

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTIETH ANNUAL
CONVENTION

OF

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT MONTREAL, QUEBEC, CANADA

June 7 to 19, Inclusive

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1920-1921

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Fortieth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Actors and Artists of America, Associated.....	2	35	Frank Gillmore, 207 E. 54th St., New York City.
		34	James William Fitzpatrick, 13 Wall Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	22	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	92	A. A. Myrup, 312 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		91	Peter Beisel, 13th and Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		91	R. C. Schneider, 29 Oakland St., Salem, Mass.
		89	Frank X. Noschang, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		89	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	88	James C. Shanessy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		88	C. F. Foley, 341 E. Norwegian Street, Pottsville, Pa.
		88	Roe H. Baker, 112 Valencia Street, San Francisco, Cal.
		16	Thomas Corley, 206 Strand Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	121	James W. Kline, 1150-9 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	4	121	W. G. Powlesland, 250 Beatrice Street, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		121	C. N. Glover, 6609 S. Mozart Street, Chicago, Ill.
		120	M. W. Martin, 1150-9 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		172	J. A. Franklin, Rooms 1 and 2, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	172	Louis Weyand, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		172	Charles J. MacGowan, 2104 3d Ave., Rock Island, Ill.
		172	Charles F. Scott, 417 Heed Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		171	Dan McKillop, 2417 First Ave., West Seattle, Wash.
		171	John Dohney, 7915 South Sangamon St., Chicago, Ill.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	69	Walter N. Reddick, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		69	David T. Davies, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		69	Mary E. Meehan, 730 1/2 Old Smith Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		94	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	94	C. L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
		93	Patrick J. O'Byrne, 703 N. Main St., Brockton, Mass.
		93	Joseph Lacouture, 916 Crescent St., Brockton, Mass.
		93	Albert A. Richard, 939 Elm St., Manchester, N. H.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	5	69	John Rader, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		68	Albert J. Kugler, 156 Grant Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
		68	Joseph Oberfell, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		68	Joseph Proebstle, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		68	John Sullivan, 25 3d Ave., New York City.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, International Union of America.....	6	117	Thos. R. Preece, 314 Iowa St., Chicago, Ill.
		117	Walter V. Price, 174 St. Nicholas Ave., New York City.
		117	Geo. P. Greeley, Building Trades Council Hall, St. Louis, Mo.
		117	Peter S. Shaughnessy, Bricklayers' Hall, Peoria St., Chicago, Ill.
		116	John McLeod, 91 Munro St., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	2	26	T. J. Murphy, 511 E. 86th St., New York City.
		26	Frank Kasten, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	26	Wm. Tracy, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		61	P. J. Morrin, 304-6 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		61	S. P. Tobin, 205 Equity Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.....	1	60	M. J. Cunnane, 232 N. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		60	Bert Bowen, 2358 Ontario St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	7	14	Will R. Boyer, 851 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
		261	Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		260	O. J. Shoemaker, Box 35, Denison, Tex.
		260	Thomas P. Hyland, Horton, Kans.
		260	George A. Nolte, 2219 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		260	Louis Beloin, 12 Hunt St., St. Albans, Vermont.
		260	Langhin McKinnon, 22 Maple St., Moncton, N. B., Can.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	260	Adelard Laurendeau, 80 3d Ave., Viauville, Montreal, Que., Can.
		415	Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		415	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		415	O. E. Woodbury, 444 E. 43d St., Chicago, Ill.
		414	E. W. Van Duyn, 517 Franklin St., Des Moines, Iowa.
Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood.....	1	414	Bob White, 820 West 12th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
		414	J. A. Ross, 7804 Frankstown Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		414	P. H. McCarthy, Merchants Bank Bldg., San Francisco, Cal.
		414	Tom Moore, 501 Hope Chambers, Ottawa, Ont., Can.
		12	Frank Detlef, 230 Woodbine St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Cigar-makers' International Union of America.....	5	78	G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		78	Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		78	J. Mahlon Barnes, 1448 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.
		77	W. A. Campbell, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		77	R. S. Sexton, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	7	266	E. H. Fitzgerald, 104 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		266	A. C. Hay, 80 Raglan Ave., Winnipeg, Man., Can.
		266	Wade Shurtleff, 1674 Delmont Ave., E. Cleveland, Ohio.
		266	H. B. Odell, 1507 Unity Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		266	J. W. Nelson, 211 Rhodes Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
		265	R. P. Dee, 517 N. Solomon St., New Orleans, La.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	4	52	E. E. Baker, 195 Jefferson Road, Newark, Ohio.
		52	H. J. Conway, L. Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		52	W. G. Desepete, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, Calif.
		52	C. C. Coulter, 606 5th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Clerks, National Federation of Postal	3	54	Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 405, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		54	Pierce E. Butler, 3730 N. Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		54	John J. Shine, 25 Sherman St., Cambridge, Mass.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	12	W. O. Murphy, 360-361 Union Station, Kansas City, Mo.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	2	22	Andrew C. Hughes, 1012 Boylston St., Newton Highlands, Mass.
		21	James J. Doyle, 615-South St., Rosindale, Mass.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....	1	6	Edward De Raay, 540 W. 136th St., New York City.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and.....	1	35	Michael J. Browne, 1025 S. Winchester Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	199	Jas. P. Noonan, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		199	Frank J. McNulty, 209 N. 6th St., Newark, N. J.
		199	Martin T. Joyce, 427 Old South Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		199	Edward Barton, 500 S. State St., Chicago, Ill.
		199	Julia S. O'Connor, 1108 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	198	Chas. L. Love, care Marion C. Mohen, Labor Temple, 540 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
		31	J. J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		31	Frank Feeney, 708 S. 52d St., Philadelphia, Pa.

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Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America, National Marine.....	3	57	Wm. S. Brown, 311-315 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		57	Geo. A. Grubb, 311-315 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		56	Bert L. Todd, 15 Whitehall St., New York City.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	5	64	Milton Snellings, 6334 Yale Ave. Chicago, Ill.
		64	H. M. Comerford, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		64	E. L. Edgerton, 659 Madison St., Syracuse, N. Y.
		64	A. M. Huddell, 9 Cary Ave., Chelsea, Mass.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	2	30	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		29	Peter J. Brady, Municipal Bldg., New York City.
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	2	193	Luther C. Steward, 1423 New York Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		192	Charles L. Wiegand, 203 Custom House, Baltimore, Md.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	111	Fred W. Baer, 105 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		110	J. B. Dalphon, 217 St. Catherine St., E., Montreal, Can.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	4	74	Timothy Healy, 211 E. 45th St., New York City.
		74	C. L. Shamp, 3615 N. 24th St., Omaha Nebr.
		74	Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		74	William J. Brennan, 66 S. Orange Ave., Newark, N. J.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31	A. R. Linn, 115 Cedar St., New York City.
		30	Thomas Cameron, 215 S. Douglas Ave., Belleville, Ill.
		30	L. E. Gerrity, 799 Albany St., Schenectady, N. Y.
Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International.....	1	121	Albert Roy, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y.
		92	T. A. Rickert, care Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
		92	B. A. Langer, Room 117 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	92	Albert Adamski, 105 Dorris Ave. Buffalo, N. Y.
		92	Frank Doyle, Room 117 Bible House New York City.
		91	Daisy Houck, 111 Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Calif.
		176	Benj. Schlesinger, 31 Union Square, New York City.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	6	176	Louis Langer, care Cloak Makers' Union, 40 E. 23d St., New York City.
		176	Saul Metz, 40 E. 23d St., New York City.
		176	Harry Berlin, 7 W. 21st St., care Cutters' Union, New York City.
		175	Luigi Antonini, 8 W. 16th St., New York City.
		175	Mary Goff, 117 2d Ave., care White Goods Workers' Union, New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	3	34	John A. Voll, 1006 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		33	John H. Arnold, Breckenridge, Pa.
		33	Wm. A. Loder, 93 Magnolia Ave., Bridgeton, N. J.

