the principles of human welfare.

Our non-partisan political policy and procedure have brought into being indisputable evidences of effectiveness and have afforded to Labor a real and full opportunity of molding national, state and municipal decisions.

We therefore recommend approval of the Executive Council's report on this subject and of all suggestions and recommendations contained in the foregoing report of your committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Basky, Stone Cutters. There is a historical incident recorded that Watson, who conceived the idea of applying power to the operation of machinery, was invited to address a convention of the British engineers upon that subject. He did so, and after he got through there was a motion seconded and carried to have his address stricken from the proceedings of that convention, for the reason that it was an insult to that august body of learned men.

I have listened very attentively to what all the fraternal delegates from abroad said, but I listened with special attention to what the British delegates had to say, when they told us of their experiment of applying po-

litical power to the machinery of the labor movement, and I had fear that some such motion would be made. It seems to me from the report of the committee that it was only courtesy that prevented such a motion.

If we see, Mr. Chairman, and brothers, such animosity toward a new idea in the field of exact and practical science that we have seen right along in history, it is but small wonder that we see prejudice and enmity against any new ideas in the field of political science. I would not wonder a bit if that new idea—new to us, seemingly—of applying our political power through the instrument of a political party, through the operation of the labor movement, will meet defeat in this convention. I would not be surprised, I rather expect it, but I will submit this much to you, Mr. Chairman and brothers, that there were other ideas in the field of political science and social science much more repugnant to people than this idea, and they conquered.

Who would have thought but twenty years ago—and what is twenty years in the history of civilization—that the empire of China, that in the empire of Turkey, that in the empire of Russia and Germany, not mentioning small countries, the idea of republican forms of government would prevail over monarchical forms of government? Who would have thought but a few years ago that those rulers of those countries, who were assured by the churches of their respective countries that they were ruling by divine right, would, in spite of that divine right, go out in defeat and that other ideas would conquer?

It was not done without some suffering to those who conceived the idea originally, and I am here ready for ridicule, ready for rebuke, not for my new ideas, but for the new ideas of others, which are contained in Resolution No. 2, which urges you to assist in forming a party of labor, an instrument with which you can work, an instrument that you control, and nobody else but you.

The report that was just read by Brother Well on the report of the Ex-

ecutive Council does form an excellent preamble to this resolution. Those who have seen, those who have felt the autocracy in our political administration of affairs when they were fighting for better economic conditions, cannot but feel that we must use political action. This is not denied by the report, it is acknowledged.

There are some unions in the American Federation of Labor that are opposed to political action. They will have to come up further to reach that standard that is embodied in the report of the committee, but the committee must go a little further. I believe sincerely believe, it is time for the American Federation of Labor to take some steps in this direction. If we have such a party it will not be necessary for our friend Lewis to go with the Republican party or our friend Berry to go with the Democratic party.

If you would listen to the rank and file I am quite sure that you would hear an insistent call upon us to form a party of labor; I am quite sure you would hear that insistent call upon you to quit going to those political parties that are controlled absolutely by our opponents, whether you call them the capitalist class, a group of international bankers, or manufacturers, it means the same thing. Both of those parties are controlled by them. The recent election was the best proof of that.

The call upon us must be answered, ought to be answered. We are facing grave dangers and also great opportunities at the same time. We do not know such miserable times as the people of Russia, the people of Turkey, and the people of other nations had in overthrowing their monarchies and their aristocrats. The time will come and it is sensed by some of those here, that our opponents, the international bankers and the associations of manufacturers, are not in vain rejoicing over their victory in the political field; it is not in vain that they are making millions and millions of profits on the stock exchange, and profit that is yet to be made out of our flesh and skin in the future. They realize the need of political action and the need of con-

trolling political parties. And they see to it that they control both parties. Are we going to let another party be organized—and there is no question it will be organized—without assisting in it and without any attempt to control it in the interest of the wage earners? This is a paramount question, it is the most important question before the movement.

Mr. Chairman and brothers, if you will only listen, if you will only dare to listen to the call of the rank and file of the labor movement, and of some outside of the ranks of organized labor, you cannot fail to do your duty and go on record in favor of endorsing a system of organizing a political party of your own.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union: I was in hopes of hearing more from the introducers of the resolutions. I understand they were instructed by their conventions to present the resolutions. I also was in hopes that something more concrete and tangible would be presented by this committee other than the mere play upon words that we have heard in a great many conventions, along the straddling and indefinite policy of regarding our so-called friends and punishing our alleged enemies, or vice versa.

In the light of recent developments in this country I believe it would have been consistent for this committee to recommend something of a firmer movement, a step in advance of actions that were taken in the past. I was struck by the statement made by President Gompers this morning with regard to the evolution of our autocracy in industry in the face of our political democracies; and I hark back some years to when similar utterances were made from this floor and it was attempted by delegates in these previous conventions to point out that through inexorable evolution of our society the House of Have, the owning classes, naturally become more powerful and influential as time goes on. All of us know, every sane man who has eyes to see and ears to hear knows, there is an absolute industrial autocracy, and upon many occasions



exemplified as a terrorism in our American life.

And what are we doing to counteract this natural evolution? It is a natural growth, we cannot escape it. We are doing nothing more than to play a Democrat in this town, a Republican in another town, and an Independent in another, and trust to luck that this distinguished gentleman will work in sympathy with our just demands for a square deal in industry. And then next year the Executive Council comes in with practically the same reports, the same condemnation of the very elements that oppose us on the industrial field and defeat our political aspirations because of the control of the governing powers. And then we proceed in the same old way as we did in years past, to present reports and recommendations, phrased in other terms, but meaning the same thing, that get us nowhere.

Now, I realize as well as any delegate here the impossibility, perhaps for the lack of time and opportunity, of this federation promoting an independent political party. I have never advocated that the federation itself establish a political movement, but I do believe that the delegates here, and particularly in view of the demonstration of the effectiveness of the solidification of labor on the political field that we observed in the last campaign, are in a position where they can submit this question to a referendum vote of the rank and file of the membership and have them call a convention some time in the future to take a progressive and advanced position upon the political field.

There is no leadership on the political field demonstrated here; there seems, for some reason or other, a desire to sidestep, to ignore what is our plain duty, and that is to assist as far as possible in the formation of a definite and a distinct movement based upon the principles that we espouse on the industrial and economic field; and that in the fullness of time—and probably before we ourselves would realize it—would make substantial progress as has been done by the workers in other parts of the world.

I have become at times somewhat disgusted with the lethargy that has been displayed by our international officers, those who are looked up to for leadership. It occurred in years past that even where members of the rank and file, where the general memberships through their local unions endeavored to weld together the workers in a distinct, independent political movement, it was discouraged and con-

demned by our leaders. It has happened very frequently.

I know two or three conventions were held in the city of Cleveland where the delegates, fresh from their local unions, adopted resolutions urging and demanding the establishment of a political movement only to have it ignored, pigeon-holed, forgotten, which, in my opinion, is the wrong policy to pursue. The time is coming, and it must come here in America as in every other part of the world, where the workers must have a distinct political movement under their own control and domination, instead of having it controlled by the powers that be in the business and financial world.

We talk about securing nominations and elections of our own people through the old parties. It has been tried for a good many years. I believe we now are supposed to have something like 170 representatives in the next house of Congress. Certainly no one will claim that any very considerable number of them carry union cards or will stand up and be counted in a crisis when the acid test is made as between working class interests on the one side and the business autocracy on the other.

We have had samples of the efforts that were made to secure the nomination and election of candidates on the old party tickets. My distinguished brother, Major Berry, made a national campaign, traveling the country over to enlist support for the vice-presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket, and he had a strong support among the unionists who urged the local political bosses to see that delegates were elected pledged to Major Berry. I was told by a very distinguished and powerful Democrat only a few weeks ago that Major George L. Berry never had a chance of being the nominee of the Democratic convention held in the city of New York, that the game was to play the labor people along as far as possible—the old dodge that has been worked for many, many years.

What chance do we have with the big business party, the G. O. P.? No chance in the world of securing power as an executive or even in the legislative halls. I don't know how you delegates feel about it. I have seen some of you here a great many years—you have possibly heard me rave along in pretty much the same line as I am doing this morning. I expect to continue to remain consistent for the establishment of a political movement which will make us independent of other political movements, a movement similar to the one we have on the industrial field, where we are not expected to beg the assistance of those who are hostile to our interests, where we have the manhood and the womanhood to make a fight for the right, no matter what the consequences may be. And I have a hunch that whatever ac-

tion is taken here this morning, in the coming months a movement will be established in this country comprised principally of the organized workers, plus some other right-thinking, far-sighted citizens who place their country and the interests of the people as a whole above the interests of a class.

In the city of Cleveland, one week after we carried that town for LaFollette and Wheeler, we held a convention or conference of all the ward and many of the precinct and other active workers, and it was the unanimous opinion that that movement—the backbone of which is organized labor, the workers who are part of the federation—should be made permanent, should be continued. The same action has been taken in other industrial centers in the state of Ohio, and, come what will, we will have an independent political movement in the old Buckeye State, and I apprehend the same movement will strike root in every other civilized state in the United States for the establishment of an independent party.

Secretary Woll: It is unfortunate that the last speaker has not read the report of the Executive Council upon the recent Presidential and Congressional campaign, and particularly the recommendations contained in the report of the Executive Council looking toward the enlargement and greater effectiveness of the independent political expression of Organized Labor. In that report he will find recommended for your approval the very suggestion that the non-partisan committees established, the instrumentalities put at work during the recent Presidential and Congressional campaign to give expression to Labor's independent hopes and aspirations, should be continued.

The question, however, arises: Shall we be independent of all political parties? Or shall we become partisan to a political party? And, of course, the argument is made that we should be partisan to a political party composed of the American labor movement, with sympathetic and helpful groups.

We have heard a thesis upon the science of government. Unfortunately the speaker, in expounding his theory of social and political science has failed to reckon with circumstances and environments of existing institutions. It is well to build up a theory and ignore facts and draw entirely upon the imagi-

nation, and thereby picture a condition which presents nothing but ease and success and glory.

I have no word of criticism or commendation upon the movements in other countries or other lands. The wage-earning class in those respective governments know best their form of government, our social, economic and economic structure; they know best the temperament, the attitudes, the customs and traditions of their peoples. We, however, here in America know best our conditions, our structure of government our social, economic and industrial organizations, and what may be possible in one country may not be found practicable in another.

We hear much about the English Labor party. England is a comparatively small country, when we speak of England and not of Great Britain with all its colonial possessions and dominions. It is a comparatively small country geographically, not as large as some of our individual states. You could travel England from one end to the other in a few hours, where it takes us days to travel. We have a continent to deal with and not merely a small territorial nation.

England has a people of almost one language, one tradition, one custom. Here in America we have traditions and prejudices, customs and languages of all nations, of all peoples of the world. There is quite a different situation in England. The form of government is differently constituted, although alike somewhat in theory to our own, and the greatest expression politically in England is its parliament. While ostensibly they have an executive, they term him a King; here in America we elect our executive branch of government.

Over there I am advised that all the judicial forces are selected by the lord chancellor himself. So far as our federal government is concerned, our judges are indicated by the President and appointed by Congress. In many of our states, however, the judges are subject to the election of the people, and there is the desire everywhere that

all the judges shall be selected by the people and made responsive to them.

In England we have but one government; in our government we have forty-eight distinctive state governments; in our government, we have the superstructure of federal government. In addition to that our powers of government are divided into three divisions, the executive, the judicial and the legislative; all intended to be checks or balances so that no one department of government should usurp functions that would lessen or destroy the power to maintain a government of the people, for the people and by the people. It is well merely to say what success they have had when you do not reckon the actual facts and conditions.

It has been suggested that we have a referendum of the rank and file on political expression. I have a distinct recollection of a referendum vote having just been taken by our national government, including the rank and file of Labor, and I regret that that referendum, in so far as the Presidential election was concerned, where Labor did not go to the Republican or Democratic parties, but went independent of both, recorded such a comparatively insignificant number of votes as was carried on the Presidential ticket. It seems the American workers are not prepared for and do not approve of a separate distinctive Labor political party.

We have had success, however, with our non-partisan political policy. The Executive Council in its report very ably describes the conditions that made for the development of that policy. The report very ably sets forth that the course that compelled the creation of that policy and procedure has been successful, that every grievance complained of at that time, every demand insisted on, has been realized in the form of legislation, with but one exception, indicating clearly that our non-partisan program and procedure has been very effective, although not as speedy as all of us would like to realize.

It has been effective and it has

brought better conditions to the great mass of our people. We have improved our political expressions from time to time, and the Executive Council, in its report, gives several suggestions contemplating an enlargement of Labor's independent political expression and activity. First of all, it demands that existing law in the several states making it impossible for independent political movements to aspire, where existing political organizations do not rightfully express their views, should be amended in order to make a more liberal expression practicable and possible. Surely that is an enlargement of our policy and a warning to existing parties that Labor will not be led.

We then call attention to the need of greater interest in the primaries; following that we recommend that the existing organizations for political expression, independent political activities freed from party domination or control, shall be maintained in order that we may organize more fully and more efficiently the independent political hopes and expressions of the great masses of the toilers of our land.

Then we go further and recommend that we should embrace in our non-partisan policy the women voters of our land. We undertake to bring into this independent political expression that new power of suffrage that has just entered into our great republic, and go further and urge and advise and counsel that all liberal minded people join with us in our campaign. And when you say the Council is merely reiterating old platitudes, is merely presenting that which has been heretofore presented, I say to you that you are reading and analyzing the report of the Executive Council with a closed mind and with eyes blinded to facts and conditions and developments.

We believe that the policy heretofore pursued by American labor has been fruitful, and as time and experience go on will become more fruitful. In our report we indicate the world's tendency, going on and comparing the struggle between forces representing

material wealth and the forces representing human welfare. And we believe the trade union movement and its non-partisan policy has done more than anything else to usher in that day and to strengthen the forces of people of that mind and sentiment that seek for human welfare and personal welfare as the guiding star in the destiny of our nation and its peoples.

And so we feel we have presented to this convention a progressive point of view, a point of view based upon realities, a point of view that will solidify and strengthen, first and mainly, our economic organizations, the greatest of all powers and forces in organized society, and then engender as fast as we may and as practical as we can the political power and expression of our people.

It has been said this is a new idea. When you analyze the development of the trade union movement in all countries you find that the first thought has been political action as distinguished from economic and industrial action. Our American Federation of Labor is the result of that fallacious concept that we must look to political powers and political forces for the betterment of the conditions of labor. And so we changed that concept and formed what is today the greatest and strongest economic and industrial movement of the wage earners anywhere.

I feel that we are more concerned in maintaining our movement industrially and economically intact rather than adventure after political ideas and partisan political labor party ideals and shatter our movement. Let us not follow rainbows, let us follow the road of practicability that has guided us so

well and so long.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Basky voted in the negative.

President Gompers: Our friend and brother, the Fraternal Delegate from the German trade union movement, is about to leave El Paso, and he asks that he may have the opportunity of saying Auf Wiedersehen, good luck, before leaving.

Fraternal Delegate Grassman spoke in German. His address was interpreted by President Gompers, as follows:

Comrades: Unexpected circumstances compel us to leave your convention at this time. We do not wish you to draw any false conclusion from the fact that we must leave at this time. On the contrary, we feel very deeply impressed with the heartfelt affection aroused by our contact. We leave with the hope that the American trade union movement will have an uninterrupted triumph on every day of its long and helpful existence. We have an additional mission, to bear in mind that we should each keep before us the fact that on each side of the ocean there exists a people with the same ideas and ideals and aspirations.

Confident that the future holds success and friendship and fraternity for the wage earning people of all the countries of the world, I take my departure with the expression of, live well, live happily, triumphant, progressive and constructive.

The delegates arose and applauded Fraternal Delegate Grassman as he concluded his address.

An adjournment was taken to 2:30 of the same day.

## Seventh Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

M. W. Martin, Shamp, W. E. Bryan, G. Marshall, Higgins, John F. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Roscoe H. Johnson, Walden, Freeman, Drum, Allen, Barry, Finley, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Zimmerer, Melear, Bruns, Gentry, Hughes, Costello, E. F. Duffy, Franck, Ferns, Spaugh, Childs, Laylor, A. P. Bower, Hourigan, R. T. Wood, Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Abrams, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Lee A. Williams, Camous, Cokely, Brasfield, George Browne, Fortway.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

We, your committee, has examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated: Topeka, Kansas, Industrial Council, C. V. Hope, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Secretary Morrison read to the convention a communication from the El Paso Council, Knights of Columbus, through their grand knight, inviting the delegates and visitors to attend a smoker and boxing bouts at the Labor Temple on Tuesday evening, November 25.