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Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	3	33	William P. Clarke, 738 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
		33	John B. O'Brien, 28 Ewan Terrace, Vineland, N. J.
		33	John F. Carbrey, 5711 Vandyke St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Workers, Window, National	2	24	Fred Brogneaux, care Lafayette W. G. Co., Clarksburg, West Va.
		24	Herbert Thomas, 124 East Broad St., Lancaster, Ohio.
		35	James Duncan, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	3	35	Alexander W. Russell, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
		35	Alexander Ironside, 33 Ayers St., Barre, Vt.
		35	Martin Lawlor, 72 Bible House, New York City.
Hatters of North America, United	3	35	John O'Hara, 303 Main St., Danbury, Conn.
		35	Richard M. Humphrey, 989 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	5	84	D. D'Alessandro, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
		84	J. B. Etchison, 120 N. Noble St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		84	Vincent de Falco, 468 Branch Ave., Providence, R. I.
		84	John Carley, 2450 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Horse Shoers of the United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	2	84	W. F. Dwyer, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif.
		27	Hubert S. Marshall, Second National Bank Bldg., 9th and Main Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		27	Henry F. Broening, 3007 Arunah Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	5	121	Edward Flore, 375 Oak St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		121	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		121	Thomas S. Farrell, 1766 East 12th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		121	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
		120	John J. McDevitt, 926 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		79	David J. Davis, 506 House Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of	4	79	John J. Sullivan, 913 144th St., E. Chicago, Ind.
		79	Michael Mahoney, 1215 McCullogh St., Wheeling, W. Va.
		78	Philip Edwards, 332 W. Delason Ave., Youngstown, Ohio.
		27	Abraham Greenstein, Room 714, World Bldg., New York City.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	3	27	Samuel E. Beardsley, Room 713, World Bldg., New York City.
		27	Theo. Mathieu, 459A La Salle Road, Verdun, Montreal, Quebec, Can.
		30	William J. McSorley, 401 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	2	29	J. H. Duty, Room 507, Washington Trust Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		34	Harry L. Morrison, 799 2d Ave., Troy, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union	2	33	Earl W. Young, 1117 Plymouth Ave., San Francisco, Calif.
Leather Workers', United, International Union	2	59	W. E. Bryan, 504 Postal Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		58	Wm. F. Alterman, 504 Postal Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.

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Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	65	Edward J. Gainor, Kenois Bldg., Wash- ington, D. C.
		65	Ed. J. Cantwell, Kenois Bldg., Wash- ington, D. C.
		65	John T. Mugavin, 621 Main St., Cincin- nati, Ohio.
		65	Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Bldg., Nashville, Tenn.
		65	Chas. D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill. (Chicago).
Lithographers' International Protec- tive and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	31	Phillip Bock, 499 Chestnut St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		30	Samuel H. Maitland, 4018 Center St., Norwood, Ohio.
		148	Thomas V. O'Connor, 702-704 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, Interna- tional.....	5	148	O. A. Anderson, 4415 Ave. "I," Galves- ton, Tex.
		148	Simon P. O'Brien, 97 Meriden St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		148	Bernard Cavanaugh, 417 W. 30th St., Greater New York.
		148	Albert Workman, 1732 Cleveland Ave., New Orleans, La.
		473	Wm. H. Johnston, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Machinists, International Association of.....	7	473	William Schoenberg, Rooms 24-25, Mer- chants Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		473	J. J. Connolly, Room 403, 665 Washing- ton St., Boston, Mass.
		473	H. W. Brown, 756 Broad St., Room 28, Newark, N. J.
		472	C. F. Grow, Union Labor Temple, 538 Maple St., Los Angeles, Calif.
		472	William Hannon, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of.....	1	472	J. A. Taylor, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
		12	Stephen C. Hogan, 446 E. 149th St., New York City.
Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of.....	2	36	John H. Pruett, 423 49th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		35	John C. Strain, 506 E. Utica St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		131	John F. Hart, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		131	Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	5	131	Philip J. Guest, 4614 Franklin Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		130	Jacob H. Davis, Butcher Workman Bldg., 25th and M Sts., S. Side, Omaha, Nebr.
		130	T. A. McCreash, 653 Kansas Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	55	John J. Hynes, 122 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		55	Thomas Redding, 122 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		54	James T. Moriarity, 9 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.
		54	Richard Pattison, 12 St. Marks' Pl., New York City.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Inter- national Union of.....	4	53	Charles H. Moyer, 510 Denham Bldg., Denver, Colo.
		53	Joseph D. Cannon, 208 W. 71st St., New York City.
		53	William Davidson, 510 Denham Bldg., Denver, Colo.
		52	Emma F. Langdon, Box 638, Henryetta, Okla.

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Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	492	John L. Lewis, 1106 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
			Philip Murray, 1109 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
			William Green, 1107 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
			Frank J. Hayes, 977 Ogden Ave., Denver, Colo.
			Frank Farrington, Farmers National Bank Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
			John Moore, 75 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
			John P. White, 1106 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
			Thomas Kennedy, 54 Seager Bldg., Hazleton, Pa.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	5	115	Jos. F. Valentine, Box, 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
			John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
			R. W. Burton, 2940 16th St., care, J. E. Dillon, San Francisco, Calif.
			Henry Rosendale, 838 1/2 State St., Quincy, Ill.
			Hugh Sutherland, 340 Concord Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	175	Jos. N. Weber, 110-112 W. 40th St., New York City.
			D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Can.
			C. A. Weaver, Musicians' Club, Des Moines, Iowa.
			Jos. F. Winkler, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	4	52	R. H. Stickel, Box 976, Bakersfield, Calif.
			R. E. Evans, 100 Oil Operators Bldg., Fort Worth, Tex.
			W. J. Yarrow, 100 Oil Operators Bldg., Fort Worth, Tex.
			Harry Baker, 100 Oil Operators Bldg., Fort Worth, Tex.
			Geo. F. Hedrick, Drawer No. 99, Lafayette, Ind.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	172	J. C. Skemp, Drawer No. 99, Lafayette, Ind.
			P. J. Guerin, 318 4th St., Troy, N. Y.
			James Root, 4901 Lexington St., Chicago, Ill.
			A. W. Sherman, 476 S. Salina St., Syracuse, N. Y.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	37	John J. Lynch, 23a Gove St., Medford Hillside, Mass.
			J. T. Carey, 25 S. Hawk St., Albany, N. Y.
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	1	26	M. H. Parker, 25 S. Hawk St., Albany, N. Y.
			Berndt, A. C., 822 W. Ohio St., Chicago, Ill.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	3	30	James Wilson, 2d Nat. Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
			James L. Gernon, 411 Albemarle Rd., Brooklyn, N. Y.
			James L. Forrest, 738 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	19	Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. 57th St., New York City.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	26	Carl Bergstrom, Box 30, Rockport, Mass.

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Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	32	Chas. Dold, Room 602, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	49	Ed. J. McGivern, 17 Robbins Road, Arlington Heights, Mass.
		49	John Donlin, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		48	Wm. J. Hamilton, 307 Salem Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Can.
		48	C. M. Anderson, 1259 W. 71st St., Chicago, Ill.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	64	John Coefield, 411-416 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		64	Thomas Kearney, 411-416 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.
		64	Charles Anderson, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		64	Chas. M. Rau, 126 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Polishers, Metal, International Union	3	64	E. W. Leonard, 405 Lenox Road, Schenectady, N. Y.
		34	W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	George Leary, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	40	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		40	James J. Ward, 137 West Second St., East Liverpool, Ohio.
Print Cutters' Association of America, National.....	1	4	Fred J. Roth, 1017 Lafayette Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate.....	1	14	William D. Clark, The Farmsboro Apartments, Florida Ave. and Decatur Sta. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	70	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home Tennessee.
		70	William H. McHugh, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		70	Victor Sauve, 3165 St. Dennis St., Montreal, Can.
		70	S. B. Marks, Planters' Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	3	70	Thomas E. Dunwoody, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		32	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, N. Y.
		32	Maurice LaBelle, 232 Turner St., Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	31	Herbert W. Sullivan, 210 Main St., Orono, Me.
		30	Fred W. Suitor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
Railway Employees, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	198	W. D. Mahon, 104 E. High St., Detroit Mich.
		198	J. H. Cookman, Rm. 412, Washington Loan and Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		197	Garrett F. Burns, 392 Ferdinand Ave., Detroit, Mich.
		197	Peter J. Rooney, 63 Beverly Road, Worcester, Mass.
		197	Edward A. Raleigh, Rm. 418, 3d National Bank Bldg., Springfield, Mass.

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Railway Mail Association.....	3	48	H. N. Link, 1387 Quincy St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		48	W. M. Collins, Rm. 604, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		48	C. M. Harvey, 390 N. Exchange St., St. Paul, Minn.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	1	18	J. T. Hurley, 3632 Dodder St., St. Louis, Mo.
		110	Patrick Flynn, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		110	John Clark, 55 Commercial St., San Francisco, Calif.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	6	110	Thomas Conway, 71 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		110	Dan Ingraham, 54 Commercial Pl., Norfolk, Va.
		110	Wm. H. Brown, 202 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.
		109	David E. Grange, 514 Greenwich St., New York City.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad.....	3	41	D. W. Helt, Machinists Bldg., 9th and Mt. Vernon Pl., Washington, D. C.
		41	D. C. Cone, 1535 Westchester Ave., New York City.
		41	C. D. Martin, 3413 Flora Ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	49	James Lemke, 107 W. 46th St., New York City.
		49	P. J. Ryan, 448 Clarke St., Montreal, Can.
		49	Chas. C. Shay, 107 W. 46th St., New York City.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	49	Thos. Malloy, 39 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.
		30	James J. Freel, 56 Gould Ave., Caldwell, N. J.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	29	Chas. A. Sumner, 3110 Olive St., Kansas City, Mo.
		21	Arthur C. Dougherty, 528 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stove Mounters, International Union.....	1	20	Joseph Blasey, 528 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		19	W. L. Funder Burk, 1210 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	3	47	S. E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.
		47	James B. Connors, Room 600, 164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		46	Thos. C. Cashen, 823 E. 149th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	40	Thomas Sceney, 6700 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		40	M. A. Trummer, Sutter Hotel, San Francisco, Calif.
		40	C. N. Bolander, 2115 Transit Ave., Louisville, Ky.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	3	31	Charles B. Stillman, 1620 Lake Ave., Wilmette, Ill.
		31	L. V. Lampion, 1618 Lake Ave., Wilmette, Ill.
		31	Abraham Lefkowitz, Grand Ave., E. Elmhurst, New York City.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	222	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		222	Thos. L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		221	John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline St., Boston, Mass.
		221	Wm. A. Neer, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		221	James Wilson, 536 Bryant St., San Francisco, Calif.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	96 98 97 97	E. J. Manion, Missouri State Life Bldg., St. Louis, Mo. H. B. Perham, 1378 Montclair, St. Louis, Mo. O. D. Gorman, Mank, Ga. W. L. Braun, Milano, Tex. M. W. Atkins, Ridgway, Va.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	1	22	Roscoe H. Johnson, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	5	210 210 210 210 209	John Golden, 86-87 Bible House, New York City. Sara A. Conboy, 86-87 Bible House, New York City. Mary J. Kelleher, 86-87 Bible House, New York City. Thomas F. McMahon, 762 Atwells Ave., Providence, E. I. John J. Dean, Mecklenburg Hotel, Charlotte, N. C.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	3	51 50	Anthony McAndrew, 2002 Wayland, Norwood, Ohio. E. Lewis Evans, Iroquois Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky. Chas. Alder, 634 Baldwin Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	30	Thomas J. Curtis, 206-208 E. 128th St., New York City.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	118 118 118 117 117 117	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Max S. Hayes, 10304 Garfield Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. T. W. McCullough, 1134 S. 33d St., Omaha, Nebr. William Young, 5947 Webster St., Philadelphia, Pa. J. W. Hays, 642 Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	28 28	W. W. Barrett, Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind. Jas. H. Hatch, 142 E. 80th St., New York City. Edwin E. Graves, 142 E. 80th St., New York City.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	William J. Spencer, Room 500, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	James O'Connell, 402 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Mining Department.....	1	1	James Lord, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washing- ton, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Lewis Bowen, Room 910, Farley Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. J. Rogers, 177 Capp St., San Francisco, Calif.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Chas. M. Moore, 303 16th St., Denver, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor	1	1	Patrick F. O'Meara, Box 1295, New Haven, Conn.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ross Copeland, 213 Ellis St., Augusta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Walker, 120 S. 6th St., E. and W. Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Adolph J. Fritz, 31-32 Illinois and Washington Sts., Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Lewis, Albia, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Alex. Howat, 207 W. Park St., Pittsburg, Kans.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Wm. G. Shea, 4606 Euclid Ave., Louis- ville, Ky.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATE.
Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. D. Bieretz, 3200 Hudson St., Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Michael J. O'Donnell, 81 Canal St., Boston, Mass.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. W. Lawson, 75 W. 7th St., St. Paul, Minn.
Mississippi State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph W. Jones, P. O. Box 158, Meridian, Miss.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Shobe, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Stephen Ely, Gold Block, Helena, Mont.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Richard A. Cooney, Franklin, N. H.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Kavanaugh, 18 Clinton St., care of H. F. Hilfers, Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 211 E. 45th St., New York, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles Stalf, 1408 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George B. Johnson, 516 Baltimore Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	David Williams, 845 N. 5th St., Allentown, Pa.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, Box 270, San Juan, P. R.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thos. J. Smith, Graysville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Fdw. Cunningham, Bridgeport, Tex.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert H. Harlin, 405-7 Mutual Life Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Riley, Box 138, Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, 206 Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Aberdeen, S. Dak., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Dan M. Jones, Box 106, Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Akron, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harry M. Gilletly, 555 Gage St., Akron, Ohio.
Albany, Ala., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. E. Blair, Albany, Ala.
Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harry F. Plummer, 2116 8th Ave., Altoona, Pa.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	George F. Haney, 513 Peters Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Phillp Rohr, 33 N. Pennsylvania Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jesse C. Francis, 3007 Arunah Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Bellingham, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Sam Caddy, Labor Temple, Bellingham, Wash.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	Robert R. Moore, 2008 N. 6th Ave., Birmingham, Ala.
Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Thos. L. Crogson, 1448 E. 69th Pl., Chicago, Ill.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Richard W. Garrity, 987 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James Costello, 764 Metropolitan Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert C. Lacey, 24 Hayward St., Buffalo, N. Y.
Calumet Joint Labor Council (Chicago).....	1	1	John H. DeYoung, 11213 Edbrooke Ave., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank L. Kelley, 95 Beacon Sq., Hyde Park, Mass.
Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank H. Darr, 1387 Market Ave. S., Canton, Ohio.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. G. Stewart, 215 N. 20th St. E., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Chelsea, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James R. Queeny, 88 Bayley St., Dorchester, Mass.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ben F. Parker, 2345 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	William Niemeier, 217 W. 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clarksburg, W. Va., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Walter B. Witherell, 433 Werniger St., Clarksburg, W. Va.
Cleburne, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	R. E. Rogers, 312 N. Caddo St., Cleburne, Tex.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John G. Owens, 2450 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	S. F. Oplinger, Box 586, Colorado Springs, Colo.
Cornwall, Ont., Can., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Thomas, Cornwall, Ont., Can.
Cortland, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Henry O'Neill, 43 Park St., Cortland, N. Y.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	Harry V. Dill, 507 York St., Newport, Ky.
Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Cornelius McCue, Box 68, Danbury, Conn.
Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Grant Fink, Box 24, Dayton, Ohio.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert Ewald, 333 Cass Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Douglas, Ariz., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. G. Stanley, Box 891, Douglas, Ariz.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jules Block, 433 Northampton St., Easton, Pa.
Elkhart, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. Parker, 712 Cleveland Ave., Elkhart, Ind.
El Reno, Okla., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. M. Pollock, 221 N. El Reno St., El Reno, Okla.
Fairmont, W. Va., Monongahela Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Stansberry, 7th and St. Louis Sts., Fairmont, W. Va.
Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frederic C. Dinsmore, 342 Belmont St., Fall River, Mass.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	G. Mueller, Flint, Mich.
Fort Edward, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Henry Hassard, Box 122, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Gainesville, Tex., Trades Council.....	1	1	John E. Evans, Gainesville, Tex.
Glouster, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frederick Hemsley, Glouster, Ohio.
Grand Island, Nebr., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sylvester W. Freind, Labor Temple, Grand Island, Nebr.
Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Claude O. Taylor, 325 Ann St., N. E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Hagerstown, Md., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Robert B. Snyder, 43 E. Washington St., Hagerstown, Md.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 221 Stintson St., Hamilton, Ont., Can.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lewis M. Krouse, care, B. E. Shull, Enola, Harrisburg, Pa.
Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William Dermont, 926 Main St., Hartford, Conn.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Fred M. Knight, 4 Clinton St., Haverhill, Mass.
Hoosick Falls, N. Y., Central Labor Union	1	1	James F. Murray, 10 Caffery St., Hoosick Falls, N. Y.
Houston, Tex., Labor and Trades Council	1	1	L. M. Andler, 4411 Wood St., Houston, Tex.
Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Charles J. Jennings, 217 Jackson Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	Clarence E. Kerns, 902 N. Plumb St., Hutchinson, Kans.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Madge Argo, care, W. P. Hellman, 407 Herkimer St., Joliet, Ill.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	Chas. R. Nuzum, 1215 Sumner Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union	1	1	John T. Smith, 3334 Chestnut St., Kansas City, Mo.
Lackawanna, N. Y., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank Barnack, 1560 Electric Ave., Lackawanna, N. Y.
Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Union	1	1	Edw. J. Evans, 6831 S. Sangamon St., Chicago, Ill.
Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union	1	1	G. A. Hayward, 833 Prospect Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Lansford, Pa., Panther Creek Valley Central Labor Union	1	1	John B. Breslin, 11 W. Ridge St., Lansford, Pa.
Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Wm. F. Lange, care, James Preston, 109 Penn Ave., S., Lansing, Mich.
Linton, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	J. L. Sims, Box 161, Linton, Ind.
London, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Donald H. Wright, London, Ont., Can.
Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union	1	1	H. W. Raisse, 1200 Ansel Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	James A. Gray, Room 202, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Calif.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Patrick E. Gorman, 112 S. Shelby St., Louisville, Ky.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Charles D. Keavney, Box 248, Lynn, Mass.
Millinocket, Me., Central Labor Union	1	1	Walter E. Gagnon, Millinocket, Me.
Mobile, Ala., Central Labor Union	1	1	E. D. Rhone, 260 Lexington Ave., Mobile, Ala.
Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Alfred Mathieu, care, Gus Franco, 2 St. Paul St., E., Montreal, Que., Can.
Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union	1	1	M. Edwin Deming, 606 N. F St., Muskogee, Okla.
McAlester, Okla., Pittsburg County Central Labor Union	1	1	Robinson O. Jaggors, 111 N. 2d St., Knights Templar Bldg., McAlester, Okla.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council	1	1	Adam E. Zusi, 4 Fleming Ave., Newark, N. J.
New Haven, Conn., Trades Council	1	1	Ira M. Ornburn, Box 1728, New Haven, Conn.
New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Trades Council	1	1	J. L. Lanoux, New Kensington, Pa.
New York Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity	1	1	J. Ryan, 164 11th Ave., New York, N. Y.
Niles, Ohio, Central Labor Union	1	1	Bert Walsh, 90 Wick Oval, Youngstown, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATE.
Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Robert Dunlop, Labor Temple, Omaha, Nebr.
Orange, N. J., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	M. A. Carney, 116 Market St., Newark, N. J.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, Box 515, Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Petersburg, Va., Central Labor Union Philadelphia, Pa. and vicinity, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John T. Wilkinson, Petersburg, Va.
Piqua, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank McKosky, 152 W. Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	John B. Fitzgerald, Central Labor Union, Piqua, Ohio.
Poplar Bluff, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William K. Heck, 220 Sheridan Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Wm. C. Bush, 827 Cale Ave., Poplar Bluff, Mo.