President Gompers called attention to the invitation extended by the members of the Mystic Shrine of El Paso to a luncheon to be given at the Shrine Temple by the officers of the local lodge at noon Tuesday, November 25, in compliment to all delegates who are members of the Shrine.

Delegate Scharrenberg, Seamen, asked the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution. The request was granted, and the resolution was read, as follows:

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Edward J. Evans, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, According to reports a successful operation has been performed upon the eyes of Brother Victor A. Olander, vice-president of the International Seamen's Union of America, and secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Brother Olander's many friends in this convention are rejoicing over the good news which indicates that his eyesight will be fully restored; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor that we hereby

express our keen delight and intense gratification over the early restoration of Brother Olander's vision; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Secretary Morrison be directed to forward a suitable telegram of congratulation to the home of Brother Olander in Chicago.

Delegate John H. Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor, moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded by Delegate Evans, of the Electrical Workers, Delegate Connors of the Switchmen, and a number of others.

Delegate Scharrenberg: I am sure it is not necessary for me to say anything upon the adoption of this resolution, but any one who knows Brother Olander and knows the circumstances under which he has worked and carried on during the past four years will feel as keenly delighted at this news as I do. The operation upon one of his eyes has been successful, and the other eye will be operated on in the near future, with the promise of success also. I know this news will surely strike a responsive chord in the heart of every delegate who has the privilege of being acquainted with Brother Olander.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Sigman, Ladies' Garment Workers: I rise to ask the privilege of the floor of this convention to address it on a special matter. I ask you to bear with me just a few minutes and give me the opportunity to share with you some of the joy and happiness of my organization, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. My organization, which is a part of the great American labor movement, is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. I am sure that a great many of the delegates here know something about the organization I represent, but it seems to me there is much more connected with the efforts of the Ladies' Garment Workers that the delegates here may not be acquainted with.

Many of the delegates coming from New York, Cleveland or Chicago still remember the record of the ladies' garment industry of about twenty-five or thirty years ago, when it was recognized as the sweatshop industry. The ladies' garment industry was always one of the most prosperous industries, but not for those who were working to produce these fine, artistic garments for the women of our country. It has been a good and prosperous industry for the employers engaged in it. The workers in the industry had been working unlimited hours for the smallest wages one might imagine, and under circumstances which had caused them to contract occupational diseases in large proportions, compared to other industries.

About forty or more years ago, individuals engaged in our industry undertook the pioneering work of organizing these men and women, but the task was very difficult—difficult because of the fact that in this industry of ours we had to educate the workers in many languages. We had the Jewish worker, we had the Italian worker, with his temperamental attitude, we had some Polish workers, and we had some who came from Ireland; they occupied the more aristocratic positions in the industry; they were the cutters and the graders.

The work was undertaken, as I said before, by a few pioneers, and from time to time spontaneous outbreaks and spasmodic strikes were called in the various existing markets, but with no result as far as establishing a permanent organization in the industry was concerned.

Twenty-five years ago some of the pioneers in this industry decided to ask the American Federation of Labor to issue them a charter for an international union. This was granted, and efforts were again made, with the aid and assistance of the organized labor movement of the country, to organize the workers. The struggle was hard, the task was difficult. Some organization developed, but not strong enough to demonstrate any influence in the

trades. As late as 1905 or 1906, I am told, after the very many efforts, the then officials of my international union were obliged to appeal to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, and asked assistance because they had lost faith in the possibility of ever organizing the ladies' garment workers.

It was then that the American Federation of Labor, through its officers, undertook to not only supply the necessary courage and imbue our officials with the desired spirit to continue in their organizing efforts, but also to supply the financial needs to pay rentals and other expenses. With that aid, financial, moral and spiritual the work was undertaken again, and when we reached the year 1908, we had again reached the stage where most of our leaders and some who had taken a very prominent part in the life of this struggling international felt that the time had come again when we had to give it up.

Again, I remember, Brother Abe Rosenberg and John Dyché, president and secretary of the International Union, immediately communicated with President Gompers, and when they returned from Washington we saw the two high officials of our International Union in a new mood, a new spirit, with a new desire to again take up the task of building up an organization within our ranks.

I am relating this to you delegates because to me it is of great significance. I recall that after a session of our Executive Board we decided to start a movement for a general strike in the cloak and suit industry in the city of New York. After reaching a decision—not having the necessary confidence in ourselves—we communicated with a good many who had been active in former years in our International Union, and when we presented to them the thought that we wanted to call upon the fifty or sixty thousand cloak makers in the city of New York to cease work and once more make a fight for humane conditions in the industry, some of them went so far as to tell us that if we dared take such a position they, on their own initiative, would go out and advise the cloak workers of New York not to respond to a general strike call, because in their judgment they felt we were going to bring more sacrifices and more misery upon these already exploited workers.

Again our Executive Board instructed its officers to communicate with the chief of the American labor movement, and again they were advised never to give up, but to keep on fighting, that the day must come

when the oppressed workers in the ladies' garment industry would arise against these miserable sweatshop conditions under which they had been working.

In 1910 a great event took place. The cloak makers were called to a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. To that meeting President Gompers was invited as the chief speaker. It was a wonderful scene when he saw the cloak makers, faces pale from overwork, with their coats off and their sleeves rolled up, soiled of the cloths they had handled, while producing clothing for the women of our country.

When the time came President Gompers had his say. I, as an ordinary worker, active in the campaign, felt that the inspiration given to the workers by the address delivered by President Gompers, was sufficient to cause the ladies' garment workers to again take up the battle. Most of you probably know that our International union with about two or three thousand members conducted a strike of 60,000 men and women for twelve long weeks, with the result that we obtained many improvements for the workers in the industry, and a ray of hope and sunshine at last started to come into the ranks of the garment workers.

During that strike we accomplished a protocol of peace which was discussed throughout the world of labor, as well as the community in general, and from that day we began working under American standards, living under American standards and thinking in an American way. From that day our organization has continued to make progress.

You have probably learned of our effort to renew our recent unexpired agreements in the city of New York, and now, too, we have accomplished something new in our industry. A commission selected by Governor Al Smith for the purpose of bringing peace and harmony in our industry in the great city of New York has established an unemployment insurance system to which the employers are contributing two per cent of their total payroll and the workers are contributing one per cent of their earned pay. This will bring in about \$1,600,000 per year, to be divided among such cloak workers as may be unemployed.

Another recent accomplishment is the adoption of a sanitary label that each garment manufactured under the present contract in the City of New York must bear. That label signifies that the garment bearing it has been produced in a sanitary shop and under

union conditions. That label represents three different parties—the union, on the one hand, the employers on the other, and the public. The public is represented by Dr. Scheffelin, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Lillian DeWald. Under the supervision of these three factors, the public, the employers and the union, this label of sanitary union conditions must be on every garment, and it has been made obligatory on the part of the employers' associations as well as on the part of individuals.

You will therefore realize, delegates, when you consider that we are comparatively youngsters in the movement, that we certainly feel proud of the fact that the garment workers have succeeded in establishing such a wonderful organization as we have. We felt that we would not have completed the performance of our duties as men and women of organized labor if we did not come before this convention and express our joy, and at the same time express our thanks to all those who have been helpful in building up our organization in the face of these conditions, and particularly have we felt it our duty to express our appreciation to the Grand Old Chief of the American labor movement, Brother Samuel Gompers, because it was due very much to the courage with which he imbued our leaders that we have been able to build up this wonderful organization of ours.

(At this point in Delegate Sigman's address, two of his co-delegates, Louis E. Langer and Louis Pinkofsky, unveiled a beautiful bust of President Gompers, done in Italian marble. The delegates and visitors arose and applauded for several minutes.)

Delegate Sigman: We could not find a better way of expressing our deep and sincere appreciation to President Gompers than by presenting what you delegates see here before you this moment. We want President Gompers to see himself in the way we see him. This bust represents, in the judgment of the members of the International

Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, one of the greatest men that the labor movement has ever known, and it is because of this feeling that we have toward President Gompers that we came to the conclusion to avail ourselves of the genius of a young, but recognized artist—recognized as the best artist in the sculptural world—Moses Dykaar, to build up this bust of President Gompers, with his fighting features in his face, but with a broad human heart of sympathy and love for all those who suffer in the labor world and in the community in general.

President Gompers, with this gift here my organization extends to you the wish, from the depths of its heart, for further work, for further activities for many years to come for this great cause of organized labor in the United States and the world over.

President Gompers: It is difficult for me to express that which wells up in my soul. How can words convey what you know one must feel under such circumstances as this? Earlier in the convention a great tribute was paid me. I was then unable to say anything with respect to it. I am not in a much better condition to express myself now.

Brother Sigman came to me this morning with Brother Langer, one of his associates, and said that he would like to say something to the convention, the nature of which he did not care to disclose to me, but wanted to have that privilege because he had no proposition to make; he simply wanted to say something in regard to his international union which would interest the delegates and the labor movement generally.

This American Federation of Labor of ours is, I believe, the freest forum of any legislative or organized body of which I have any knowledge; recognizing the intense desire of the convention to proceed with our business, I hesitated for a moment, but said that at some appropriate time during the afternoon I would recognize Brother Sigman for the purpose he indicated.

You have heard what he has said.

Somehow or other opportunities have been given to me which have been given to few men of my time. Whatever I am, whatever I have tried to do, I owe to you, my fellow trade unionists, I owe to the great rank and file of our movement, the men and women who are yearning for a better life and who, many of them, did not know how to accomplish it. They believed in one thing in so far as I was concerned—if I could not help them, by all that is holy I would not hurt them. There is nothing in life that I value so much as to be of some service to my fellows. Station in life, in public affairs, or private advantage had no allurements. Nothing in the whole world so glorifies the soul as service to our fellows.

These men and women to whom Brother Sigman referred and whom he so ably and faithfully represents, were struggling and yearning and striving—demoralized, impoverished, and scarcely even hoping. They knew me and believed in me and trusted me. I gave whatever help I could, and upon occasions when they were in a quandary as to what to do they came to me and asked my counsel, and I gave it. I gave my support to the full extent of whatever ability I possessed.

I remember that tremendous mass gathering in Madison Square Garden, and no one can understand their situation unless they had seen the gaunt figures and pinched faces and sunken eyes of the tattered men and women in that assemblage. Thousands were unable to gain admission to that great hall. And it was really left for me to give the battle cry or to advise the men and women to go back into their bondage.

The utterance that I then gave that night was in a sentence: "This is not to be a general strike, it is to be an industrial revolution, and it is better to die in a struggle for freedom than to end a mass gathering in slavery."

I didn't know at the time, but it was evident that at least one time in my life my audience was electrified and transformed into action, with the result that has been only too indefinitely described by Brother Sigman.

The incident which has just trans-



pired is momentous and some lesson to us. It is quite true that our American labor movement has not ventured upon some courses which appeal to the uninitiated and uninformed and inexperienced. I would rather that the American labor movement put a dollar in the pay envelope at the end of the week and cut down an hour a day of the burdensome toil than to cast votes once in every four years. I don't underestimate the value or the importance of that duty and that function, but, after all, the great aim of labor is progress economically, more than politically.

There are some people who imagine that poverty and misery will drive men to revolution and the attainment of right. Hungry stomachs may create a riot, but never a successful revolution. People become accustomed to hunger and misery. The path of liberty is always enlivening and a spur to still greater progress.

I do wish that the students of the labor movement—and I mean you and me, also—would undertake to know and learn what the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union has done. It is a revelation to those who have not yet known. When the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union completed their new home they informed me, through their officers, that they had a few niches in their great assembly hall in which they desired to place pictures or busts of some of the men who had given service in the labor movement, and asked me whether I would not pose for a great sculptural artist for a bust of myself to occupy one of those niches. I consented. I never dreamed—my credulity was imposed upon—I never thought that the bust, when completed, was really intended as presented by Brother Sigman.

I don't know what to say in expression of my appreciation. No word can convey to you what I feel in regard to the presentation of this bust or to the fellowship which you have instituted. What can I say other than that I am profoundly grateful? I would like you to understand what I would like to say. Let me sum it

up, then, just in this: I know of no other or no better way to show my appreciation and gratitude than by giving you and the cause of Labor and all of that for which our movement stands the best service that I can without sparing myself, no matter what the cost or the result.

I want to live for one thing alone—to leave a better labor movement in America and in the world than I found in it when I entered, as a boy, the field of industrial and humane struggle for right.

Delegate Tracy, Brick Makers: I move that the complete discussion had this morning on the report of the Committee on Resolutions in connection with Resolutions Nos. 1, 2 and 49 be incorporated in this day's proceedings.

The motion was seconded and carried. Vice-President Duffy in the Chair.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

#### To Petition Governor of California to Grant an Unconditional Pardon to Thomas Mooney

Resolution No. 4—By the International Molders' Union delegation:

WHEREAS, Time, the greater healer of wounds and impartial explorer of human events, has, in the great legal tragedy known as the Mooney case, heaped circumstance on circumstance, fact on fact, confession on confession, and accumulated irrefutable evidence, not available during the trial, leading to the almost universal unprejudiced opinion that Thomas J. Mooney is innocent of the crime for which he is imprisoned at San Quentin State Prison; and

WHEREAS, The trial judge and appellate justices, the members of the jury with but one exception, and all the material witnesses in the case, also with but one exception, are convinced that they contributed to the commission of irreparable error in the conviction of an innocent man, and now regret such action and would undo the wrong, if it were within their power; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of California has settled the law of the State, declaring the legal impossibility of granting a new trial and advising and recommending to the defendant his only recourse under the constitution and laws of the State being an appli-

cation for a pardon at the hands of the Governor of the State; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled, that we believe in the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney of the crime charged against him, and having faith in the people of California and their government, in their fairness and love of justice, we do hereby most sincerely and earnestly petition the Hon. Friend W. Richardson, Governor of the State of California, to grant an unconditional pardon to Thomas J. Mooney, and thus in a measure right the wrong done to him and vindicate the verdict of public opinion.

This resolution conforms in intent and purpose to a resolution of like character acted upon by the convention of the American Federation of Labor held last year in Portland, Oregon. Your committee has been advised that the officers of the A. F. of L. have carried out the instructions agreed to a year ago. While we deplore the failure in making substantial progress in the direction indicated, your committee is of the conviction that a re-affirmation of the decision of the A. F. of L. convention of a year ago will be more effective and logical in sequence than any other course suggested.

Your committee therefore recommends approval of the suggested procedure in lieu of resolution No. 4.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing That Organizations Provide Rules That Their Members When Working at Other Trades Shall Join the Organization of Such Trades**

Resolution No. 5—By the International Molders' Union of North America delegation:

WHEREAS, The members of a number of the affiliated organizations have obligated their members when working at other trades than their own to become members of the trade union organization of such trades; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor use its influence to the end that such rules shall be brought into effect in all of the affiliated organizations.

At first glance this resolution attracts the general approbation of practically all trade unionists. A careful survey of the many perplexing and

complexing situations that present themselves in our industrial and trade union order demonstrate, however, the invalidity of the universal application of the procedure charted out in this resolution. To be helpful rather than harmful, in attaining the object sought by this resolution, your committee submits in lieu thereof the following principle and rule that should guide the members of our respective organizations.

We hold that trade unionists should always be trade unionists, no matter when, where or how employed; that affiliation with one trade union does not give license or warrant to work at the trade or calling the work of which is vested in another trade union without first having become affiliated to the trade union having a rightful claim to that work.

The observance and enforcement of this principle should be engendered not by means of compulsion but by the spirit of mutual respect, good will, voluntary co-operation and the full and complete adherence to trade union ethics.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Representation for Interested Organizations in Determination of Legislative Programs**

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate E. A. Moses of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors:

WHEREAS, Suggestions for state or national legislative action are at times the subject of consideration by the Executive Council or other official bodies of the American Federation of Labor, vitally affecting the welfare of certain affiliated organizations; and

WHEREAS, Such legislative matters have been taken under consideration, and a program for action outlined without giving due advance notice to those affiliated organizations which would be affected thereby; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be furnished advance information, outlining any contemplated state or national legislative program, and an opportunity afforded for such affiliated organizations to be represented in any conferences or other meetings at which these matters are discussed.