Quebec, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Bradley, 186 Mill St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Omer Fleury, 110 Bridge St., Quebec, Que., Can.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Alex. F. Hastie, 28 Magnolia St., Roxbury, Mass.
Richmond, Ind., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 N. 6th St., Reading, Pa.
Richmond Borough, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Richard J. Green, Central Labor Council, Richmond, Ind.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Louis G. Gebhardt, 1702 Woodbine St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
St. John, N. B., Can., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Richard H. Curran, 107 Hobart St., Rochester, N. Y.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frederick A. Campbell, 127 Broad St., St. John, N. B., Can.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	F. W. Brand, 416 S. Olive St., St. Joseph, Mo.
Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas E. Coyne, 2228 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.
San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank H. Forsyth, Central Labor Union, Salem, Mass.
Sandusky, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. A. Adams, 1395 Rialto Ave., San Bernardino, Calif.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank W. Kleinfelder, 1312 Harrison St., Sandusky, Ohio.
San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John P. McLaughlin, Office Labor Commissioner, 948 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Fred D. Ferguson, Box 66, San Pedro, Calif.
Seattle and vicinity, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John M. Hourigan, 430 Veedder Ave., Schenectady, N. Y.
Shawinigan Falls, Que., Can., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James A. Duncan, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
S. Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Geo. Mercier, 167 Cascade Ave., Shawinigan Falls, Que., Can.
	1	1	T. E. Maloy, 4158 Vincennes Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
S. Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Vernon B. Vaughan, 50 Grant St., Framingham, Mass.
Springfield, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	R. T. Wood, 1530 Spring St., Springfield, Mo.
Temple, Tex., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Harry L. Spencer, Box 124, Temple, Tex.
Three Rivers, Que., Can., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George A. Louthood, P. O. Drawer 100, Cap de la Madeline, Que., Can.
Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Quimlivan, 725 Orchard St., Toledo, Ohio.
Topeka, Kans., Industrial Council.....	1	1	R. A. Christal, Box 326, Topeka, Kans.
Toronto District Labor Council.....	1	1	James Simpson, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ont., Can.
Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. F. Canavan, Labor Temple, Troy, N. Y.
Waco, Tex., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	E. A. Harrell, Box 208, Waco, Tex.
Waltham, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John T. Fennell, 987 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Newton A. James, 606 5th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Waterloo, Iowa, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Leon A. Link, 430 Bayard St., Waterloo, Iowa.
Westfield, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Fitzgerald, Westfield, Mass.
Wilder, Vt., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph W. Williams, Wilder, Vt.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Patrick J. Leary, 55 Vernon St., Worcester, Mass.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William J. McGeary, 56 Oak St., Yonkers, N. Y.
Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress (Mahoning County).....	1	1	James A. Norrington, 12 McKinnle St., Youngstown, Ohio.
Aqueduct Workers' Union No. 16561, Montreal, Que., Can.....	1	1	John Talbot, 433 Rivard St., Montreal, Que., Can.
Automobile Laborers and Tire Repairmen's Union No. 17077, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Thomas Enright, 5225 Emerald Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Baggage Handlers, Freight Handlers and Stationmen's Union No. 16559, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	James J. Pugh, 1527 N. 20th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Boilermakers' Helpers' Union No. 15980, Baltimore, Md.....	1	1	John H. Smith, 614 I St., Sparrows Point, Md.
Boilermakers, Blacksmiths and Machinists' Helpers' Union No. 16199, and Railway Car Repairers' Union No. 16513, Mobile, Ala.....	1	4	Edmund Turner, 262 Kennedy St., Mobile, Ala.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Ann Hogan, Room 208, 32 Union Sq., New York, N. Y.
Cement Makers' Union No. 17106, Hanover, Ont., Can.....	1	1	Clarence Ellis, Hanover, Ont., Can.
City Employes' Union No. 15951, Manchester, N. H.....	1	1	Patrick J. Cahillane, 330 E. Spruce St., Manchester, N. H.
City Policemen's Union No. 16668, Oklahoma City, Okla.....	1	1	Joe C. Campbell, 320 W. Washington St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
City Policemen's Union Local No. 16807, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Seymour C. Butler, care, Louis A. Stewart, 17 Tremont St., Boston 9, Mass.
Cloth Examiners and Shrinkers' Union No. 11680, New York City.....	1	3	Joseph F. Mazzacapo, 1123 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Coach Cleaners and Helpers' Union No. 16331, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Eugene Posey, 1307 Ann Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Coach and Car Cleaners' Union No. 16702, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	Frank M. Phaire, 1544 S. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Coach and Car Cleaners' Union No. 16771, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Richard Eugene Billinger, 649 Lenox Ave., New York, N. Y.
Compress and Oil Mill Workers' Union No. 16957, Weleetka, Okla.....	1	1	W. L. Smoot, Weleetka, Okla.
Counters, Timekeepers and Clerks' Local 15699, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	2	Milford Lane, 2004 Tulip St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Court Reporters' Federation (Chicago) No. 14171.....	1	1	Grace H. Harte, Suite 500-501, 21 N. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
Cranefollowers and Platform Workers' Local No. 14451, Schenectady, N. Y.	1	1	Harold MacDougal, 729 Pleasant St., Schenectady, N. Y.
Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.....	1	4	John A. Schoonover, 76 W. S. Water St., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Starters and Operators' Union No. 16429, New York City.....	1	12	James J. Golden, 238 E. 74th St., New York City.
Federal Labor Union No. 12552, Utica, N. Y.....	1	1	Wm. J. Davies, 1525 West St., Utica, N. Y.
Federal Labor Union No. 16067, Madison, Wis.....	1	1	Willard Longe, care H. J. Holm, 140 E. Johnson St., Madison, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 16298, Montreal, Que., Can.....	1	4	Isale Lalonde, 832 St. Andre St., Montreal, Que., Can.
Federal Labor Union No. 16517, Ottawa, Ont., Can.....	1	1	Peter Peebles, 108 Driveway, Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Federal Labor Union No. 16523, London, Ont., Can.....	1	1	J. F. Thomson, 307 Piccadilly St., London, Ont., Can.
Federal Labor Union No. 16579, Knoxville, Tenn.....	1	1	William Carlock, 305 York Ave., Knoxville, Tenn.
Federal Labor Union No. 16592, Manchester, N. H.....	1	2	Arthur Delsie, 1207 Elm St., Manchester, N. H.
Federal Labor Union No. 16786, Ludington, Mich.....	1	1	Wm. J. Hall, 322 N. James St., Ludington, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 17097, Savannah, Ga.....	1	1	Sam Brown, 30 Hull Lane, E., Savannah, Ga.
Federal Labor Union No. 17150, Sapulpa, Okla.....	1	1	L. G. Maund, Sapulpa, Okla.
Federal Labor Union No. 17201, Shawnee, Okla.....	1	1	C. C. Grove, 825 S. Bell St., Shawnee, Okla.
Federal Labor Union No. 16871, Cornwall, Ont., Can.....	1	1	Edward La Rose, P. O. Box 978, Cornwall Ont., Can.
Federal Labor Union No. 16878, Charleston, S. C.....	1	2	Jacob Middleton, 51 Congress St., Charleston, S. C.
Janitors' Helpers' Union No. 16034, and Federal Labor Union No. 16923, Framingham, Mass.....	1		
Federal Labor Union No. 16935, Brockville, Ont., Can.....	1	1	Francis E. Boyd, 86 John St., Brockville, Ont., Can.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Felt, Straw, Panama, Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 15850, Newark, N. J.	1	5	Alice Scott, 845 Broad St., Newark, N. J.
Film Exchange Workers' No. 17107, Toronto, Ont., Can.	1	1	Wm. P. Covert, 355 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16220, Richmond, Va.	1	1	Robert E. Burford, 412 Goddin St., Richmond, Va.
Freight Handlers and Station Employes' Union No. 16381, Baltimore, Md.	1	1	William Carter, 703 Small St., Baltimore, Md.
Freight Handlers and Helpers' Union No. 16407, Memphis, Tenn.	1	1	W. O. T. Hodge, 844 Sexon Ave., Memphis, Tenn.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16700, Petersburg, Va.	1	1	D. B. McKnight, 916 Shepherd St., Petersburg, Va.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16738, Jonesboro, Ark.	1	1	Matt Lewis, Jonesboro, Ark.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17026, Lynchburg, Va.	1	1	Alfred Ward, 1200 13th St., Lynchburg, Va.
Freight Handlers' Local No. 17053, Washington, D. C.	1	1	James L. Jasper, 22 Patterson St., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17161, Danville, Va.	1	1	S. W. McDaniel, 804 Beauregard St., Danville, Va.
Freight Handlers' Local No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio	1	1	William Shaw, 2188 E. 36th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16439, Jacksonville, Fla.	1	1	M. V. Tyler, 1223 Ellis St., Jacksonville, Fla.
Gas Workers' Local No. 16571, Montreal, Que., Can.	1	3	Frank Griffard, 417 Ontario St., E., Montreal, Can.
Gold Beaters' Union No. 13013, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Paul Schwartzkopf, 2010 Fremont St., Chicago, Ill.
Hospital Stewards and Nurses' Union No. 16031, San Francisco, Calif.	1	1	Miss Frances Gray, care, A. J. Camous, 44 Page St., San Francisco, Calif.
Hospital Attendants' Union No. 17007, New York, N. Y.	1	1	Charles P. Weber, Mt. Sinai Hospital, 1 E. 100 St., New York City.
Janitors' Union (Flat), No. 14332, Chicago, Ill.	1	14	Wm. F. Quesse, 4732 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Janitors' Protective Union No. 14843, Springfield, Ill.	1	1	Robert E. Woodmansee, 407 Myers Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Janitors' Union No. 15481, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	S. E. Kelleher, 59 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.
Janitors' Union No. 16954, Hazleton, Pa.	1	1	A. W. Gabrio, Hazleton, Pa.
Japanners and Sheet Metal Truckers' Union No. 15255, Schenectady, N. Y.	1	1	A. V. Gould, 521 Chrysler Ave., Schenectady, N. Y.
Lace Accessory and Finishers' Union No. 15393, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	1	1	Patrick A. Ramsey, 30 Kulp Ave., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Last Makers' Union No. 16705, Marlboro, Mass.	1	1	Frederick L. Morse, Montwait, Framingham, Mass.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Library Employees' Union No. 15590, Greater New York.....	1	1	Maud Malone, 184 W. 82d St., New York City.
Navy Yard Helpers' Local No. 14915, Washington, D. C.....	1	3	Albert Bridges, 210 L St., S. E., Washington, D. C.
Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Anna Weinstock, 634 Little Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Newsboys' Union No. 16756, Minneapolis, Minn.....	1	1	George Gites, 24 Washington Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Office Employees' Association No. 12755, Chicago, Ill.....	1	8	James Flynn, 2553 W. 36th St., Chicago, Ill.
Office Employees' Association No. 13188, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	3	Frederick W. Ely, 1215 Lombard St., San Francisco, Calif.
Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Philip S. Stevens, 1709 N. Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Park and Recreation Department Gardeners and Laborers' Union No. 16138, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Peter Mullen, care, John Kehone, 74 O St., S. Boston, Mass.
Railroad Shop Workers' Union No. 16797, Houston, Tex.....	1	1	R. J. Smallwood, 3319 Rusk St., Houston, Tex.
Railway Coach Cleaners' Union No. 16088, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	Jordan W. Chambers, 3937 W. Belle Pl., S. Louis, Mo.
Railway Coach and Station Cleaners and Porters' Union No. 16351, Chicago, Ill.....	1	2	Noah Allen, 3348 S. State St., Chicago, Ill.
Railroad Coach, Car Cleaners and Station Porters' Union No. 16626, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	J. C. Steele, 3067 Mentor St., Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Railroad Coach and Station Cleaners and Porters' Union No. 16685, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Frederick Wilson, 9205 Kinsman Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Railroad Freight Handlers' Union No. 16810, Wichita Falls, Tex.....	1	1	Joe H. Wilcox, 108 Cook St., Wichita Falls, Tex.
Railway Station Porters and Cleaners' Union No. 16717, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	William Jenkins, 10 W. 134th St., New York City.
Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Geo. Rincker, General Delivery, Villa Park, Ill.
Slate Workers' Union No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.....	1	2	Hugh J. Roberts, 6 Maple St., Granville, N. Y.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Ind.....	1	1	Jessie M. Sharon, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 15251, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	W. E. Walcott, 1252 N. Alessandro St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16349, Sydney Mines, N. S.....	1	1	Walter Stewart, Sydney Mines, N. S.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	1	E. J. Tracy, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16384, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1	1	Jane Tait, care, Mary O'Neill, 23 Woodlawn Ave., Carrick, Pa.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14965, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Agnes Burns, 1109 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Stereoptican Slide Workers' Union No. 17183, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	George Reynolds 4412 Prairie Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Sugar Refinery Workers' Union No. 16572, Montreal, Que., Can.....	1	1	Donat Poirier, 150 Chateauguay, Montreal, Que., Can.
Theater Employes' Union No. 15330, Schenectady, N. Y.....	1	1	Harry A. Engle, 883 Albany St., Schenectady, N. Y.
Theater Ushers' Union No. 15293, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Benjamin Witashkin, 104 Division Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Theatrical Doormen's Union No. 14333, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Frank Rothenstein, 97 S. 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14581, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	M. Feinstone, 604 Howard Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Warehouse Employes' Union No. 16311, New York, N. Y.....	1	7	Thomas F. Ryan, 410 8th Ave., New York City.
Window Cleaners' Union No. 17102, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	William Dodson, 27 Ward St., Roxbury, Mass.
Wood Workers' Helpers' Union No. 16017, Portsmouth, N. H.....	1	1	Robert F. Bond, Portsmouth, N. H.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	J. W. Osgen, 2 Grosvenor St., Heywood, Lancaster, England.
			J. Jones, M. P., 28 Travistock Sq., London, W. C. I.
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	1	1	J. A. McClelland, Montreal, Que., Can.
Woman's International Union Label League.....	1	1	Anna Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	1	1	Ethel M. Smith, 1423 New York Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.

Number of Unions.	NAME.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
99	National and International.....	328	35,704
4	Departments.....	4	4
29	States.....	29	29
119	Central.....	119	119
92	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	90	153
4	Fraternal Organizations.....	5	3
347		575	39,014

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

1909. Samuel Gompers. *1915. 1911. James Duncan. *1917. 1913. George W. Perkins.

To British Trades Union Congress.

1895	Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1904	W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1913	Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.
1896	J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1905	John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	*1914	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.
1897	Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1906	Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	***1915	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.
1898	James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1907	John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1916	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.
1899	James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1908	Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1917	John Golden. James Lord.
1900	J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1909	John P. Frey. B. A. Langer.	1918	J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.
1901	Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1910	W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1919	Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.
1902	Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1911	Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1920	Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conway.
1903	Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1912	George L. Berry. John H. Walker.		

From British Trades Union Congress.

1894	John Burns. David Holmes.	1903	William Mullin. James O'Grady.	1912	J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.
1895	Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1904	William Abraham. James Wignall.	1913	I. H. Gwynne T. Greenall.
1896	Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1905	William Mosses. David Gilmour.	**1914	
1897	Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1906	Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1915	C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.
1898	William Inskip. William Thorne.	1907	David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	1916	H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.
1899	James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1908	John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1917	John Hill. Arthur Hayday.
1900	John Weir. Pete Curran.	1909	A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes	***1918	F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.
1901	Frank Chandler. Ben Tillet.	1910	W. Brace. Ben. Turner.	1919	S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.
1902	M. Armandale. E. Edwards.	1911	G. H. Roberts. J. Crinlon.	1920	T. W. Ogden. J. Jones, M. P.