There is involved in this resolution a proposal that is meritorious in part and impracticable of enforcement in

other parts. In the judgment of your committee, the real purpose to be achieved, in the formulating of fundamentals underlying proposed legislation, is the complete co-ordination and co-operation of all such trades and callings directly affected so that all involved will have had an opportunity of participation. However, the working out of details and methods of procedure can best be accomplished through the trained and experienced legislative agency of the American Federation of Labor in co-operation with like legislative agencies of the several groups of allied and kindred trades, organizations or departments. To accomplish this end, your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for the purpose of having it so advise and guide the activities of the A. F. of L. legislative agency as will most nearly approach the ideal herein set forth.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing That A. F. of L. Institute  
Legal Investigations of Assaults  
Made Upon Union Members When  
Engaged in Trade Union  
Activities**

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Chas. H. Franck of the Central Trades Council of Mobile, Alabama:

WHEREAS, Members of Unions as well as regularly appointed and designated representatives of National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, engaged in the lawful pursuit of expounding the purposes and principles of Trade Unionism, or endeavoring to bring about peaceful adjustments of existing grievances between employer and employes are often the victims of vicious and murderous attacks by agents in the employ of those opposed to industrial freedom; and

WHEREAS, Those made the object of such assaults and attacks by mobs or hired thugs are by themselves often helpless and unable to secure the conviction or apprehension of those guilty, or recover by legal action such damages as they are justly and legally entitled to, owing to the great expense; and

WHEREAS, The victims of these assaults are many times permanently crippled and henceforth unable to follow their trade or calling as a result of the attacks and brutal treatment re-

ceived at the hands of the thugs therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby authorized and instructed to conduct a careful and thorough investigation immediately upon receipt of information of any attack upon a Union member engaged in performance of his or her duty; that the said Executive Board is authorized and directed to engage such competent aid and assistance, legal or otherwise, as may be needful and necessary—extend needful aid and assistance to the member attacked; that those found to be implicated be prosecuted to the full extent of the law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the said Executive Board shall have power and authority to accumulate a special fund from which the costs shall be paid, by appeals to the membership of the American Federation of Labor and donations received from members.

The vicious assaults made upon union representatives, having conducted themselves in complete accord with the moral and legal code of our land and within constitutional guarantees of freedom of action and as set forth in this resolution, merits our unrestrained condemnation. These and like offenses against the life and liberties of the working people and their representatives constitute the most hideous blot upon the horizon of our great republic. That free men in a free land are violently assaulted and deprived of their constitutional liberties, merely because they espouse the cause of workers and endeavor to promote their trade unions, is indicative of the violent and dictatorial temper that still governs in some of our communities.

However much we deplore the great wrongs and grievous injuries inflicted, we cannot agree to the proposal that the processes of our courts will bring about speedy and complete redress or prevent a repetition of the offenses complained of. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the point of view that the mere collection of a special fund with which to prosecute the violators of law is the most effective remedy at our command.

We hold that there is a higher and more efficient court—the court of public conscience—of public opinion—of public judgment. Therefore, in lieu of the resolution offered, we submit for

approval the proposal that there be set in motion the necessary arrangement to bring to public light and public condemnation all such offenses embraced in this resolution and that the forces of an uncompromising and pitiless publicity campaign be directed against any and all persons or interests against whom such a complaint is lodged and well founded.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Require All Members to Fulfill Legal Requirements for Citizenship and Become Voters**

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Chas. H. Franck, of the Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama:

If ever the Government of the United States is to be restored to the People, it is of the utmost importance that the great mass of the people should exercise their right of the ballot. The wage earner of all must be shown the necessity of being a voter. Members of the unions must not be permitted to drift along. They should be taught without delay the need and necessity of them, of all people, being able to exercise their birthright. To this end it is recommended that the American Federation of Labor urge upon the affiliated unions the adoption of a rule making it compulsory for every union member to become a legal resident of the community in which they reside. The following resolution is suggested:

**RESOLVED**, That the need of Union members being qualified electors of their states is of the utmost importance to the future well being of the Nation and its people and it is recommended that all International Unions incorporate in their constitutions and by-laws a provision whereby members must become voters in the community wherein they reside. That failure to become a qualified voter, if the member is or has been a resident the requisite length of time, shall be cause sufficient to penalize such a member. International Unions insist that aliens become citizens. It is just as important that native born Americans should be legal voters, for, without the right to vote, citizenship loses its greatest blessing.

Your committee is in accord with the object sought for accomplishment by this resolution. No one can question the high and lofty motive that prompts the desire to promote citizenship in our land and to encourage the full exercise of the right of suffrage by all citizens in general and wage earners in particular. However, we must not be un-

mindful that our international trade unions are international in fact as well as in name and that their principal functions and stipulations are economic and not political.

While endorsing the commendable purpose underlying this resolution the method of enforcement involved is undemocratic and compulsory and destructive of the voluntary character upon which the trade union movement is founded. Though the intent and purpose embraced in this resolution is approved, your committee recommends its disapproval for the reasons cited.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Full Rights of Citizenship With Self-Government for the People of the District of Columbia**

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal, Photo-Engravers' International Union.

**WHEREAS**, The people of the District of Columbia do not enjoy the rights and privileges of American citizenship, in that they are not permitted to have a voice in the conduct of affairs of said District of Columbia, nor any voice in the conduct of affairs of our nation; and

**WHEREAS**, These residents are denied the opportunity of giving to this republic the benefit of their thought and consideration on problems of intimate concern to the city and nation; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor, as a firm believer in American ideals, American institutions and American principles of self-government, feels that a grave injustice is worked against the residents of the District of Columbia when they are denied the right to govern themselves in keeping with fundamental American principles; and

**WHEREAS**, There are bills pending in the Congress of the United States which aim to remedy this manifest injustice to the half-million people of the national capital of the greatest nation on earth; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention in the city of El Paso, State of Texas, in forty-fourth annual convention, endorse and give its united support to any bill or bills which grant to the people of the District of Columbia the right for self-government, with the full right of citizenship, as such right is enjoyed by citizens in other parts of our great nation; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, that the American Federation of Labor oppose any measure which does not propose to grant full

citizenship, in the right for local self-government, to the people of the District of Columbia; and, be it further RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the Senate and House committees on District of Columbia and each of the trade union legislative representatives in the national capital.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends approval of same.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Protesting Use of the U. S. Army or Navy to Make Collections for American Citizens Upon Investments in Foreign Countries**

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Modern wars are begun largely through pressure by and influence of the international bankers; be it

RESOLVED, That while we freely grant any American citizen the right and privilege to invest his capital in any country of his choice, we most emphatically protest against the use of our army or navy to collect either the principal or the interest of such investments when collections are no longer possible through legitimate channels.

The objective sought in Resolution No. 22 is to remove one of a number of causes leading to war between nations. Your committee fully subscribes to the high and lofty purpose embraced in this proposal.

With the constant growth of international social intercourse between the peoples of all civilized nations, with the rapid extension of international finance, industrialism and commercialism, the restriction proposed for the end sought by this resolution, confined as it is, to our nation alone, would tend to isolate our people and nation from participation in the world's developments and thereby strengthen rather than weaken the causes for war.

Your committee cannot emphasize its opposition too strongly against the exploitation of weaker and impoverished people by the financial, industrial and commercial powers of a stronger and richer nation. We condemn that

unfair and unjustified practice and conduct within our national life. We can find no room for its toleration in our international relations. However, we do enforce all legal obligations entered into within our domestic borders by processes of law and by the discipline of governmental forces. Older and cruel methods of obedience and discipline to obligations entered into have assumed a more humane and less violent character, though personal honor is still the rule. This has come only through time, experience and by an enlightened conscience.

So, too, in the present international intercourse, our methods of obedience and discipline to obligations entered into are harsh and cruel at times. Nothing within the realm of practical possibilities should remain unobserved so that the peoples of all nations will be inspired to develop processes of a humane and peaceful character. This cannot be achieved by a lessening of national honor or the isolation of our great republic from co-operating with all other democratic nations in the world's present tendencies and developments.

While we cannot recommend approval of Resolution No. 22 your committee does urge instead the pressing forward upon the wage earners and the peoples of all other nations the substitution of processes to maintain national honor, safeguard international intercourse and obligations by methods and processes of a peaceful order and that make unnecessary the appeal to war with all its hideousness and brutality.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I very much regret that the committee could not see its way clear to report favorably on this resolution. It is all very well to speak of the progress and development of humanitarianism, but there is no one who has an understanding of international affairs but knows that the loans made by international bankers are the forerunners of international wars.

If the loans are made by and through

the real consent of the people there might be some justification for the position taken by the committee, but we all know that that is not so. We know that loans are made under conditions that will inevitably provoke war and conflict, and that the people in whose name the loans are made have no more to say about it, no more control over it, than we have over the course of the sun or moon. All they can do is to bleed and pay—pay with their sweat, if they may, with their blood, if they must. It is an utter disregard for public morality, it is an utter disregard for the highest duties of man, and it is so unnatural, so dishonorable in its essence that it ought not to be condoned, far less be excused in a body such as this.

I know the answer only too well. John Doe wants a little interest on his money, as much as he can get; he lends it to the banker, and gives the banker an opportunity to deal with it as he pleases. The banker wants to make fifty per cent or more, and he takes the chances, because he knows that if he is the citizen of a great nation there is always the remedy of seizing the custom houses of the weaker party, and collecting the money by sheer force. If that is excusable, then highwaymen's work is excusable also. It would not be excusable within the borders of any particular nation, then why should it be tolerated in the relations of a powerful nation with a small and weak one?

Of course if the United States wants to borrow money and the United States should not be willing to pay, which is almost unthinkable, there would not be any nation strong enough to collect it. If Great Britain was in the same position there is no nation strong enough to collect it, and perhaps the best evidence is the refusal of some of the great nations of Europe to give anything, not even a promise, as to the payment of the money that has been loaned by this nation to them.

But if a little, struggling people are induced by gold brick swindlers to accept loans, they are held pitilessly to it. Why should these men be giv-

en, first the opportunity to determine for themselves, with no public or personal necessity, to invest their money, taking to themselves all the commission and all the interest they can exact, and then on top of that have the security of the army and the navy of the United States? The reasoning, to me, is immoral and incomprehensible, and I shall vote against the committee's report.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee: I feel it is essentially just to say a few words in behalf of the committee, and at the outset may I say that the committee is in full accord, as expressed in this report, with all that has been said by the previous speaker. We do not dissent from the opinion and the conviction that international bankers or bankers within our own nation at times have been responsible for the development of a condition in our international relations leading, if not into war, almost to the point of war. We agree with the purpose intended by the resolution.

However, we dissent from the remedy proposed, and it is only in that regard that your committee differs with the intent and purpose and motive of the resolution. We point out that within our own domestic life, within our national life, the same complaint that is lodged against international relations and international intercourse applied to a very great extent not so many years ago, when private loans made either by bankers or others to other citizens were enforced by processes of law that are now looked upon as cruel and of the most undesirable nature.

With time and with experience these older and cruel methods of enforcing payments of loans made have been, to a very, very large degree, removed. We no longer send a citizen to jail because he fails to pay his debt. We have even reached that point in our national life where, through our bankruptcy proceedings, individuals or bankers, whoever they may be, can be absolved completely and entirely from an indebtedness contracted, and start life over again. We say that has come

about through time and experience and an enlightened public conscience.

We feel, with the introducers of this resolution, that the same concept of relations should govern in our international relations. In our domestic affairs, again, we distinguish between such loans made by individuals to others as carry with them a helpful and constructive purpose. We also recognize that loans are made by individuals, whether bankers or others, to other citizens, containing the element of fraud or duress, elements not beneficial to an improved civilized conscience. The law today does not enforce or recognize such obligations.

Your committee feels, too, that there should be developed a world conscience in our international relations that will distinguish between loans made by citizens of one land for the benefit and advantage and constructive work of the people of another land, and those that are not intended to serve helpful purposes, but the very thing indicated by the previous speaker. In our judgment this resolution does not distinguish between loans made that are helpful, that will give a struggling people the opportunity of building up their nation—and the most recent, the largest and the most impressive of all, comes in this recent loan made to Germany to upbuild her people, her institutions, and to put her government on its feet.

There is a difference between loans that lend encouragement and loans that do not lend encouragement and that ought to be discouraged. This resolution intends that our nation, by its loan, shall advise the world that however meritorious the loan may be, or however obnoxious and unfair it may be, that this nation will not support its citizens in seeing that that obligation is met.

We hold, as your committee, that there is need for a reformation, for a world conscience in the relations between nations, especially because social intercourse, our industrialism and our whole commercialism is so intertwined with our world affairs. Our own people are engaged in and are seeking foreign markets in order that the productive activities of our people might find greater returns, both for ourselves and to advance civilization in other nations.

This would tend to make it impossible, undesirable, for our own people to venture into the world's markets or the world's development and would

seem to be giving the opportunity to all other nations to capture and control these world developments. We hold, as we feel in our own domestic and national life, that the ideals sought for, the accomplishment intended by this resolution should be undertaken by an educational campaign conducted by labor with our fellow workers and toilers in other lands, so that we may develop that world conscience as we have it now within our national conscience, with no application of force or the employment of war. We feel that that method is the far better one, the more just and righteous one, though we are in complete accord, in full agreement with the ends sought to be accomplished by the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**To Prevent Use of Government to Force Collection of Russian Accounts Due United States Citizens**

Resolution No. 6—By the International Molders' Union delegation:

WHEREAS, The present Russian Government has withstood all attacks launched against it, not only by enemies within its own boundary, but the attacks of hostile governments as well, for the period of more than five years; and

WHEREAS, Many European and other governments have established commercial relations with the Russian Government that have proven not only mutually profitable to all such countries, but by such action they are enabling the Russian people to secure the access to foodstuffs, medicines, machinery, and other commodities which are sorely needed in their reconstruction work; and

WHEREAS, The present administration at Washington has thus far failed to open official commercial relationship with Russia, and by such action seriously handicaps and discourages efforts to establish commercial intercourse; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That if such a commercial treaty be entered into between the United States and Russia that under no circumstances shall the United States government use any form of coercion or force to collect any bills due to American merchants, manufacturers or banks.

Resolution No. 6 is indefinite in purpose and redundant in character. It sets forth that international intercourse on the part of Russia is seriously handicapped by the present attitude of our nation toward the Russian government, though it does not seek in any way to change that attitude.

We are not called upon, therefore,

to consider in any way the validity and soundness of the present attitude of our government toward the Russian government and with which we have heretofore expressed our complete agreement.

What we are called upon to consider is that whenever the time approaches that Russia and its people will have so altered their principles and procedure of government as to warrant the United States to enter into a commercial treaty, that such a treaty shall include the understanding that our government will not use any form of coercion or force, to collect any bills due to American merchants, manufacturers or bankers while the Russian government may be at full liberty to do as it pleases.

The principle involved in this Resolution extends beyond the bounds contemplated in Resolution No. 22 and would even deny the use by our nation of moral, social and economic influences and forces in the enforcement of obedience and obligations deemed imperative in this resolution.

Your committee, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Silinsky defended the resolution, and said in part:

We know that the main reason why the United States government has failed to enter into commercial relations with the people of Russia is because the Russian government repudiated the loans that were made by the last Czar. There is no real reason, in my opinion, why our government should not enter into commercial relations with Russia. We find that nearly every country in the world has already established commercial relations; has exchanged ambassadors, and is dealing with Russia as a recognized government.

We find that England has gained many concessions since they entered into relations with that government. Very recently we find that France has recognized the Russian government.

For the last few years the people of Russia have been governed by the government of the country as it is constituted today.

At the present time the Russian government is the largest single buyer in the world in many industries. They have bought cotton in America and were the largest single buyer of that product. They could not buy direct; they needed an agent, and the cotton had to go first to Holland and in some cases to England, and was then re-transported to Russia. It cost them more and we received less than we would have received had we dealt with them direct. We find that there are agents buying Ford tractors and automobiles for the use of the people of Russia. If commercial relations were established it would afford an opportunity not only for the cotton industry; not only for the automobile industry, but for farming implements, for clothing, for a hundred and one other products.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, opposed the resolution and supported the committee's report. He said, in part:

I want to call the attention of the delegates to one or two of the misleading statements that are generally made in the discussion of the Russian question. The most recent of these is the statement that Great Britain has concluded a treaty with Soviet Russia. Great Britain has not concluded a treaty with Soviet Russia. The MacDonald government was negotiating a treaty with Soviet Russia and they struck exactly the same snag that is preventing a treaty between Soviet Russia and the United States, and that snag is the settlement of the obligations of Soviet Russia.