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898	Thomas I. Kidd.	1906	Thomas A. Rickert.	1914	M. M. Donoghue.
1899	James H. Sullivan.	1907	Robert S. Maloney.	1915	H. J. Conway.
1900	W. D. Mahon.	1908	Hugh Frayne.	1916	Harry P. Corcoran.
1901	John R. O'Brien.	1909	Jerome Jones.	1917	Emanuel Koveleski.
1902	D. D. Driscoll.	1910	John J. Manning.	1918	Stuart H. Hayward.
1903	John Coleman.	1911	Wm. J. Tracy.	1919	Sam Griggs.
1904	John H. Richards.	1912	John T. Smith.	1920	W. G. Shea.
1905	Frank Feeney.	1913	Wm. J. McSorley.		

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898	David A. Carey.	1906	Samuel L. Landers.	1914	R. A. Rigg.
1899	David A. Carey.	1907	W. R. Trotter.	1915	Fred Bancroft.
1900	David A. Carey.	1908	P. M. Draper.	1916	Thomas A. Stevenson
1901	P. M. Draper.	1909	F. Bancroft.	1917	Wm. Lodge.
1902	John H. Kennedy.	1910	R. P. Pettipiece.	1918	Thos. Moore.
1903	James Simpson.	1911	Wm. Glockling.	1919	T. M. Walsh.
1904	John A. Flett.	1912	John W. Bruce.	1920	J. A. McClellan.
1905	William V. Todd.	1913	Gus Franq.		

*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

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 10-18.
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.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1920-1921

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 tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves 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 second Monday in June, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

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).

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, Populist, 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 April 30 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 first day of August 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 April 30 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 receive 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 signature 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 \$3.00 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 are organized 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 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 April 30 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 become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when

such arrearages 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 exist. 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 one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or 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 organization 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 indorse 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 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 like 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.

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 money 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 safekeeping 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 other 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 sums 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 \$1.00, 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 stamp.

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 dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

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 August 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 condition.

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 or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

FORTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

of the

American Federation of Labor

1920

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY--Monday Morning Session

Pursuant to the law, the fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock, a. m., by Mr. J. T. Foster, President Montreal Trades and Labor Council, and chairman of the Committee on Entertainment.

Musicians of Local 406, American Federation of Musicians, played the "Star Spangled Banner" and "O Canada," while the audience remained standing.

The audience again arose and remained standing while the Rev. James E. Fee, representing the Bishop of Montreal, delivered the opening prayer.

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE MEDERIC MARTIN,

Mayor of Montreal.

After being introduced by Chairman Foster, Mayor Martin delivered the following address in French and repeated it in English:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In my capacity of first magistrate of the Metropolis of Canada, I bid you a

most cordial welcome to our city, and in so doing I am all the more honored and pleased as I form part myself of your immense and fine family, and may, therefore, rightly look upon you as brothers.

I have, indeed, been a workman for the past forty years and I never ceased to take a deep interest in all questions affecting the laboring classes, and, in spite of the exalted post to which the electorate has deemed fit to call me, I am still an active member of the Cigar Makers Union, Local 58.

I am, therefore, quite at ease to welcome you and assure you that our citizens highly appreciate the fact that such an important and influential association as yours should have decided to meet this year within our precincts.

This is the first time that the convention of the American Federation of Labor—this gigantic organization, the greatest of both hemispheres, which numbers over four million members, and represents all the workers of our continent—is being held in Montreal, and only once before has the meeting-place of this international body been chosen in Canada. For the first time you are sitting in our midst to discuss the vital questions that are of interest to the world at large, and upon the satisfactory settlement of which individual welfare and general prosperity depends.

We are now going through a difficult period. The European war has given rise to arduous problems; the laboring classes are especially called upon to aid in solving these problems, and we may say, without boasting, that the eyes of the whole world are upon us, and that we shall prove equal to our responsibilities. The excessive and ever-increasing cost of necessities are daily becoming more and more serious; therein unquestionably lies the main cause of strikes, and I will take the liberty to say here that, if it is true that the man who toils is entitled to a reasonable share of the profits realized through his labour, he should not, nevertheless, be too exacting. He should listen to sound reason, and, above all, act with moderation. That the employer should, on the other hand, be guided by the principles of justice and equity, and take into account the fact that it is physically impossible nowadays for the workman to support a family with a small salary, is also unquestionable. But let the worker make his claims quietly and peaceably; let the interested parties resort to all possible means of conciliation; let the employer enter into negotiations with the employee and treat him generously, and all grievances and differences will disappear and everything will run smoothly.

Such is the ardent wish I beg to express at the opening of this important convention, in the course of which the working conditions will be discussed. It is, I am sure, the desire of one and all of you that a thorough understanding should prevail between Capital and Labour.

Gentlemen, inspired by my deep conviction, I have perhaps somewhat wandered from the ordinary scope of addresses of welcome. I trust you will forgive me this digression, in view of the fact that I am one of your fellow-workers and that your cause is also my cause.

I resume my part of host and reiterate to you my best wishes. Make yourselves at home in our fair city, which keenly appreciates the privilege of having you within its walls. May your stay in our midst be as pleasant as possible and may your present convention, which will, no doubt, be productive of far-reaching results, leave in your minds an impression which will be flattering for the citizens of Montreal, whom you are now honoring with your presence.

Chairman Foster: The Committee of Arrangements is in receipt of a letter from the Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, Sir Robert Borden, regretting exceedingly his inability to be here this morning. We are also in receipt of a letter expressing regret that the Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec is unable to be here. We have also received a letter from Archbishop Bruchesi, of Montreal, in which he expresses his regret at his inability to be present.

We have, however, a representative of the government, Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor for the Dominion of Can-

ada. It is very pleasing for me to be able to state that Senator Robertson will address to you a few words of welcome.

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE GIDEON ROBERTSON, MINISTER OF LABOR

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Gompers, Your Worship, Ladies and Gentlemen: About two and one-half years ago it was the pleasant privilege of the government and Parliament of Canada to do honor to the American Federation of Labor as represented by its respected president, in that both Houses of Parliament adjourned one day and gathered together the members of both Houses in one chamber, and there for an hour and a half listened very attentively and very earnestly to a splendid speech delivered from the Prime Minister's desk by your honored president.

With that in mind, I hoped the Prime Minister of Canada would be here this morning to extend a welcome to the American Federation of Labor delegates, but I am sure you will appreciate that while Parliament is in session, especially as it is growing to a close, it is very difficult, if not impossible, for the Prime Minister to leave Ottawa at the present time. He has, however, asked myself to extend greetings to the convention in his behalf, and has sent you a message which, with your consent, I will proceed to read. The message is addressed to the reader, under date of June 5th, and is as follows:

Ottawa, Ont., June 5th, 1920.

Dear Senator Robertson:

To my great regret I find that my public duties will prevent me from being present to greet the members of the American Federation of Labor at Montreal on Monday next. I beg that you will, on behalf of the Government, convey to the president, officers and members of the Federation a warm and hearty welcome. The holding of this great conference on our side of the boundary line emphasizes the close association of the two countries, not only in ideals, but in many and varied forms of national activity.

While still under the shadow of the world-wide conflict from which both countries have so recently emerged, and in which their sons fought valiantly side by side in a supreme common purpose, we may fittingly recall the unflinching spirit of patriotism which, in both countries, animated the ranks of labour throughout the struggle. Without that spirit victory could not have crowned the cause which we united to maintain.

In these days of peace there is the like need, perhaps even a greater need, for the same spirit of unity and co-operation not only within each country but between the two nations. I pray that the deliberations of the conference may have a profound influence for the furtherance of this high purpose.

Yours faithfully,

R. L. BORDEN.

Hon. G. D. Robertson,
Minister of Labour,
Ottawa.

May I, Mr. Chairman, for a moment supplement the greeting and welcome

that the Prime Minister sends to you by a few further remarks, not only as Minister of Labor and a member of the Federal Government, but it is particularly pleasant to me upon this occasion as a member of one of the organizations affiliated with this Federation, a member in good standing for something over twenty-five years and an officer of that organization for a considerable period to as a trade unionist, welcome the American Federation of Labor to Canada.

I see before me this morning both the present and past presidents of the organization of which I had the pleasure and honor of being a member for years. Their faces recall to me many pleasant experiences as well as strenuous tasks we performed in years gone by. And therefore with those recollections in mind it is more than an ordinary pleasure to greet them and all trade unionists here assembled, coming together for the great common purpose of endeavoring to add to the measure of human happiness of the millions of people in North America.