The President of the United States, in his message to the Congress last December, said that if the Russian Soviet government would recognize its responsibilities, not for the obligations incurred by the Czarist regime, but the obligations incurred by the government which the Soviet Republic has taken over, then the first nation to



come to the assistance of Soviet Russia would be the United States of America.

That same snag prevented the consummation of the treaty between Soviet Russia and Great Britain, and that same snag will prevent the consummation of the treaty between France and Soviet Russia, because Soviet Russia is really the greatest debtor of France. It is not the government money that is involved, it is the savings of the French peasants invested in Russian loans that were made to help Russia carry out what they conceived to be their struggle for national existence. And now the people of Russia—not the people of Russia, but the Soviet government, which is the puppet of the strings that are held by the Third Internationale—say that “we will not pay this money you loaned us to carry on our struggle for national existence.”

It was not this money alone, it was the expropriation of private property. We do not question the right of the Russian government to take the property of the Russian citizens and make what disposition of it they may deem expedient, but when the Russian Soviet takes the property of the citizen of any other country, no matter what it is, then that government must make proper and reasonable settlement with that country and with that citizen. That is all that is asked, and that is all that has ever been asked of the Russian Soviet government on that point.

Senator King of Utah made the most comprehensive and accurate summing up of conditions existing in Russia that has yet been given to the people of the United States, and in doing so he showed that the Russians are manufacturing less than one-seventh of the amount of cotton goods that they produced in 1917. One of the claims that is held against the Soviet government is for the expropriation of five great manufacturing plants that produced farming implements exclusively which were owned by American concerns.

There is no more emphatic proof of the absolute incompetency of the Russian Soviet than of the dismantling

and destruction of these great implement factories making the thing that they needed most, the thing that they have come to this country and asked for, and which have been provided by the liberal generosity of the citizens of our country. They destroyed the factories in which these implements were made. The same thing is true of every other Russian industry.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Just a few words on this resolution—not in support of it nor against it, for that matter, but a little review of it as an illustration. The Russian government, which was the Czar, for the purposes of himself and those who stood with him, borrowed money everywhere for the purpose of aggressive war and of extending boundaries. The Czar's government was upset, and nations that were interested in the continuance of war turned over a lot of money to Kerensky. Then the Kerensky government was upset and the Soviet, whatever that may mean, was started, and the Soviet refused to honor the obligations made by the Czar or by Kerensky. Then France, England, the United States, and other nations undertook to enforce the collection by force of arms.

This they found was too expensive, too difficult a job, because after all, Russia was too big a nation, and the Russians were willing to fight. Now, because she was strong enough to resist, we talk about recognizing her and forgetting the debt, and we will do it. Why? Because we want to sell cotton, because we want to sell tractors, because we want to sell farming implements. In other words, our principles, if we have any, are bartered on the counter of some produce that we think would be a good thing for us to sell the Russians. If it was not so miserably tragic it would be laughable, the whole thing.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee: The resolution, as stated in the committee's report, does not involve the question of the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, and this convention and your committee were not called upon to consider that question. Just reflecting briefly on that subject, since all the

discussion bore on that, I wish only to call the attention of the convention to the address made by the representative of the trade union movement of Germany, when he related to this convention the disastrous consequences that followed recognition of Soviet Russia by Germany, and of the efforts made to destroy the organization and the democracy now in Germany.

Then I wish to recall to you likewise the address made by the British delegates, speaking kindly of the Russian people, but reciting very clearly that immediately upon the Labor government of England recognizing Soviet Russia, the Soviet turned its poisonous fangs into the body politic of that nation and was the supreme and only cause of the elimination of the Labor government of England.

That might be recited in other nations. Perhaps it may repeat itself again in France, because it has been demonstrated that the Russian government—not its people—does not know how to deal honestly and honorably, fairly and squarely with the peoples of the world.

I am not informed why our United States government has failed to recognize Soviet Russia or whether its sole cause is that of failure of that government to recognize certain obligations due the United States. I do know this, that the American Federation of Labor has placed its opposition to the furtherance of any such recognition upon broader, fuller and more humane principles than principles of commercialism or industrialism, because we have said that until there is established in Russia a government for the people, of the people and by the people, rather than a government by murder and theft, we shall not recognize such a government.

As for the resolution itself, as has been indicated in the report of the committee, it is redundant and conflicting in character. What we are called upon to say is this, that whenever the people of Russia and the government are so changed as to warrant the United States entering into a treaty with it, such a treaty shall include the

understanding that our government will not use any form of coercion or force to collect any bills due to American merchants, manufacturers or bankers, while the Russian government may be at full liberty to do as it pleases.

Then this resolution says that when these loans are made, whenever these concessions are secured, whatever they may be, then the United States government will not give any help to those who have been induced to trade with Russia. Can we so stultify ourselves as to ask people to enter into commercial and industrial enterprises with these people of Russia, and then tell our people to keep hands off?

I believe it is the most ridiculous proposition that has yet been presented to any intelligent body of men and certainly deserves the unanimous condemnation of this convention.

Delegate Frey, Molders: There is one sport sometimes very enjoyable—to kick a man in the shins when one hand is tied behind his back, and the other one situated so that he cannot move it very freely.

I don't want to discuss the inconsistencies that have been referred to and which may appear in the resolution. It is altogether probable, Mr. Chairman, that that resolution is a composite creature and indicates the sentiments of one group of men and the very deep convictions of another group, during the turmoil of a convention where many things are being considered. It is known by the delegates here that that resolution is the action of a convention of the organization of which I am proud of being a member, and I am unwilling to permit any impression to be carried away from this convention that either this delegation of Molders present, or the convention of the International Molders' Union or the membership of that organization have any sympathy whatsoever with these problems that our trade union movement has been compelled to contend with since the virus of Communism has been subtly injected into our movement by those whose policy has been to disguise their purpose wh<sup>y</sup> they

formed their nucleus and endeavored to bore from within.

I want to state, Mr. Chairman, that the convention of the International Molders' Union adopted a rule that any member of that organization who was a Communist, who was a member of the Trades Union Educational League, who endeavored in any way to preach his doctrine or who did anything within our organization to interfere with the functionings of the American Federation of Labor, the American trade union movement and our own organization would be expelled for such membership and for such activities.

The organization of which I am proud to be a member is a trade union, standing four-square by the principles and the policies upon which this great trade union movement of ours has been built up. While it is true that this composite, contradictory resolution was introduced here, I wanted to make it clear to the delegates that in the International Molders' Union there is not only no sympathy, but there is active opposition to every man, no matter how he cloaks his name or disguises himself, who endeavors to inject the principles of Communism into this American trade union movement of ours.

President Gompers: I shall not occupy more than a few moments of your time in discussing the question before the house. I cannot help but call attention to one or two features which may interest you.

Delegate Sillinsky stated that he did not believe that we ought to interfere or to take issue with any government which the people of Russia chose to inaugurate and maintain, and with that I am in entire accord, if the people of Russia ever get a chance to express themselves in order to choose the government which shall govern them.

The fact of the matter is, that that which is called the Soviet government of Russia is not the choosing of the people of Russia. On the contrary, the government of the choosing of the people of Russia was the revolutionary movement under Kerensky, where, for the first time in the history of

Russia, universal suffrage was accorded to the people, and they elected their revolutionary congress. It was at the points of the bayonets of a few mutineers, under the leadership of a few Bolsheviks that entered into the chamber where the duly elected government and parliament of Russia was meeting, and dispersed them and took charge, that the present government was established.

The declaration of the American Federation of Labor has been that with their form of government, whether of their own choosing or otherwise, or usurpation, if the people of Russia cannot change or do not manifest a desire to take the chance to bring about a change, or if they have no opportunity, that is a matter for themselves to fight out, but when they undertake to destroy the democracies of the nations of the world, when they undertake to destroy the bona fide labor movements of the democracies of the world, then they impinge upon our right and our jurisdiction to determine the form of government of our choosing.

And let me relate this: the last convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor decided that the next convention would be held in Guatemala City, Guatemala Republic. Every arrangement was being made some time ago for the convention to be held there. The people of Guatemala had, by universal suffrage, gone through an election when three generals—sometimes called brigands—entered into a conspiracy, created a mutiny, and took the officers elected by the people prisoners, deposed them and established a government of these usurpers. The Pan-American Federation of Labor, consulting their associates, decided that they would not go to Guatemala City and hold their convention under such circumstances.

I wish that Delegate Sillinsky might have had the opportunity of seeing the document containing the hearings before the Senate committee on education and labor upon this subject of recognition of Soviet Russia as a bona fide government. The document is undisputed and indisputable; it contains information worth while having.

A statement was made of the ad

vantage which England has had from its recognition of the Soviet government of Russia. If that can be called an advantage, it lost the government for the Labor party of England. Is that an advantage?

I don't know definitely, positively, whether the Zinovieff letter was genuine or a forgery. The fact of the matter is that it is of lesser importance than the fact that if that letter is not genuine it is couched in exactly the same terms as employed in every declaration made by the Soviets or their spokesmen upon this question. The article for which Campbell was prosecuted in England was of the same nature. It was not disavowed by Campbell. On the contrary, he charged that the Labor party government withdrew the prosecution. He did not modify his attitude; on the contrary, he reaffirmed it. In every one of those documents issued by the Soviet government you will find the very same language as contained in the Zinovieff letter.

Have you read the report made by the Executive Council to the Denver convention? It contains proof positive of the actions of the Soviet government in their attempts to undermine and destroy the American labor movement, the American Federation of Labor, as a condition precedent to the overthrow and destruction of the American Republic!

If recognition be given to Soviet Russia, then why did the British Labor party in the recent election, denounce the Soviets and the Communists, expel them from the Labor party and refuse to give them the endorsement as candidates for parliament?

It is not the question alone—and so far as I am concerned I would rather disregard that phase—of the financial obligations of the Soviet government, either to business or finance of the United States or of any other country. The position which I hold is that they may try this experiment of a dictatorship of some kind or other if they will; we will grant them the right to do as they please within their own country, but as stated in the message of President Coolidge to the Congress of the United States, they must desist

from undertaking the destruction of American institutions of one kind or another.

There is no people and there is no government of any country who have been more friendly disposed to the people of Russia than the government of our Republic and the labor movement of America throughout all its history. Bear in mind this, that when the dynasty of the Czar was overthrown by the revolution the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, and in addition, as an individual officer thereof, the President, sent congratulatory messages to the revolutionary government, welcoming them among the republics of the world, and the government of the United States, by the action of President Wilson, sent a commission of Americans to Russia in an American war vessel to convey to the revolutionary parliament, the government of Russia, the fraternal welcome into the republics of the world. And among the members of that commission was a labor man, a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Brother James Duncan.

We cannot undertake to aid a movement anywhere which has for its purpose the undoing of all the work of decades in America. You have heard a recital of the transition of the workers in one industry this afternoon—only one industry. There is scarcely a trade or scarcely an industry represented in this convention by a Delegate which could not tell a story of an identical character, the story of misery and degradation and poverty transformed into men and women standing shoulder to shoulder, upright and looking the whole world in the face, unafraid, determined to go ahead.

We wish for the workers and for the people of Russia everything that can come to them for good. When we shall at least have the privilege and the right to live our own lives and work out our own destinies in our own way, the people of any other nation may do for themselves and their own country just as they please; but until that

guarantee is given to us it is our duty, in self-defense and in defense of the government under which we live, to fight and fight hard.

I know that our Republic is not perfect; I don't know that there is a severer critic of our shortcomings than I am. That is our job, that is our duty, but let the other fellow keep his hands out of our fight.

I have one criticism to offer on the resolution other than that which is already contained in the report of the committee. I believe that the course we have consistently pursued in our attitude towards the people of Russia and the so-called Soviet government is in entire accord with the highest concept of duty to ourselves and to our fellow men the world over.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

**Proposing Investigation of U. S. Passport System Looking to Greater Freedom of International Travel**

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate James Wilson of the Pattern Makers' League of North America:

WHEREAS, The great World War brought into being an extended application and a more restricted system of passports, made imperative at a time of national conflicts; and

WHEREAS, The brutalities of war between the nations have given way to the problem of securing the peace of the world, apparently dispensing with the necessities that prompted this extension and more rigid enforcement of the passport system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor cause an investigation to be made of this extended system of passports, and, if found to serve no helpful purpose, then, with the advice and guidance of the Executive Council, undertake to bring this subject to the attention of the proper department of our national government for the purpose of re-establishing the freedom of international travel that prevailed among the nations of the world prior to the great war; it being understood that there is involved in this direction no intent, expressed or implied, to interfere in any way with the immigration laws of our land other than may relate to the issuance of passports.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its approval.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Demanding a New Trial for Sacco and Vanzetti**

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Max J. Sillinsky, Thos. Sweeney of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; Morris Kaufman, Charles Stetsky of the International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada; Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers of America; Morris Sigman, Louis Langer, Chas. Kreindler, Louis Pinkofsky, Luigi Antonini, and Samuel Perlmutter, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati, Ohio, has gone on record demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under the instructions of a prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the urgent demand from millions of workers throughout our country and all over the world, such a retrial and the opportunity to present incontrovertible evidence of their innocence of the heinous crime imputed to them has recently again been denied by their first trial judge, and an effort is now being made to have their case reviewed by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, They are in danger of their lives unless the prompt intervention of an enlightened public opinion prevents this ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled in El Paso, hereby reiterates its demand for a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudice and class hatred, to the end that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the governor of Massachusetts, the president of the United States and the press.

The object of resolution No. 42 is to secure for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder, a new trial before an impartial court and by a jury uninfluenced by prejudiced or biased instructions of the court. Your committee is of the conviction that no one, regardless of his station in life, should be found guilty of a criminal offense

unless guilt should have been proven beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

There being alleged doubt as to the guilt of the men so charged and convicted, the demand for a re-trial before an impartial court and jury is recommended for your approval. This recommendation is submitted in lieu of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**To Eliminate Speeding-Up Practices in Government Work**

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. T. Straup, R. L. Riter, T. Grant Woodward, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swarts, John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, In some government establishments, notably the postal service, there have been instituted obnoxious practices, under the guise of "efficiency systems," which are harmful to the workers, and therefore injurious to the service; and

WHEREAS, These "efficiency systems" are devised by so-called experts who have little or no understanding of the practical work over which they assume jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any method of "speeding up" workers beyond their endurance is disastrous to both employer and worker, and, particularly, such a policy has no place in government employment, where service and not profit is the motive; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor direct its Executive Council to lend every effort in eliminating from government employment these dehumanizing practices which are so harmful to the workers and the public service.

In recommending concurrence in Resolution No. 54, your committee recognizes the line of demarcation that must be drawn between methods of production which seek to improve the mechanical agencies and instrumentalities of production and those which, under the "guise" of efficiency, endeavor to measure, standardize and evaluate human life and service by mechanical rules and not intended or designed to safeguard life and limb

or to promote the mental and physical well being of the wage earner. To the former we offer words of commendation; to the latter we express our unreserved disapproval and condemnation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Urging the Appointment of John L. Lewis as Secretary of Labor**

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate R. C. Bonney of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, In the appointment of a Secretary of Labor as a successor to Secretary Davis, President Coolidge should seek a man fitted to fully represent and receive the endorsement of organized labor, just as is being followed by the President in the appointment of a Secretary of Agriculture; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby endorses and urges upon President Coolidge the appointment of Brother John L. Lewis, president of the Mine Workers of America, as Secretary of Labor; and,

We hereby authorize and direct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to do all things necessary in behalf of organized labor to secure the appointment of Brother Lewis as a member of the cabinet.

Reporting on resolution No. 57, your committee submits the following letter and request received by it from the introducer of that resolution:

El Paso, Texas, Nov. 21, 1924.

Resolutions Committee, A. F. of L.:

At the request of Mr. Lewis and in behalf of my own organization, I desire to withdraw Resolution No. 57 (page 140 of the minutes), urging the appointment of John L. Lewis as Secretary of Labor.

(Signed) R. C. BONNEY, Delegate, Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Your committee was deeply impressed with both the purpose and motive that prompted the presentation and withdrawal of this resolution, and recommends that the request herein noted be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Maintenance of the American Merchant Marine**

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel P. Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, James F. Murray, International Association of Machinists; J

A. Franklin, Chas. F. Scott, John Donney, M. J. McGuire, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, The experience of the American people in their commercial relations with other nations and their experience also in the recent World War has educated them to the necessity of maintaining a mercantile fleet, and the United States Government, profiting by that experience, did build a fleet known as the Merchant Marine; and

WHEREAS, The American Merchant Marine is in grave danger of extinction through lack of enforcement of existing laws, and if not given the assistance needed will be unable to contribute its part in the growth and prosperity of our country; and

WHEREAS, The ship building industry of the United States has suffered severely because of laws admitting foreign-built ships to American registry and has now declined until it is all but non-existent; and

WHEREAS, This condition has resulted to the detriment of the members of the Ship Building trades through the lack of employment in this direction and through the bearing down of American living standards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled in the city of El Paso, Texas, go on record in favor of the enactment of such new laws, and the enforcement of existing laws as are now necessary to maintain the American Merchant Marine to the end that American Commerce may and shall be carried in American ships under the American flag; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation stand instructed to use their efforts in establishing this condition.

In expressing approval in the objective sought in Resolution No. 71 and in recommending concurrence in this resolution your committee desires to make clear that there is not embraced in this proposal or the report of your committee an approval of a ship subsidy in any form, expressed or implied; to the contrary your committee is recommending approval of this resolution with the distinct and clear understanding that it disapproves of a ship subsidy in any form whatsoever as a means of maintaining or upholding an American merchant marine.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Endorsing Citizen Military Training Camps and Directing the Appointment of Civilian Aids to Co-operate With the Government in Recruiting Work**

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Metal Polishers' International Union; Geo. L. Berry, Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; James P. Holland, New York State Federation of Labor; Edward I. Hannah, International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters; James O'Connell, President Metal Trades Department; Roe H. Baker, Journeymen Barbers' International Union; Timothy Healy, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers; John J. Hines, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; John J. Collins, Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union; Wm. F. Canavan, International Alliance of Theatrical, Stage Employes of America; Jos. N. Weber, American Federation of Musicians; Chauncey A. Weaver, American Federation of Musicians; Edward Canavan, American Federation of Musicians; Thomas F. Kennedy, Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor; John P. Frey, Editor Molders' Journal; Frank Ledvinka, Ohio Federation of Labor; Hubert S. Marshall, International Union of Journeymen Horse Shoers of United States and Canada; Chas. J. Lammert, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; Geo. F. Hedrick, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; T. W. McCullough, International Typographical Union; E. A. Raleigh, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes; C. H. Clark, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes; Wm. B. Fitzgerald, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes; Franklin R. Doyle, United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands opposed to war except in the defense of our country and believes that the safety of our

country can be preserved only if its citizens are able to defend it, by force of arms if necessary; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that this result can be accomplished with the minimum loss of human lives only by raising to the highest possible standard the physical condition of the young men of our country, by instructing them in their duties as patriotic Americans and by giving them the rudiments of training in the principles of defense; and

WHEREAS, The Citizens' Military Training Camps authorized by congress in the National Defense Act are designed and conducted by our government for the accomplishment of these purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in national convention assembled at El Paso, Texas, November 17 to 29, 1924, that the Citizens' Military Training Camps are deserving of the support of American laboring men and the Executive Council is authorized and directed to nominate three civilian aides to the secretary of war at large and one civilian aide in each of the forty-eight states, to co-operate with the government in recruiting candidates for these camps; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to the secretary of war and to the press.

In considering Resolution No. 75, your committee gave due attention to the large number of delegates having joined in the presentation of this resolution. Your committee is in agreement with those having sponsored this resolution as to the validity of the object sought and purpose intended.

Pacifism in any form is as obnoxious to your committee as it is to those having presented this proposal. It is in agreement with the purpose of amply and fully safeguarding our nation and its people and democratic institutions against any and all invasions. It, too, believes that every effort should be made and every opportunity should be availed of that will develop the physical and mental well-being and stimulate the patriotic spirit of the youth of our land.

Embraced in this resolution is not alone the endorsement of the Citizens' Military Training Camps as authorized by the National Defense Act. It is also intended that the American Fed-

eration of Labor shall become a recruiting arm of the government in the fulfillment of the law.

It is the conviction of your committee that however meritorious the purposes embraced may be that it is of first importance that we assure ourselves that these military training camps are operated in practice for the upbuilding of the mind and body of our young men and that these camps are not so conducted as to inculcate the spirit of militarism or tend toward the exultation and glorification of war.

To safeguard our people against such dangers and at the same time co-operate with our nation in the building up of the youth of our land, the greatest of all defenses—we recommend reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for the purposes herein indicated.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Wolf: The following pronouncement is by the committee:

#### Labor's Memorial Sunday

We recommend and strongly urge the observance of Labor's Memorial Sunday, as is our custom, on the fourth Sunday in May. It is most fitting that we should dedicate a particular day to the departed heroes of the Labor movement. We of the present Labor movement owe much to those who helped establish the standards we enjoy today and only by widespread observance of the memorial custom can we preserve the spirit of appreciation and reverence due to those who have done their work and passed on.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 77—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, It is the earnest desire of the officers and delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to express their deep appreciation to all those who have contributed to the success of its deliberations and to all those who have extended their hospitality to officers, delegates and visitors of this annual meeting; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we record in this manner our profound gratitude and appreciation for the manner in which



the local committee on arrangements has provided for our requirements and for our entertainment, and that we extend equally warm appreciation to all of the people of the City of El Paso whose unbounded cordiality and courtesy has been so manifest throughout their sessions; and be it

**RESOLVED,** That we extend the thanks of this convention to Mayor Richard M. Dudley; William J. Moran, chairman of the entertainment committee; Claude B. Hudspeth, Congressman; Major-General R. L. Howze; George L. Slater, executive secretary of the Texas State Federation of Labor, who through their elegant addresses at the opening of this convention, formally conveyed to us the welcome and hospitality of the labor movement, and the citizens of El Paso, which has since been so manifest; and, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we express our most kindly feelings toward all who have addressed the convention through all its various sessions, bringing to us words of counsel and good will; and, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we record our keen appreciation of the work of the representatives of the press, whose desire to report accurately and fully the work of this convention has been obvious, and to whom we are deeply indebted for their efforts to convey to the peoples of the world the important activities of this convention; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That we renew our pledge of unity, of fraternity and constructive co-operation with all who desire the progress and development of our country and its institutions and to all who are striving to promote the cause of freedom, justice and humanity and that we will remain true and unhesitating in our devotion to our cause and our adherence to the conclusions reached by this great convention.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Woll: This concludes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,  
 MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary,  
 G. W. PERKINS,  
 B. A. LARGER,  
 A. A. MYRUP,  
 J. A. FRANKLIN,  
 JOSEPH W. MORTON,  
 THOMAS L. HUGHES,  
 DAVE EVANS,  
 P. J. MORRIS,  
 C. J. LAMMERT,  
 JOHN COEFIELD,  
 J. M. LYNCH,  
 JOSEPH WEBER,  
 WILLIAM FITZGERALD.

Secretary Woll moved that the com-

mittee's report as a whole as acted upon by the convention be adopted. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate O'Connell, Metal Trades Department, asked the number of committees yet to report. The chairman announced that the committees on international relations, local and federated bodies, and building trades, had not reported.

Delegate O'Connell: The building trades committee has had nothing referred to it by the convention.

President Gompers: The committee can initiate matters.

Delegate O'Connell: It is very evident the convention will close tomorrow; I therefore move that the election of officers of the Federation take place tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock.

President Gompers: And the election of fraternal delegates and the designation of a place in which to hold the 1925 convention.

The motion as stated was seconded and carried.

The following supplementary report of the committee on credentials was submitted by Secretary McKeon:

The following letter has been received from Fred W. Baer, president of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

"Kindly substitute the name of C. L. Ross as delegate from the International Association of Fire Fighters, in place of Mr. John F. Kerwin, who has been obliged to leave the city."

The committee recommends that the request be granted.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

#### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES**

Delegate Anna Neery, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

#### **Commending Work of Near East Relief and Recommending Co-operation of Affiliated Unions.**

Resolution No. 39 — By Delegate Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers:

WHEREAS, The Near East Relief, chartered by the Congress of the United States to conduct relief work in the Near East countries, now has in its care many thousands of orphan children who have no country and no governmental aid, being absolutely dependent upon the generosity of charit-

ably inclined people and organizations in this country; and

WHEREAS, The larger percentage of these orphan children are under ten years of age, and their support must be continued until they are trained for self-support, such training being a part of the work of the Near East Relief, all the older children being taught trades that will make them self-supporting; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor commends the work of the Near East Relief and recommends that local unions and central labor bodies co-operate in this humanitarian work of saving lives of orphan children and training them for leadership in various trades in the Near East countries.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Proposing that American Federation of Labor Compile Information in Regard to Location of Labor Temples, Costs and Methods of Financing**

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Chas. H. Franck of the Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama:

WHEREAS, It is a matter of record that the American Federation of Labor favors and encourages the erection of labor temples, the American Federation of Labor does not, however, in any manner undertake to inject itself into the question as to the advisability of building or acquiring a temple in any locality, believing that this is entirely a matter for the union membership to decide, nor does the Federation assume any liability for the success or failure of the ventures; and

WHEREAS, All too often the erection of a labor temple is undertaken in localities without giving the subject the thought and study it deserves and hence, while those promoting the project are sincere and honest, the venture becomes more of a hindrance than a help to the cause of organized labor, and while the project has been undertaken at a time of temporary industrial activity, it later on becomes a heavy load to carry, causing all too often discord, strife and dissension and suspicion; and

WHEREAS, It is essential that there should be available accurate data on the subject of labor temples, for the guidance of those in organized labor's ranks who may be impelled to promote erecting or acquiring a labor temple, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to secure from all available sources full infor-

mation bearing on the subject of labor temples — where located, how promoted, under what plan, the cost, amount of money subscribed, amount of indebtedness, the form of indebtedness, the cost of maintaining the temple, etc.; that this information be carefully compiled and tabulated and printed in pamphlet form for distribution to officers of labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to ascertain the present status of existing labor temples in territory covered by the Federation, for the purpose of devising some plan whereby the temples may be safeguarded from falling into the possession or ownership of those opposed to organized labor and by so devising a plan insure the union membership against great property loss, discouragement in co-operative efforts and prevent loss of interest in labor union activities.

Representatives from several cities where labor temple projects had been launched appeared before the committee and gave the committee the benefit of their experiences and difficulties in the building of labor temples.

Your committee, recognizing how valuable it would be to have available such information for local communities contemplating the building of labor temples, recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that they secure and compile data with regard to labor temples as set forth in the resolution, provided the funds of the Federation permit of such a survey.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Community Service**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Community Service," page 80, your committee is in hearty accord with the sentiment expressed in the report of the Executive Council and urges State Federations of Labor, city central bodies and local unions to give serious consideration to the need for wholesome recreation and to co-operate in efforts put forth to promote local recreation centers and activities.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Opposing Senate Bill No. 3218 Providing for Sunday Closing of all Amusement Places in the District of Columbia**

Resolution No. 51 — By Delegate James P. McKeon, National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia are governed by laws enacted by Congress and signed by the President of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending in Congress a bill introduced by Senator Wesley Jones of Washington, known as Senate bill No. 3218, which has for its purpose the closing of all places of amusement on Sundays; and

WHEREAS, Theatres in Washington open on Sundays at 3 p. m. and have done so for many years, thereby creating a custom for the people which it is now proposed to destroy; and

WHEREAS, The Washington Central Labor Union, after considering the merits of this bill at two separate meetings, at which were present members of theatrical unions, unanimously went on record as being opposed to its passage as another interference with personal liberties, depriving the people of the exercise of their rights to spend Sunday in a manner best suited to their beliefs, at the same time reiterating one of the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor of seeking one day of rest in each seven days of employment, and further requested that the delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held at El Paso, Texas, indorse the position which they have taken on this question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegate to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, oppose the passage of Senate bill No. 3218, and instruct our officers and legislative agents to render all possible assistance to the Washington Central Labor Union in their efforts to defeat this legislation.

Your committee heard the representatives of the Actors' and Artists' Association, speaking specifically for the Equity Association, regarding the attitude of that organization toward this legislation, and in view of the stand of the Actors and Artists' Association for Sunday holiday for its members, your committee recommends the

adoption of the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 51:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia are governed by laws enacted by Congress and signed by the President of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending in Congress a bill introduced by Senator Wesley Jones of Washington, known as "Senate Bill No. 3218," which has for its purpose the closing of all places of amusement on Sundays; and

WHEREAS, The unique services of actors and actresses make it difficult to replace them with understudies satisfactory to the public; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is not in favor of making any group of the trade union movement work seven days a week; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor is unalterably opposed to so-called "Blue Laws" which would on the other hand prevent the worker from enjoying one day's rest or recreation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, oppose the passage of Senate Bill No. 3218, and instruct our officers and legislative agents to render all possible assistance to the Washington Labor Union in their efforts to defeat this legislation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor legislation which would prohibit the production on Sunday of the so-called "Legitimate and Musical Comedy" shows. The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

This completes the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, which is signed:

JACOB FISCHER, Chairman,  
ANNA NEARY, Secretary,  
WALTER V. PRICE,  
WILLIAM R. CAGE,  
FRED W. SUIITOR,  
R. C. BONNEY,  
JOS. MARSHALL,  
FRANK J. JENNEDY,  
R. M. WARE,  
FRED MOONEY,  
L. E. SWARTZ,  
PETER SMITH,  
JOHN T. WOOD,  
C. J. MCCARTHA,  
W. J. YARROW,  
ED A. RALEIGH,

The report of the committee, as considered by the convention, was adopted as a whole.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m., an adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, November 25.

## Eighth Day—Tuesday Morning Session

El Paso, Texas, Nov. 25, 1924.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Gompers.

### Absentees

M. W. Martin, Shamp, W. E. Bryan, G. Marshall, John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Roscoe H. Johnson, Walden Freeman, Drum, George Allen, Barry, Finley, Cohen, Townsend, Bieretz, Cabral, Zimmerer, Melear, Gentry, Zuckerman, Redmond, Frank Hughes, Costello, E. F. Duffy, Franck, Ferns, Spough, E. M. Ware, Childs, Laylor, A. P. Bower, Hourigan, R. T. Wood, Dale, Harte, Woodmansee, Abrams, Doane, Mansfield, Shaw, Lee A. Williams, Camous, Cokely, Brasfield, George Browne, Portway.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram from Noel A. Mitchell, editor and manager of a labor paper at St. Petersburg, Florida:

"All Florida locals join with St. Petersburg locals in inviting you to hold your forty-fifth annual convention in the Sunshine City of the South, where every facility, accommodation and opportunity will be offered you to consider the national welfare as it relates to labor in the most congenial climate and the most healthful atmosphere our country boasts of."

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delgate McKeon, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee begs to report that it has been requested to substitute the name of S. Garcia of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's organization, to take the place of M. J. Kelly, who has not been present at the convention.

In accordance with request, we recommend the seating of S. Garcia, as delegate from the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union to take the place of M. J. Kelly.

J. M. Noonan, of the Electrical Workers' delegation, requests that J. R. Shaklee be substituted for Charles Murphy as delegate from the I. B. E. W.

In accordance with this request we

recommend the seating of J. R. Shaklee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Ryan, chairman of the committee: Since your committee on state organizations made its concluding report, there has been brought to our attention by Delegate Santiago Iglesias, an important matter dealing with Porto Rico, upon which your committee has prepared a report. Delegate Iglesias did not arrive at the convention in time to have this matter brought to your attention in the early days of the convention, and in justice to the brothers in Porto Rico we bring the matter to your attention at this time.

Resolution No. 78—By Committee on State Organizations:

Since your committee on State Organizations made its concluding report, there has been brought to its attention by Delegate Santiago Iglesias an important matter relating to conditions in Porto Rico that warrant action by this committee:

"That on the 4th of November, 1924, a general election was held on the Island of Porto Rico, under the authority, laws and flag of the United States of America, for the purpose of electing all the officers of the government of the Island, except the governor thereof; and during the said elections a combination of the old political parties who control the economic and vital forces of the Island, using all kinds of force, violence and corruption, employing the public insular police and officials of the department of justice, and putting into practice the worst kind of devices, including actual use of force against the electors, the voting of paid agents with the name of thousands of legal electors, whereby the said legal electors all over the Island were deprived of their votes; making false returns and annulling enormous amounts of ballots which were perfectly legal; and finally, committing an innumerable set of outrages and violations of the law, proof of which is being prepared

and shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States in the form of documentary evidence enough to contest and annul the legality of the election.