The very name, "American Federation of Labor," is not fully understood by many of our people in Canada. The term "American people" brings to the minds of many of our people the great Republic to the south of us; and in the minds of many of our people outside the trade unions the American Federation of Labor is a United States organization. Your coming to Canada, your holding your convention here, is going to be a reminder to millions of people in this country that the American Federation of Labor is a federation of labor men covering the continent and not the United States alone. It will remind of the fact that there are over 300,000 members of the trade unions affiliated with this great Federation who are residents of and citizens of this great Dominion. It will remind them of the fact that the cause of labor is universal; it will remind them of the fact that the determination of the labor men to obtain a fair share of the comforts of life and to receive justice at the hands of employers and of governments is also universal.

Many years ago, from humanitarian motives, the American Federation of Labor in convention and through the policies adopted by its executives, set for itself very high ideals. The Federation has for years been pursuing, consistently and persistently, with commendable honor a course towards the goal which it had set for itself. The Federation has made wonderful progress and has merited and received the commendation and respect of millions of citizens in these two North American countries, as well as the wide world over. I am confident that the holding of this convention here at this time is going to be of great service to the advancement of proper, sane labor principles and policies in the Dominion of Canada as well as the United States.

There is a far better understanding and fuller knowledge of the purposes and

policies of this great organization in this great country than in the past. Unfortunately, however, there are those whose interests seem to them to make it desirable to misrepresent—in some cases I believe willfully misrepresent—the aims and purposes of this great Federation of Labor. There are some, and they are rapidly growing less, among the class of employers who will intimate to you, and to us, and to the public generally that the American Federation of Labor is an organization to advantage of American employers and capitalists and to the disadvantage of Canadian employers and industry. Nothing is further from the fact, as you well know; nothing is more desirable than that there should be an equal opportunity for both labor and capital in both countries on an equal footing and there is nothing that tends more to stabilize and standardize conditions of employment in both countries than do the great international organizations that are affiliated with this Federation.

On the other hand, there are many wage earners who seem to feel that the policies pursued by international officials with this federation are not sufficiently progressive and drastic, and they are saying to the workman in Canada: "Don't join an international union, because you are sending your money out of Canada for someone else to use." That impression ought to be dispelled. These great international organizations that have been built up through years of experience and care have been and are one of the greatest assurances and guarantees of continued international peace between these two countries that it is possible to establish.

I have not, as you will note, attempted to prepare a speech. I have come here for the purpose of extending an honest, sincere, glad welcome on behalf of the government of Canada, and as a trade unionist myself, so I shall not delay you any longer with any general remarks as I know you have much business to do and other gentlemen are here to extend greetings. But I do sincerely hope that the deliberations and discussions that shall take place here shall not only be useful and edifying to the delegates and the organizations they represent, but that this convention shall mark a new era in the advancement of the labor movement. I hope that there will be a better understanding and a fuller appreciation of the methods and policies of the organizations affiliated with this great Federation, and that when this convention shall have closed that the American Federation of Labor and all the many trade unions affiliated with it will hold a higher place in the respect and confidence of the people of Canada than they have ever before. I thank you.

**ADDRESS OF
HONORABLE ATHANASE DAVID
Provincial Secretary.**

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: At the beginning of this sitting I was listen-

ing as you were, to the prayer that in your name was addressed to Almighty God, and what I have kept from this prayer is the expression of the sincere wish and desire that the world, having known the turmoil of a war lasting five years, should now, with the help and will of the working men in the world, know peace. I do not see that there can be any delusion in believing in it when, entering this hall, the first thing to strike the eyes of any man are the three flags, united in peace as they were in war.

The catastrophe that struck the world in 1914 and which terminated in 1918 was not altogether settled when all through the world a big movement could be seen advancing always with more speed. I did not intend and I will not attempt to make a speech; but this movement, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, had taken the world centuries and centuries to find what it was. It was the mass of the people who in the last thousands of years had made the wars and not wanted for themselves peace and harmony. And I am glad, having to welcome you, to tell you that you are here in the august Province of this Dominion where a new but strong nation has understood for the past fifty years, not the strength of the working man, but the rights of the working man and has worked to give him a legislation of which we have a right to be proud today.

I imagine it may be of interest to you to know, if you do not already know, that a law was passed long since by our legislature exempting from seizure the tools and necessities of the working man, or at least what was necessary for him to earn his living. We were in this province the first legislature to introduce into our statutory law the Compensation Act which enables the man who is hurt in an industry to receive an indemnity; but, above all, what we are most proud of is that we can stand before the world and state that Quebec does not know disorders between employers and employes, because employers and employes know that real peace, real harmony can only be found in mutual respect of obligations and also in mutual respect of rights.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are the things I want to tell you in the absence of my Premier, who regrets very sincerely that he cannot be present, he being one of the men who has done his utmost in the past to obtain the confidence of the workman of this Province. I know he would have been glad to be here to say it for himself.

The speaker then made a short address in the French language.

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE ALPHONSE VERVILLE

Representing the Administrative Commission of the City.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The mission of an Administrative Commission is not so much to welcome a delegation to this city as it is to furnish the

funds to help out the reception that may be offered to the delegates. His Worship, the Mayor, has welcomed your great convention to this city, and I suppose he has left it to the Administrative Commission to offer all the necessaries for the reception that the city may be called upon to extend this immense delegation.

I do not think it is necessary to spread before the convention all the titles I may have in the labor world—I am a common, everyday plumber. This great body that is now in convention, this great international parliament of labor will have a great effect upon the minds of the people of this Province and of the people of Canada generally. The Minister of Labor has set forth the real meaning of your gathering in this city, and the Provincial Secretary of the Province has also put forth the effect this meeting may have upon the minds of our people.

I can assure the convention that during your debate of two long weeks you will be called upon to understand perhaps the situation better than you do at the present time. Although you are in a city whose population is two-thirds French speaking, you will find among them people possessing perhaps a certain mentality which has been misunderstood across the line, and perhaps across the ocean. You will find that ninety-five per cent of the people will be able to speak to you very fairly in your own language.

As I stated, the mission I am fulfilling here today is to look after your entertainment, but I want also to meet some of the members of my craft and the other crafts making up the American Federation of Labor. A second object is to help the Mayor to open the city wide to you and give you many keys, providing you leave them in this city when you go home. We will see that our police force will take good care of everyone and give you all the information you need. You will find them perhaps the finest officers that ever wore a uniform in any city you have been in.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen, these are all the remarks I have to make, but you must remember that when I speak of our police force, although they are not international, they are affiliated with the Labor Congress, which gives them all the rights and privileges of their societies in that Congress. They are good staunch union men. That is why I say you can rely upon them. They will treat you as brothers.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

ADDRESS OF MR. TOM MOORE, PRESIDENT TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen and Fellow Workers: This is a rather easy task that is assigned to me this morning, that of welcoming the American delegates, or should I say the United States delegates, to the Dominion of Canada. I am not called upon particularly to make a lengthy address because later in the week you will have the opportunity of hearing the Fraternal Delegate of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, who will naturally go into details

of our organizations on this side of the line. You have heard from the political representatives and from the city commissioners. There is one thing I would like to emphasize relative to the remarks of Mr. Commissioner Verville. He offered you many keys of this city, but he did not emphasize the fact that the key of the cellar is not quite as important in Montreal as in some of the other cities of Canada.

I would like to say to those visitors and delegates who have not previously had the opportunity of visiting this great Dominion of ours, that if you have somewhere around six or eight weeks to spare you might have an opportunity to make a flying trip from one side to the other of the Dominion of Canada. There is often an impression among those who visit our Dominion for the first time that when they cross Niagara Falls and look up at the first hill there isn't anything more of Canada. The Dominion is somewhat larger than the United States. We have, however, scattered population. Our cities are far apart and not as numerous as below the forty-fifth parallel. As a result, the work of organization is more difficult in this Dominion of ours than it is to the south of the line.

The international trades unionists of Canada appreciate the assistance that is freely rendered at all times by their great internationals. Representing the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, I want to say this morning that we appreciate very highly the co-operation that has been given at all times by the international unions and by the American Federation of Labor itself in organizing the workers of Canada.

We are beset at this particular time by many opposing forces. Our old opposition from the great interests is with us here. In addition we have the opposition of those enthusiasts in our ranks, many of whom are more enthusiastic for destruction than for construction. We have many forms of organizations contesting for the right to solidify the branches of the trade union movement. Notwithstanding these difficulties, we are in a position to point out progress in our organized forces. The Trades and Labor Congress is the legislative mouthpiece of the international trade union movement to which we all belong.

I am not going to go fully into that question at this time, but in order to make clear one or two points I desire the privilege of referring to what I consider a very vital question. Reference has been made by some of the previous speakers to the joint action which was taken during war times by the great Republic to the south and the Dominion of Canada along with the rest of the Allies. Reference has also been made to our joint efforts in peace times. The international movement knows of the continued efforts being made by the people of the North American continent for their industrial betterment and social improvement.