"That, it is not possible that in Porto Rico, an American territory, under American jurisdiction, the laws of the land be violated, the American institutions of freedom be abolished, citizenship be outraged and elections carried out in such a way as to be a degradation of the American principles of universal suffrage; and the people of the United States cannot stand by and look indifferently upon such attempts against a peaceful and law-abiding community.

Therefore we request:

1. To protest before the President of the United States and the American people against the violations of law and outrages to American citizenship that took place on the Island of Porto Rico in the elections held on November 4th past, and most especially against the use of force by the local officials of the government of the Island, against the peaceful voters of the working masses of the Island.

2. To suspend the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor to any legislation granting more self-government at this time to Porto Rico until a joint sub-committee from both houses of Congress shall proceed to the Island to investigate the aforesaid elections and conditions of the people and take the proper measures to grant these people the right to hold a new general election and to insure to said people of Porto Rico an honest and free exercise of the suffrage.

3. That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to most earnestly recommend to the friends of justice who sit in both houses of Congress to give aid and support to the claims of the representatives of the people of Porto Rico who are petitioning the Congress for an investigation of the election held in said island on the fourth of November, 1924.

4. That copies of this statement be officially handed to the President of the United States, the president of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of the Congress, and give same as much publicity as possible."

In accord with that judgment we submit the following statement and recommendation:

When the sovereignty of Porto Rico was transferred from monarchial Spain to democratic America, they rejoiced in the hope that under the constitution and flag of our country, that liberty, justice and democracy would be the happy end of conditions in which they were forced to work and live.

These exploited people have been just

as ruthlessly robbed of their economic rights and privileges by the privileged few, smoke screened under our glorious Stars and Stripes, as they were when held in subjection by Spain.

The trade union movement, acting with the upstanding forward-looking people of Porto Rico, recently acquired by the peaceable means of the ballot fuller control of the legislative government of Porto Rico.

It is alleged that the reactionary grasping profiteering element now in control resorted to illegal, fraudulent means to rob the victorious workers of their well-earned victory in the recent election.

We, therefore, recommend that a full statement of facts that are now in the hands of Delegate Santiago Iglesias be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to use his good offices to comply with the requests of Porto Rico and give helpful assistance to the people of Porto Rico, to right the great wrong perpetrated against them.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

President Gompers: Earlier in the sessions of this convention I presented a fellow worker to you and assumed the position that everyone knew him so well that I even omitted the amenities of the occasion; that is, I did not introduce him by name. I think, after mature consideration, it was not a wise course, and I apologize to the convention as well as to Brother Kelly for that omission.

No man in recent years has done more to help broadcast the understanding and good will between the organized workers of the United States and the people of Mexico, and later inclusive of the organized labor movement of that republic. A member of the International Association of Machinists, he has gone on missionary work there and here. He has the confidence, and the justified confidence of the government of Mexico, of the people of Mexico, including the organized labor movement of that Republic, and I am sure it is simply an idle use of words for me to employ when I say

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

he has the respect and confidence for the able work of the men and women in the American trade union movement.

Brother Kelly has acted as one of the fraternal delegates, and we desire, as we did in the earlier days of the convention when we showed some recognition of the services of Mr. Haberman, to now present to Mr. Jose W. Kelly this diamond stickpin.

Fraternal Delegate Kelly: Mr. Chairman, usually an Irishman doesn't have any trouble finding words to say what he thinks. If he cannot find words he can always find a shillalah or a brick to impress his hearers.

I have only tried to do what I was obligated to do and what my own conscience required me to do in my work in connection with the Mexican Federation of Labor and as an organizer of the International Association of Machinists and of the American Federation of Labor. The groundwork of that splendid organization was laid by yourself, Mr. President, and we have only built on the foundation. We are proud of the work of the building that has been erected on the splendid foundation laid by yourself and your colleagues.

This gift will always serve as a reminder of what an organizer or even a rank and file member of the American Federation of Labor should do in order to be true to his fellows and to the obligation he took as a member of this great movement. Aside from this present, I have had the pleasure and joy of being in this convention, being a part of it, and having taken part in the work principally of presenting to yourself the flowers of reverence and love, which is more important than anything we might have done in connection with the Mexican Federation of Labor or the American Federation of Labor. I thank you.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Vice-President Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

#### Pan-American Relations

Our committee having had under consideration that part of the Ex-

ecutive Council's report under the caption "Pan-American Relations," pages 77-78, finds that the Pan-American Federation of Labor, while similar in character and purpose to the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor, is composed of delegates from all countries in North and South America. It seeks to bring about a similarity of action on all fundamental issues underlying the economic and social conditions of working men and women of all Pan-America.

The American Federation of Labor has sought from the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, to inculcate in the minds and hearts of the delegates and representatives the transcendent importance of organization of the wage earners in the trade union movement, to encourage discipline, to urge trade union activity along constructive lines, to recognize the rights and liberties of all who give service in our joint collective movement to ameliorate the conditions of the workers and of all who give service in the effort to bring about better and better living and working conditions for all concerned.

The greatest effort was centered in Mexico. The American Federation of Labor may well feel proud of its record of unselfish helpfulness and devotion so freely given to the exploited people of unhappy Mexico. We were not content to adopt high-sounding resolutions, but gave that service and advice calculated to help guide the workers of Mexico and to safeguard and make for constructive, fruitful operations.

President Gompers, ably assisted by the Executive Council and unanimously backed by recurring conventions of the American Federation of Labor, expounded the doctrine of constructive trade unionism, and when the opportune moment occurred, encouraged by word and deed, and backed them in their justifiable revolution, all of which action and activity resulted in the establishment of a stable trade union movement and a real democratic form of government.

You heard the unstinted praise and grateful recognition that welled up in

the minds and hearts of the gratified representatives of the organized workers of Mexico, whose animated, radiant faces portrayed the undying devotion they feel for our venerable President when their representatives pictured in glowing, grateful language the helpfulness, the sound advice given to these struggling people during the trying times through which they have successfully passed.

Your committee calls attention to the splendid declarations of the Mexican Federation of Labor in which that organization declares that Communism can have no place in the Mexican labor movement and that Mexico cannot be used as a road by which such propaganda may reach the United States and the American labor movement.

In this connection the Mexican Federation of Labor, in its convention in Juarez, on November 21, 1924, adopted a resolution which says:

"The Mexican Federation of Labor will oppose all attacks which the enemies of the A. F. of L. will attempt to undertake against it in any part whatsoever of the Mexican Republic."

The same convention, two days earlier, refused by unanimous vote to accept the credentials of an avowed Communist delegate. In connection with that action the Mexican convention adopted as its own declaration of position a statement made to the convention by Ricardo Trevino, general secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor. In this declaration the following highly significant, statesmanlike provisions are found:

"The Mexican Federation of Labor is the only organization genuinely representative of the desires and aspirations of the working people of Mexico.

"The Mexican Federation of Labor does not permit and will not permit the establishment in Mexico of Communist parties depending from and directed by the third internationale of Moscow."

We rejoice with and congratulate the wage earning masses of Mexico in their successes so far obtained in their trade union activities. We felicitate the whole people of Mexico upon their successful establishment of a more just form of government based upon democracy, justice and liberty.

We extend the hope to the newly elected President of Mexico that his administration shall be successful in bringing a full degree of justice which will make for a better and a happier life of the liberty loving people of the Republic of fair Mexico under the newly established principles.

It was our good fortune to return the very welcome visit of the Mexican Federation of Labor to our convention. The high fraternal spirit in which we were received by the delegates to the Mexican Federation of Labor is gratefully acknowledged and highly appreciated. It bears further evidence, if such is necessary, of the solidarity now existing in the substantial friendly relations established by the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Nicaragua

Under the caption, "Nicaragua," on pages 89-92, are reported the findings of a mission to Nicaragua authorized by the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Since Labor has had the opportunity to organize there has developed a potential agency by which the masses of Nicaragua can have a constructive influence in the development of national policies.

Nicaragua is an agricultural country as yet undeveloped industrially. As the report of the Pan-American mission states, the key to the immediate problems must be found before there can be substantial progress in providing for all the people both material advantages and opportunities for the customs and practices of a genuinely democratic nation. Control over the destinies of Nicaragua lies now in the hands of a small group that has possessed itself of special privileges, and has thus far assumed an unwarranted, unfair hold upon the life of the nation.

Groups of politicians lacking in patriotism and moral standards have on frequent occasions combined with certain bankers of Wall Street to exploit the masses of Nicaragua through con-

tracts involving the resources of the country.

By unfortunate combination of circumstances it has happened that, for example, only the privately owned National Bank of Nicaragua is permitted to issue money. The ownership and operation of that National Bank by a Wall Street firm is effective ownership and control of the economic and political destinies of the people of Nicaragua.

The masses of the people of Nicaragua have not yet been able to unhorse the exploiters. They have been unable until recently to hold a fair election. In a recent election true representatives of the people were chosen, but there is now being exerted every influence and power of the special privilege, who still hold much of the effective machinery of government, to prevent these representatives from taking office on January 1, 1925.

We of the United States have an obligation to give moral support to liberty and human standards of welfare of the workers of all the countries of Pan-America.

American Labor feels convinced that it expresses the sentiment of the masses of our citizenry when it declines to be forced into a position of responsibility for exploitation of the unhappy people of Nicaragua.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Fraternal Delegates to Great Britain**

Your committee has studied and considered with interest and approval the report submitted by Peter J. Brady and Edward J. Gainor, fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, pages 92-94, Executive Council's report.

The report contains much valuable, instructive and interesting information and is commended to the attention and study of all delegates and friends to this convention and elsewhere.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Fraternal Delegate to Canada**

Your committee feels we are obligated to W. W. Britton, Fraternal Dele-

gate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, for the able and instructive report he has submitted and for the very interesting information contained therein. We commend this report to the consideration of the delegates and trade unionists generally, pages 94-98, Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **International Federation of Trades Unions**

Complete correspondence had by the Executive Council with the officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions was submitted to your committee for its information. This correspondence discloses the fact that the Executive Council instructed President Gompers to continue correspondence with the officials of the International Federation of Trade Unions with the view of making it possible for the American Federation of Labor to join forces with the organization affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

We deem it necessary to here state that the principal causes of our disassociation with the International Federation of Trade Unions were (a) the abolition of the strict autonomy of each affiliated center. Formerly the law provided that no paramount or fundamentally basic question could be adopted except by the consent of each affiliated center.

(b) Introduction of a resolution which was adopted which provided for the socialization of the raw material of all countries for use in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of European countries.

(3) The raising of the per capita tax to an extent that made it prohibitive. Because of the deflated currency of Europe and our standard unit value remaining at par, this would have exacted a contribution from the American Federation of Labor which it seemed to us was unfair and out of proportion to the amounts paid by other affiliated centers.

Your committee is hopeful for the fulfillment of our heretofore and now expressed desire for such affiliation and is moreover inspired by the suc-



cessful correspondence so far conducted that this desirable end is not in the far distant future.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### World Court

We find in the Executive Council's report on the "World Court," pages 71-72, that several propositions were introduced in Congress. The Executive Council report sets forth that representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared, before the subcommittee and advocated that the United States become a participant in a permanent court of international relations. Your committee concurs in and endorses the action of the Executive Council and in so doing we manifest our protest against any attempt made or to be made for the World Court to perpetuate itself by filling any vacancy that may arise.

The report of the committee was, unanimously adopted.

#### To Continue Co-operation for the Pardon of Mexican Libertarians Imprisoned in Texas

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate John P. Frey of the Molders' International Union:

WHEREAS, Five Mexicans and one American, Abraham Cisneros, Jesus M. Rangel, Jesus Gonzales, Leonardo M. Vasquez, Pedro Perales, and Charles Cline, are in Texas prisons, serving life sentences as the result of the death of a member of a Texas sheriff's posse; and

WHEREAS, This regrettable incident occurred in connection with the efforts of these Mexican patriots and revolutionists, assisted by an American, to convey ammunition from the United States to Mexico for the use of their fellow revolutionists who were endeavoring to overthrow the tyrannical regime of Porfirio Diaz, and establish a government of the people in its place; and

WHEREAS, the government of Mexico has asked for their pardon, and to this request has been joined the request of the Mexican ambassador of the United States, and that of Samuel Gompers, president, and the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fourth convention of the American Federation of Labor authorizes and requests the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to continue to co-operate with and assist the president of Mexico, the Mexican am-

bassador to the United States, and all other duly authorized Mexican representatives, in respectfully petitioning the governor of Texas to grant a pardon to these patriots who, though they violated the neutrality of the United States, did so and risked their lives in the sacred cause of human liberty.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Opposing U. S. Government Joining League of Nations or World Court

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Paul Scharrenberg, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The League of Nations is apparently preparing to assume the role for which it seems to have been created—that is, as a super-government especially designed to prevent the extension of human freedom; and

WHEREAS, In the matter of freedom for seamen, the international labor organization, functioning under the League of Nations, is now taking steps to establish an International Seamen's code to govern the seamen; and

WHEREAS, It is seriously proposed in the before-mentioned International Seamen's code to perpetuate the serfdom of seamen, wherever it now exists, and to restore it where an enlightened public sentiment has made the seamen freemen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in forty-fourth annual convention assembled, that we hereby earnestly and emphatically protest against our Government becoming entangled with either League of Nations or the so-called World Court.

Your committee makes the following statement in connection with this resolution:

In the absence of definite and official information we do not pretend to know to what extent the League of Nations aspires to form a super-government.

We are mindful of the fact that seamen have a right to be apprehensive against any effort regardless of where it finds origin, that seeks to curtail or deny the rights, interests, liberty and freedom promised to the seamen or enjoyed by them. We agree with them in protesting against any encroachment of these rights by any association, government or private organizations. We sincerely hope for the time when an enlightened, intelligent

public conscience will not tolerate any interference with the rights, interests and freedom of liberty loving citizens.

With this statement we non-concur in the resolution, but recommend that all reference to the rights, liberty and interests of the seamen, or any other affected workers, be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make a proper investigation of the allegations set forth in the resolution, and do everything within its power to be helpful in protecting the freedom of the seamen against any encroachment by the League of Nations or any political sub-division thereof or any other agency regardless of where located.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth: Mr. Chairman, I am going to support the committee's report in lieu of the resolution introduced by me and my colleague, but I think it is due to this convention that it should know the real reasons for introducing the resolution.

The Labor Section of the League of Nations held a session in Genoa, Italy, in 1920. At that conference it was determined that a commission should be established for the purpose of unifying all the laws dealing with seamen. The conference determined further, by a vote, to which there was but one negative, that imprisonment for quitting work should be stricken out of the laws thus enacted or proposed. We seamen thought, of course, that this obligation which the conference at Genoa assumed and the instruction which it gave would be considered and lived up to.

Last Christmas we received a tentative draft of the proposed code. After examining it we came to the conclusion that it was worse than any national code now in existence. It perpetuates imprisonment for quitting work in violation of contract; it perpetuates the treaties under which seamen are arrested, detained and surrendered back to the vessel. I sent seven letters, written one each week, to Mr. Thomas of the Labor Section analyzing the proposal and protesting as best I could

against its being brought any further. I received a letter during the summer from Mr. Thomas saying that they could not help themselves, that they could not do anything under the situation they found in Europe.

We have not only investigated the conditions of the seamen, but of other men in Europe, and found that in a majority of countries any contract for labor can be and sometimes is enforced by imprisonment; so it is not simply a question of safeguarding the freedom and liberty of the seamen, it is a question of all workers. There is not the slightest doubt that the recommendations of the commission on the seamen's code, if adopted, will be followed up by similar treaties dealing with all men who work for a living. There isn't the slightest question that an effort will be made, not only internationally, but nationally, in the different European countries, to tie the worker to his place either in the mine, on the railway, in the shop, the factory or in any other vocation. And if we can defeat the adoption of this principle in application to the seamen it can never go any further.

We are going to vote for the committee's report in the hope that it will effect our purpose, which we know will be your purpose when you understand what this thing means. The effort of the President and the Executive Council in presenting this idea and these facts to the workers of Europe and to other people ought to be helpful. I hope and trust it will stop the onward march of slavery which certain sections of human society are trying to reintroduce throughout the world.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Fraternal Delegate to German Federation of Labor**

Your committee having considered the invitation extended by Fraternal Delegate Peter Grassman requesting the American Federation of Labor to send a fraternal delegate to the next meeting of the German Federation of Labor to be held in Breslau in August, 1925, recommends that this invitor be referred to the Executive Council with authority to consider and act upon the same as circumstances and conditions may warrant.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Woll: This concludes the committee's report, which is signed:

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Chairman,  
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
MAX HAYES,  
JAMES WILSON,  
ANDREW FURUSETH,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
JOHN F. FREY,  
B. A. LARGER,  
D. J. TOBIN,  
GEORGE L. BERRY,  
JOHN H. WALKER,  
C. L. BAINE,  
W. J. BOWEN,  
J. A. FRANKLIN,  
J. J. HYNES,  
SARA CONBOY,  
TIMOTHY HEALY,  
W. J. SPENCER,  
J. J. FORRESTER,  
E. J. MCGIVERN,  
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,  
PETER J. BRADY,  
EDWARD J. GAINOR,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Committee on International Relations  
Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

Seconded and carried.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President Gompers: The Chair invites Delegate John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, to preside over this convention during the election of at least one or two of the officers thereof.

Delegate John L. Lewis in the chair  
Chairman Lewis: Under the special rules adopted by the convention, the hour has arrived for the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor, Fraternal Delegates, and a convention city. Nominations will now be in order for the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers: Labor is just as severe as any other association in its demand that its leadership shall come with clean hands and possessed of the highest type of necessary qualifications to successfully lead in our great movement for the benefit and welfare of human kind. Happily, on this occasion, we have with us a man who has measured up to the highest possible standard that labor or any other association may require of its leadership, one who has been tried and never found wanting, one who, by his experience, keen mind and well known characteristics, pos-

sesses in the highest degree, character, judgment and courage.

I am sure that every Delegate to this convention will not only be glad to again proffer to him the position he now holds, but to say to him that our only regret on this particular occasion is that we cannot give more. Possessing every requirement that makes for success, I am justified in nominating and the Delegates in re-electing as President of the American Federation of Labor our venerable and beloved leader, Samuel Gompers.

Chairman Lewis: The Chair recognizes Delegate Fitzpatrick of the Actors' Equity Association.

Delegate Fitzpatrick: The most grievous crime that any one can commit where an actor is concerned is to give him improper billing. Mr. Lewis has unconsciously committed the unpardonable sin in the actor's decalogue; he has honored me by election to the Actors' Equity Association, and in view of the fact that jurisdictional lines are very jealously guarded in the American Federation of Labor, I am not quite sure whether I am qualified to work under that card which Mr. Lewis so generously wrote out for me a moment ago.

I am not a member of the Actors' Equity Association; I am the president of what is left of the old White Rats Actors, which, for the sake of euphemism and certain legal inhibitions, is now known to the world at large as the American Artists' Federation. The rose is just the same, it smells just the same, and we are still just the same in our attitude, in our adherence to the sound philosophy of the trade union movement as the American Artists' Federation as we ever were under the title of the White Rats Actors' Union of America.

There are things which a man can do, and in the doing of them bring honor to another. There are things which a man can do, and in the doing of them bring honor to himself. It is this latter thought which comes to me as I arise to second the nomination of Samuel Gompers for the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor.

It is a privilege and an honor which I deeply esteem, I, relatively a raw recruit in the labor movement, to rise and pay my respects to the veteran commander who for almost half a century has so ably, so zealously and so successfully led the army of workers who have been fighting for the betterment, the progress, the happiness of every man and woman in this or any other country who earns his or her bread by the sweat of their brow.

It would be impertinence in me to try to tell all you men who have grown old in the service of the workers

what kind of a man Samuel Gompers is; it would be an impertinence for me to tell you men who have marched side by side with him all these long years, who have endured with him the heat of the day and the labor thereof, what kind of a leader of men and what kind of a comrade he is, and if I do not launch into any eulogy of Sam it is not because he does not deserve it, but because in the eyes and the hearts of the men and women with whom he has been associated for fifty years he needs no eulogy—least of all from me. Nor have I any intention of canonizing him in a speech. I know of no one who would be more uncomfortable wearing a halo than Sam, and it is one of the beautiful characteristics that he has, that he is a human being with human faults and human nobilities.

But there are one or two things which I am sure you will agree with me deserve to be recalled and to be remembered where Sam is concerned. This is an age, the growing and insidious menace of which is the widespread cynicism and materialism, and it is well for us to remember that the man who for so long has borne the burden of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor may have had his faults, may have been obliged, in the interests of the great movement at large, to make certain internal compromises which are necessary in the success of any universal movement; but it is true—and I am sure there is no one, including his most bitter enemies, who can ever say that any selfish or material consideration has ever affected Samuel Gompers when it was a question of the essential movement and what it involves.

Two characteristics men admire, honesty and courage, and Sam has them both. No one has ever been able truthfully to accuse him of having run under fire; no one can ever say that when he has been taken up by the spirit of evil on to the mountain top and shown all the kingdoms of the world and promised them if he would prove untrue to his trust, no one can ever say that he has not, in the language of the Scriptures, said: "Get thee behind me, Satan."

We admire and envy him his physical vitality. I am sure the only reason that Ponce de Leon did not find the spring of eternal youth is because Sam was not on earth at the time to show him where he got his youth and vitality.

But the thing which appears to me to be most worthy of envy, most worthy of emulation, most worthy of practical application, is the spiritual idealism which characterizes the Labor movement and which Sam has always stood for. I can remember very vividly the debate which was held in Carnegie Hall between Samuel Gom-

pers and the late Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas.

I make a business of writing, I make a business of making phrases, and I can say that it is the first and only debate I ever heard in my ure from which I came away with one idea and one expression which told the whole philosophy of a man's life-long action. I heard Sam, in the course of that debate, draw a real distinction between Capital and Labor. I heard him say that Capital was what a man had and Labor was what a man is. If there could be any more complete and perfect and detailed exposition of what the labor movement should be, and what his leadership of the labor movement has been characterized by, it is summed up in that sentence: "Capital is what a man has, Labor is what a man is." And what a man is, what constitutes a man, what separates him from the animal, is the spirit of immortality which is in him, and it is that spirit of immortality, that striving that the laborers, the workers, may attain the highest fulfillment of the immortal craving that is in them that should be, and I hope is, the true spirit of the American Federation of Labor.

There was in the opening address of the President of the American Federation of Labor a note of sadness. There were those who thought they sensed in it the notes of Sam's swan song. I have no such idea. Lord Macaulay, in a celebrated panegyric on the Catholic church, describes how a pilgrim from New Zealand, centuries and centuries in the dim distance, will sit upon the broken ruins of London Bridge and sketch the broken ruins of St. Paul's Cathedral. To paraphrase that thought, I am sure that when the last representative of the National Manufacturers' Association comes to a convention of the American Federation of Labor to make his final peace with the labor movement, he will find the young man who is occupying the chair none other than the present incumbent of that office, Mr. Samuel Gompers.

But if, in the course of nature—to be serious for just one minute—if, when the finger of Time writes "exit" for Sam, at least we who have been associated with him can, in the face of all the world, rise and say: "Take him, all in all, he was a man. We shall not look upon his like again."

Delegate Lovely, Boot and Shoe Workers: I feel that it is not necessary for me to occupy the time of the convention in any eulogy of the present incumbent. I feel that he has earned the support of every delegate of this convention, and as president of the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and with their unanimous consent, I desire to second the

nomination of that grand old man, Samuel Gompers.

No further names were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Green, United Mine Workers, the Secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Samuel Gompers for the office of President. Delegate Green's motion, which was seconded by Delegate Connors, Switchmen's Union, was adopted by unanimous rising vote. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected President for the ensuing term.

Chairman Lewis: President Gompers, I am honored in being able to transmit to you the unanimous expression of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, re-electing you to the Presidency of that great organization, the position which you have so long and so faithfully and so honorably filled, with the wishes from every delegate to this convention that you may live long to enjoy your honor and that you may again succeed to that high honor numerous times in the future.

President Gompers: Perhaps some other time I will have a word, but not now. We will hear nominations for the first vice-presidency.

Fraternal Delegate John Colbert in the chair.

Delegate Frey, Molders: More than a quarter of a century ago a representative of the Molders' Union arose in a convention of the American Federation of Labor and nominated for the position of vice-president a man who, at that time, was a representative of a central labor body. He is the one whose name I will shortly place in nomination. We have seen that man develop from the representative of a central labor body to the presidency of his own organization. We have seen his hair become silvery in the struggle, we have watched him as he defended our movement, we have admired his ability, we have recognized his integrity, we have found him one of those among us whose moral courage was one of the outstanding features of his character. It is unnecessary for me to pay any long tribute to his service to the

American trade union movement. His record is written into our movement, into its qualities, into the things it has done to keep it a pure trade union movement.

He, too, is advancing in years. Time has not always brought beds of roses to his home, and I know that he appreciates the affection in which we hold him. I know that he still is able, as one of our leaders, to stand at the forefront and defend those principles of trade unionism and of human liberty for which this organization stands.

I am proud now, as a representative of the Molders' Union, to follow in the footsteps of the man who first nominated James Duncan for the vice-presidency of the American Federation of Labor, and I now present his name.

There were no other nominations, and upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen's Union, the Secretary was authorized to and did cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Mr. James Duncan, who was declared duly elected First Vice-President.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I rise to place in nomination for the office of second vice-president one who has served for years as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, one who I am quite sure is known to at least a majority of the delegates in this convention, if not all of them, one who needs no eulogy from me, as his record in the labor movement shows his honesty, his integrity and his ability. It gives me great pleasure to place the name of Frank Duffy, general secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, before this convention.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, offered the motion which authorized the Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Frank Duffy was duly declared Second Vice-President.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: I am honored, in behalf of the delegates representing the United Mine Workers of America in this convention, to place before you one of the most distinguished of the officers

of our organization for the position of third vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. I need not in this convention extol the virtues or accomplishments of William Green, the secretary-treasurer of our great international organization, because many of you have learned to know him through the years of attendance at this convention and have for him that deep affection as a trade unionist and as a friend in which he is held by his colleagues in his own organization.

Suffice it to say that we who work with him, and we perhaps know him best, have come to have a most profound admiration for his capabilities as an officer, for his fealty to the ideals of the trade union movement, for his stalwart characteristics as a citizen of our country, and for the great good that he has been able to perform in the trade union movement and in civic councils of our nation. I take great pleasure in presenting for the consideration of the convention the name of William Green for election as third vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Koveski, the Secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green. The instructions were complied with, and William Green was declared Third Vice-President.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: Several years ago it was my privilege to offer to the convention of the American Federation of Labor a candidate for the office of vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. At the time of offering his name I made the observation that no words of mine could add to or detract from his ability. I asked the delegates at that convention to agree with me in my suggestion. This gentleman was honored, and I think the American Federation of Labor has been ably assisted by the candidate whose name I am going to offer now. I nominate for the office of fourth vice-president the general president of the United Garment Workers of America, T. A. Rickert.

The nomination was seconded by

Delegate Conway, Retail Clerks, who later offered a motion that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The motion was seconded and carried, the Secretary complied with the instructions, and T. A. Rickert was declared Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate Baker, Barbers: For the office of fifth vice-president I nominate the present incumbent, Jacob Fischer, who has served the labor movement of this country for many years very successfully.

No other nominations were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Taylor, Illinois State Federation of Labor, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Jacob Fischer.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: Delegate Lynch has been kind enough to constitute me as proxy in order that I may carry on. Several years ago I presented to the delegates to this convention the name of a young man who was making for himself a high place in the American labor movement. I made certain promises and pledges in his name on that occasion, every one of which he has faithfully redeemed. I have the pleasure now to renew the promises that I made then for his future conduct. I have no desire to waste any time in extolling the man I am going to name, because he has made good, and I hope, Mr. President, that I will be spared many years to present again and again to this convention the name of Matthew Woll. I now present his name for the office of sixth vice-president.

No other names being presented, upon motion of Delegate Eisenring, Painters, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll. The instructions were complied with, and Matthew Woll was declared elected to the office of Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: It affords me very great pleasure at this time to present to the delegates of this convention for their consideration the name of a man who needs no eulogy from me. I present the name

of Martin F. Ryan, general president of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, for the office of seventh vice-president.

Delegate Ware, Carmen, moved that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin F. Ryan. The motion was seconded and carried, the Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Martin F. Ryan was declared duly elected Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate O'Connell, Metal Trades Department: During the last year, through the resignation of one of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council, in its wisdom, selected to fill that vacancy one of the leading exponents of trades unionism connected with our movement, a young man who has given his entire life to the American trade union movement, who is a consistent and persistent supporter of the policies of the American Federation of Labor. We always know where he stands and we know he is capable in every way and qualified in every particular to be an officer of the American Federation of Labor. I am sure the Executive Council paid a compliment to itself by selecting him to fill the vacancy, and this convention may compliment itself by selecting him to continue in the office of eighth vice-president. I have much pleasure in presenting to this convention the name of James Wilson of the Patternmakers' League of North America.

No further nominations were offered and upon motion of Delegate Conway the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Wilson.

The instructions of the convention were complied with, and James Wilson was declared duly elected to the office of Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate Hughes, Teamsters: I desire to place in nomination for the office of treasurer for the ensuing term the present incumbent, Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs' International Union.

No other candidates being nominated, upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the Secretary was in-

structed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin. The instructions were complied with, and Daniel J. Tobin was declared duly elected to the office of Treasurer for the ensuing year.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: I rise to present the name of a delegate from the International Typographical Union for the office of Secretary, and I direct the attention of this convention to his record of service in the office which he has held for more than twenty years. I therefore bring to your attention the name of Frank Morrison for the Secretaryship of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: I want to second the nomination of Frank Morrison, who has served this great organization so efficiently, so faithfully and so effectively during the long period of years that he has held this office of Secretary. It is one place in which recognition is given to the organization of which he is a member. It is very fitting, because of the history of the American Federation of Labor, that a cigarmaker should be its President and a printer should be its Secretary, for they were in at the first and they have watched it grow and have been instrumental in bringing about its tremendous advance and its enormous success.

In making this nomination, I am going to take advantage of the opportunity to make another motion, that when the Chair has formally declared nominations closed — because I anticipate there will be no other nominations—that Brother George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Morrison as its Secretary.

No further nominations were offered. Delegate McCullough renewed his motion, which was seconded and carried, and Delegate George L. Berry cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison, who was declared duly elected to serve as Secretary for the ensuing term.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: It

gives me great pleasure to place in nomination for Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress a man who is known to every delegate to this convention, who for many years has given the best that is in him in the interests of our great labor movement. As he needs no introduction to the delegates to this convention, neither does he need any eulogy at this time, and without further words I place in nomination Albert Adamski, of the United Garment Workers of America.

Upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Albert Adamski. The instructions of the convention were complied with and Albert Adamski was declared duly elected a Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers: I rise to place in nomination for associate Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress a man who is very well known to the great majority of the delegates here and the trade union movement generally throughout the United States. The delegate who has just been elected can very easily represent the weight and dignity of the American trade union movement in the British Trades Union Congress, and I desire to place in nomination a man who will represent the energy and speed of our movement, and we will send them all the qualities that the American trade union movement has. I place in nomination that bundle of unionism and energy, Edward J. Evans, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Ryan, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

No further nominations were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Perkins the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Edward J. Evans. The instructions were complied with, and Edward J. Evans was declared duly elected associate Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Green, United Mine Work-

ers: There has been coming to our conventions for many years a distinguished trade unionist acquainted with most all of the delegates who have been attending our conventions. This President of an International Union has been struggling with the opposition in the metal mining industry and has done his best in order to promote the cause of the metal miners. There are a great many men employed in the metal mines of Canada, and he and his colleagues feel that he may be of service, particularly to his own organization and generally to the great American labor movement if he could have the opportunity of serving as Fraternal Delegate to the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress.

This ought to appeal to us and I am sure it does. In addition to this very excellent reason as to why he should be elected to represent us as a fraternal delegate to Canada he has earned recognition from the American labor movement. He is a veteran and a fighter and has served his entire life in various ways in promoting the cause of union labor. You know him and I know him. It is unnecessary for me to say anything further.

In behalf of our delegation, therefore, the United Mine Workers of America, I nominate Charles H. Moyer, president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union.

No further names were offered, and on motion of Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employee, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Charles H. Moyer. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Charles H. Moyer was declared duly elected Fraternal Delegate to the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress.

#### SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY

Delegate Bowen, Birmingham Trades Council: The delegates from Alabama came to this convention instructed to place Birmingham, Alabama, in nomination for the city in which to hold the 1925 convention. On arriving in El Paso we found that there seemed to be a sentiment among the dele-



gates that on account of this convention being held in El Paso, the delegates would not be inclined to go to a southern city in 1925. On account of this fact we do not desire to prolong this convention by causing a roll call vote on the convention city. We, therefore, desire to simply advise the delegates that at the 1925 convention the representatives of thousands of loyal trade unionists of Alabama will be present, not only to invite you to Birmingham, the industrial center of the south, but we are coming determined in our humble way to put forth every effort at our command to induce the American Federation of Labor to come to Birmingham in 1926.

Atlantic City, New Jersey, was placed in nomination by Delegate Jennings, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

No other cities were nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Farrell, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Atlantic City as the city in which to hold the 1925 convention.

Vice-President Woll: At this late date, with an apology to the convention, I ask unanimous consent for the introduction of a resolution, and say that I was delayed in presenting it because of the work I have been doing for the convention during the time we have been meeting.

Unanimous consent was given Vice-President Woll for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 79—By Matthew Woll  
Photo-Engravers' International Union:

WHEREAS, This convention has on two occasions expressed affection for the President of the American Federation of Labor in the presentation of a beautiful marble bust to President Gompers, and a memorial scholarship has been created in testimony of his services in promoting Latin-American relations; and

WHEREAS, There is still a third opportunity in which we may honor our President; and

WHEREAS, For us Samuel Gompers has prepared his autobiography as a record of his life and as a record of the American trade union movement with which his life is inseparably intertwined, and no doubt the delegates will always think of this convention

for its tributes to Mr. Gompers, this autobiography is a tribute to his courage, his idealism and unwavering purpose; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention as a testimony of their affection and loyalty to Samuel Gompers, endorse the work as the official expression of the life and work of the President of the American Federation of Labor and of the American trade union movement, and that we do everything within our power and ability to bring this expression into the homes of the members of our trade union movement.

Secretary Woll: And may I be permitted to offer the motion that this resolution be now acted upon and approved.

I do know, without entering into a detailed discussion of the situation, that President Gompers is not profiting one cent by this work, which has been undertaken and is being published solely for the benefit of the trade union movement, and not for profit.

The motion to adopt the resolution was put by Secretary Morrison and adopted unanimously.

Vice-President Green obtained unanimous consent to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate William Green, United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary; and

WHEREAS, The service and influence of this organization has transformed an industry suffering from sweatshop conditions, misery and slavery, into an industry composed of free men and women, and has brought light, sunshine and great economic improvements into the homes and lives of vast numbers of workers employed in the ladies' garment working industry; and

WHEREAS, Under the guidance and leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the workday in this industry has been reduced from a twelve-hour day and more, to a forty-four hour week, the earnings of approximately 100,000 men and women increased many fold, and many other humane conditions secured and established; and

WHEREAS, This organization has inspired hundreds of thousands of workers in the various apparel trades with the great ideals of the labor movement and has, because of its idealism and devotion to the toiling masses, withstood the onslaught of its

arch enemies from within and without, and at the price of great sacrifice has justly earned a prominent place in the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor join in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and congratulates the officers and members of that organization upon their splendid achievements, and expresses the hope that they will go on and on with their activities for still greater accomplishments and a fuller life of happiness enjoyed by the men and women employed in the ladies' garment making industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Frey, International Molders' Union: I desire to make a statement for the information of this convention. During our sessions the representatives of the state federations of labor and the central labor bodies interested in workers' education, have held two conferences for the purpose of working out ways and means by which workers' education could be effectively and actively carried on by the American trade union movement, working through the Workers' Education Bureau. At the last meeting these representatives adopted a brief statement covering their attitude and purpose, and they would like to have that statement incorporated into the proceedings of the convention. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will read the statement, which is as follows:

To the American Trade Union Movement:

Greetings: We, the presidents and representatives of the state federations of labor and central labor bodies, delegates to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled, do hereby express our unanimous conviction of the indispensable value of workers' education to the American trade union movement. We are in complete agreement with the opinion as expressed by President Gom-

pers that whatever progress the American labor movement makes in the future rests upon an educational basis.

We commend this workers' education movement to the trade union movement of this country. In particular, we heartily endorse and recommend the services of the Workers' Education Bureau, with which are affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, and central labor bodies, representing seventy-five per cent of the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The Workers' Education Bureau has developed certain well-defined educational services which it is prepared to place at the disposal of the working people of this country at a nominal service charge. It can and will assist local groups in the organization of study classes, in the preparation of courses of study, in the designation of proper and well trained teachers, and in the selection of adequate text books syllabi. A field secretary and a district representative have been added to the staff of the bureau to assist local groups in the organization of colleges and study classes.

In addition, the Workers' Education Bureau is prepared to conduct correspondence courses for adult workers and place at their disposal a library loan service. An editorial committee has in active preparation a modern series of books known as the Workers' Bookshelf, which is written for adult workers in the social sciences, literature and the natural sciences. Fifteen titles have already been issued.

The forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor has given its unequivocal endorsement to workers' education and to the Workers' Education Bureau. It has provided an adequate plan of financial support for this educational work, which we hope will be fully supported by the officers of the national and international unions. It has also urged that State Federations of Labor establish permanent educational departments and appoint an educational director; and that city central bodies

appoint permanent educational committees, to co-operate actively with the Workers' Education Bureau in the promotion of workers' education within the American trade union movement.

We heartily endorse the program as outlined and undertake to give it our heartiest co-operation.

(Signed): W. E. Green, Arkansas State Federation of Labor; John H. Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Thomas N. Taylor, Indiana State Federation of Labor; John C. Lewis, Iowa State Federation of Labor; William Turnblazer, Kentucky State Federation of Labor; Thomas J. Greer, Louisiana State Federation of Labor; Stephen Ely, Montana State Federation of Labor; John P. Frey, Ohio State Federation of Labor; W. M. Short, Washington State Federation of Labor; Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor; W. H. Bland, Corpus Christie, Texas, Central Labor Union; Albert E. Saether, Jackson, Michigan, Federation of Labor; Edward M. Ware, Palestine, Texas, Trades and Labor Council; Robert E. Royster, Shreveport, La., Trades and Labor Council; H. L. Errichson, Waterloo, Iowa, Central Labor Union.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman, I desire to call the attention of this convention to the subject matter on hotel reservations in connection with the headquarters at Atlantic City. I have no intention of offering any criticism to anyone, whether it be the council or the local arrangements committee for the lack of accommodations in the hotels selected in El Paso for taking care of the guests in the dining rooms.

I made several attempts to have the hotels in this city organized. The international union I have the honor to represent has had a man stationed in this city for several months in an endeavor to organize these hotels, but it appears that because of the arrangements having been made without any stipulation as to union service at all, the hotel people of the city where dining rooms are in connection with

hotels, refused to give us any consideration whatever in our efforts to organize them.

In order that this same condition may not exist in Atlantic City, and in order that we may not be criticized, possibly by some of the delegates who attend the convention, for not having union service in the city selected by the convention, we would like to have the Executive Council, or whoever they may delegate as their representative in making arrangements for the headquarters in Atlantic City, before the arrangements are concluded, in the agreement they enter into, specify that there be union service in the dining room as well as the kitchen of the hotel selected.

Our organization is trying as best it can to organize the hotels and restaurants of the country. In some cities we have hotels organized one hundred per cent. Unfortunately, that condition has not always prevailed in the cities selected by the convention. With the assistance of the Executive Council we hope to be able to establish in the hotel selected for headquarters a hundred per cent organization. I ask the Executive Council, in the name of our international union, to give this matter their very earnest attention, and if we can help them to accomplish that end we will be very glad to be at their service.

President Gompers called upon each of the Fraternal Delegates to say a few words.

Fraternal Delegates Swales and Cramp, representing the British Trades Union Congress, and Fraternal Delegate Colbert, representing the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, each responded, reiterating their appreciation of the kindness and courtesy that had been shown them by all with whom they came in contact during the convention. Each of the Fraternal Delegates said they had learned much of the American labor movement which they had not known before, and each of them felt sure that the mutual interchange of delegates between the trade movements of the several countries had been helpful in many ways.

In closing his remarks, Fraternal Delegate Cramp said:

"Last night I voiced the hope to your revered President that he would again visit Great Britain. I believe that he is growing younger, I believe that a trip on the other side of the water would rejuvenate him, and I am quite certain that we on our side would be delighted to have him in our midst, and he would be a fount of inspiration to us. I would like to see you all come over, but as that is not possible, then we shall endeavor to meet those who do come in the same friendly spirit as we have been met on this side of the water. We are all members of the great human family, we are all inspired with the same hopes and desires in so far as our domestic peoples and our social relationships are concerned. We are on equally the same plane of civilization.

"You great American people, you, with enormous opportunities such as the world has never before seen, you with your men scattered over broad prairies, scattered over semi-tropical lands and semi-arctic lands, engaged in all kinds of industries, with illimitable opportunities, have one of the most responsible and yet one of the most glorious tasks of any mass of workers in the world. I beg of you to use your great opportunities and to use your tremendous possibilities to help to establish a reign of peace and concord in the world, to help to realize the aspirations so well voiced by the Scottish poet, Bobbie Burns, to bring about that state of affairs when 'man and man the wide world o'er shall brothers be for a' that.'"

President Gompers: Before closing this convention, I desire to announce that the Executive Council will hold a meeting tomorrow, Wednesday, at 1:30 o'clock at the Paso del Norte Hotel, to consider the subjects and take action thereon which have been referred by this convention to the Council, and to transact such other business as may properly come before it.

Despite the fact that we are near the close of this forty-fourth annual convention, and that, taking recent years into consideration, we have transacted

our business in record time, not a delegate has been called to order for exceeding either the time limit or the speed limit. In other words, we have established a free forum where all those who have any matter to bring to the attention of the delegates of our convention, and the great rank and file of our movement, have had the untrammelled freedom and opportunity to present it.

Every part of the report of the Executive Council requiring review or some action on the part of the convention was referred to a committee, probably more than half of the members of which were new men and women in the convention of the Federation and personally unknown to me when appointing them to membership on these committees.

Every delegate who had a resolution to offer had the opportunity of introducing it, aye, even in those cases under peculiar circumstances which required the unanimous consent of the convention for the introduction and consideration of propositions, with great cordiality and generosity unanimous consent was granted and the subject matter either referred to a committee, receiving the consideration and report of a committee on each subject, or was acted on directly by the convention, and not one subject, not one proposition or suggestion has been smothered into silence and darkness. Everything has been presented to the convention, discussed and finally disposed of as the intelligence and the judgment of the delegates to this convention directed.

It is a great satisfaction to know that, despite the rule limiting debate to ten minutes and with the strict injunction to the President not to disregard that rule, but to enforce it, whenever a delegate has had something to say, even in criticism or antagonism to the general concept of what we believe is right, he has had the full opportunity without interruption. It is a great satisfaction, men and women, to have lived at least long enough to witness that in the conventions of the American Federation

of Labor, with this almost limitless time, without interruption, it is exceedingly seldom that any delegate transgresses the rules of courtesy and consideration for the rights of other delegates.

I can't begin to tell you the emotions which have come over me many times during this convention. The delegates have been so considerate and so kind, aye, if I may say, sympathetic, at least in the understanding that I have tried and am trying to serve you as best the light is given me and my judgment may impel me. The gifts, the expressions—not alone these, but the handshake, the look in the eye, of men and women understanding that we are engaged in a great, common cause—it wells up into your very soul that there is nothing on earth so pregnant with satisfaction and idealism for the attainment of justice as service to humanity.

Years have passed, and year by year, day by day, at times I come in contact with the members and you officers and delegates to this convention, and with the officers and members of your international and local unions. You know the broadening spirit of fraternity that has come among the men of labor, the women of toil, since the foundation of the American Federation of Labor. It has brought light into the lives and the homes and the workshops of the tolling masses; it has helped to lift up, and to tear down nothing worth while maintaining.

It was gracious—it was not only grateful, but gracious—to perceive on the part of the delegates and officers of the convention, their contact and attitude toward each other and toward me, and I am profoundly grateful. I shall try in the future to serve you and to serve those whom you and I represent, to serve the common heritage of our people in all stages of life, but particularly those who give service to humanity.

I want to submit a closing word, not only to you, but to the men and women of toil of America. A few days before leaving the headquarters of the

American Federation of Labor to come to El Paso to attend this convention I read an editorial in a Washington morning paper, the Washington Post, the property of Ned McLean and edited now by George Harvey. It was after the election, and George Harvey, in his editorial, reviewed the results of the election. I shall not take your time to read the editorial or even the part to which I want to make special reference, but essentially it is this; that the election has shown that the Democratic party has practically outlived its usefulness as a party, but says emphatically that the Republican party must now be regarded as the conservative party, the party recognizing property and wealth. The article went on to state that the farmers and the wage earners were not working in harmony or in unison, and that it is the duty of the Republican party to conserve the support of and to convert the farmers to that party, and that inasmuch as the farmers' complaint, in particular—I am quoting now from memory—is that the transportation charges of the railways on their products are too high, wages must be reduced to meet the wishes and the interests of the farmers.

We do know that there has been an effort, maintained with cleverness and ability, and with all the wealth for propaganda purposes, to prevail upon the farmers and the workers in industry to assume a position of antagonism and hostility toward each other. We have tried to show and to prove to the farmers and the men engaged in agriculture that it is not the wage earner, but it is the profiteer upon both the wage earner and the farmer, that makes the condition of the farmer as it is, and of the wage worker, too.

We shall never stop. Some of us may and will pass over to the Great Beyond, but there are others who will rise and take our places and do as well, if not better, than we have done.

But there is one thing—don't let any man rest under the impression that an utterance of this character by George Harvey is haphazard. There is prob-

ably no more subtle, no more acute mind in America than George Harvey's, but his mind is on the other side of that of humans and of the great mass of our people. It was he who invented the slogan, before the election, which probably had more to do in determining the result than any other one influence. Everyone who was on the stump, in the editorial room and engaged in any form of agitation against that for which you and I stood, took up the slogan, and it was George Harvey who coined it.

George Harvey, in that editorial which I have only quoted in part and from memory, speaks as the mouth-piece of the Manufacturers' Association, of all the corporations of wealth, of the insurance companies and of the railroads, of everything that means property as against man, and it is not only a suggestion, it is a slogan with him.

Now, fellow workingmen, we have had other George Harveys in their day and in our day, who have undertaken to try to carry into effect wage reductions. Since 1907 the American labor movement has had a slogan for itself and for the men and women of toil of our country and whoever may wish to profit thereby: "It is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all."

Let it be clearly understood, come what may, be the result what it may, that America's workers will resist any attempt to cut wages, no matter what the result may be to the industry. An industry which cannot pay a living wage, a wage according to our best

standards of American civilization, has best go out of business. Let us carry the word back to our fellows. If the gauntlet is thrown down, let us pick it up and fight, and fight, and fight to the bitter end, until the human element in society shall be recognized in its proper relation to the life of our people and our time.

To you men who have come across the sea and across the borders, it is a great gratification to have had you with us, to have heard the reports of home conditions and what you have done, and what you have tried to do. You are dealing with your problems as best you know how, you have gone on in your own way as best you could, and we have gone on in our way as best we knew, in the environments in which we live. Side by side, shoulder to shoulder, or hand in hand, with that great chain of human fraternity, nothing which smacks of injustice and wrong can long stand before a people united in sentiment and in spirit for justice, for freedom and for human brotherhood.

Delegates, I thank you for your indulgence, for your patience and for your graciousness.

Good luck!

At the conclusion of President Gompers' address the assemblage arose and cheered.

At 1:05 p. m., Tuesday, November 25, 1924, on motion of Delegate Kovelleski, the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at El Paso, Texas, November 17 to 25, 1924, was adjourned sine die.

*Frank Morrison.*

SECRETARY,  
American Federation of Labor.

*Alex. Duguid*

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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