There is one thing I want to speak of particularly, and that is international relations. At the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1914 a

resolution was passed pointing out that at the termination of the conflict, which was then only a few months old, it would be necessary for labor to meet with the peace conference. The resolution authorized the Executive Council to communicate with the trade union movement throughout the world and invite them to take means to bring about such a conference at the time peace would be proclaimed.

This was followed by many other countries, and in 1916 a conference was held at Leeds, England. That conference laid down a program which had a further bearing on this matter. Up to the signing of the armistice the trade union movement, urged on by the American Federation of Labor, the British Trades Union Congress and other great bodies, convened in Paris and through their influence were able to perform a commission for the purpose of devising some plan whereby future wars might be obviated. The chairman of that commission was the honored president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers. The outcome of the work of that commission was the creation of the international labor body which is now functioning.

I am not going to say anything which would mar the feelings or interfere with the rights of the Republic south of us to carry on as they see fit to devise their own ways and means of their political life; but I do want to say this briefly: The international labor body has now in its affiliation some forty-six countries of the world. It is functioning as well as it is possible under the circumstances. Canada, having become part of the League of Nations, is a part of that international labor body. I hope and trust the work started in 1914 by the American Federation of Labor and followed in 1918 in Paris will be pressed to a final issue by the American Federation of Labor and the millions of affiliated workers who are members of that federation, so that in the near time to come Canada will not be holding the fort alone in the international labor body for the workers of the North American continent, but that the representatives of that body will be chosen by and will be from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor itself.

We are waiting to join the welcome which we give you this morning, and the entire world is waiting to join in the welcome to the workers, members of the American Federation of Labor, in that great international labor body so that the progress of the world will be advanced better than it ever has been before in the interest of the workers.

It is a pleasure to me, in behalf of the workers of this Dominion, to offer our good wishes on this occasion, and not only good wishes to you but compliments to ourselves upon having secured the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in the Dominion of Canada. Senator Robertson, I believe it was, pointed out the misunderstandings that often exist in regards to the American Federation of Labor. I join him in

hoping that the holding of this convention here will remove any prejudice that may exist and will enable all to understand that the American Federation of Labor is a voluntary federation, flexible, so that it can provide for division where necessary, provide for consolidation where necessary. The American Federation of Labor is the one Federation that can bring to us the conditions which the organized workers of the North American continent are striving for.

Chairman Foster: And now, my friends, my task is very nearly completed. As temporary chairman here this morning, I have introduced to you the various representatives we invited to come here to welcome you. Representing the organized workers of the City of Montreal, I now tender to you on their behalf the most sincere and cordial welcome to our city.

For a number of years it has been our hope and ambition to have the American Federation of Labor pay a visit to Montreal. I might let you into a secret. There is an intense but healthy rivalry between the cities of Montreal and Toronto, and ever since the year 1909, when the American Federation of Labor first decided to visit the Dominion of Canada and chose the city of Toronto, we Montrealers have been told from time to time that we were not in it. Now we are going to hold our heads up with pride and say that we are just as good as Toronto, because we have had this convention in our midst. Of course circumstances have changed and there may be some reasons why Montreal is preferable at the present time. If any of you came here yesterday with the impression that Montreal was dry you have probably changed it by this time, for it certainly was wet yesterday.

It is fitting that your great body should decide to pay a visit to Canada, and particularly to this section of Canada. Our peoples and your peoples were proud to know when it became necessary to stand shoulder to shoulder, that we were prepared to fight in order that democracy might prevail. But if we were proud on that occasion, we are still prouder as workers to stand shoulder to shoulder with you in the great struggle against greed and selfishness.

It is perhaps fitting, too, that you should come to a Province, as has so ably been stated by our Secretary of this Province, that has been peopled for centuries by the descendants of two of the greatest races of the world, who have by a liberal application of the Golden Rule learned how to respect each other's opinions and live in peace and harmony. It is perhaps a lesson that might well be learned by some of the older countries, when the fact is realized that for over a century we have had two great nations living side by side, with three thousand miles of frontier and nothing but a picket fence separating them. These conditions have been achieved by tolerance and respect for each other's opinions. And

those conditions will remain, and I know of no organization that will guarantee their perpetuation more than the organization that you and I are a part of.

I have been asked to welcome you in behalf of the organized workers of this city, and I am going to do so in the language of the majority of the people I have the honor to represent, and say to you—

(At this point the speaker gave a message to the audience in the French language).

This means, interpreted into United States: In the name of the organized workers of the City of Montreal I extend to you cordial greetings. May your stay with us be as pleasant as possible and may your deliberations bring about the greatest amount of good for our organizations. And now it is my pleasant duty to hand over to President Gompers the gavel of office and ask him to assume charge of the convention.

President Gompers in the chair.

In making response to the addresses of welcome, President Gompers said:

Mr. Mayor. Fellow Cigar Maker, Fellow Union Member, The Honored Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada, the Secretary of State for the Province of Quebec, Laymen representative of the men and women of Canada, including Montreal, and all of you have bidden us in cordial and generous terms, a welcome to Montreal and a welcome to the Dominion of Canada—I know that I but feebly interpret the sentiment and the view and the feeling, not only of the delegates here assembled in this convention, but the great heart throbs of all the working people of your Dominion and of our country, and also the hopes and aspirations of the earnest, thinking men and women of toil the world over in saying to you that we are heartily proud of having you with us. We are deeply impressed with your words of welcome and advice, and we are confident that after we shall have closed the sessions of our convention we shall leave you a feeling that our welcome has not been violated or outraged, but that, on the contrary, we shall leave the impress of our meeting upon the mind, the sense, the conscience and the aspirations of the people of the Dominion.

May I say this to you as representative gentlemen of the Government of the Dominion, of the Province, of the City and of labor, that we heard some apprehension as to whether our convention would be welcomed in Montreal. Indeed, there came percolating to us hints and indiscretions that it would be better that the American Federation of Labor Executive Council would decide upon some other city than Montreal, some other country than Canada. There were some of us who had a degree of misgivings upon coming to Montreal or to Canada at all in this year, 1920, by reason of the fact that the presidential and congressional campaign and elections are to occur in the United States this year. But when these hints and in-

timations were conveyed that it might not be well to come to Canada, perhaps, like the forbidden fruit, it whetted our appetites, and we made up our minds if there were no legal objections that we would come to Canada.

And so we decided to come to Canada, notwithstanding the fact that the Executive Council exercised a great responsibility and took upon itself in the name of labor, in the name of international good will, to even change the date of the convention so that we are here a week earlier than the constitution of the Federation provides. In other words, we made up our minds to put it to the test, and we have the abiding faith that our confidence was well placed. And if ever a body of organized workers were justified in their work and their choice, then the judgment of the people, the right-thinking people, of the Dominion of Canada was with this movement for justice and right, your words of welcome from all quarters justifies our action and we are well rewarded.

There is no body of men outside of Canada who have quite so good a will toward the people and the Dominion of Canada as the American Federation of Labor. There is not anything within the borders of your Dominion which the people of the United States covet. There is not a sentiment of nationality and humanity within the breasts and the minds of the Dominion people which the American Federation of Labor will fail to second. Politically the organized labor movement of Canada is as independent of the United States as the United States is independent of Canada. The autonomy of the workers and of the citizenship of Canada is just as safe from our hands as ours is from theirs.

Industrially and economically we are largely bound to each other. We cannot help ourselves. Even if we wanted to be separated we could not be separated. Our interests, the protection of our lives, of our standards, of our welfare are all involved, one with the other, and interwoven. And the men and women of Canada are determined, as the men and women of labor of the United States have decided, that industrially our interests are one and we propose to act as one.

It may not be generally known, or rather it may not be known absolutely by all, that in the United States we also have our political divisions and sub-divisions. The American Federation of Labor has not attempted to interfere in the political affairs of any state within the United States. That jurisdiction belongs to the state federations. Is it not imaginable, then, that what we would not do and would not dare do in the United States towards the states we would attempt to do in the Dominion of Canada? It is entirely preposterous.

My hat off for the men and women of this Dominion who love it for its worth, for its history and for its hopes for the

future. I have been to very many parts of this wonderful Dominion, and I doubt that there is any territory on the face of the globe that is richer in all that will make life worth living than this Dominion. I know its people to a considerable extent, and I know they are virile and strong, and full of grit, and full of hope, and full of aspirations for the development of Canada in order that its people shall hold its place in the front ranks of the progressive nations of the world.

May I say this, that having read authenticated statements, made by some who presumed to know the conditions and the relations of the labor movement between the United States and that of Canada, and the assertion that the only use for which the working people in the international labor movement of Canada were affiliated with their trade unions or with the American Federation of Labor was to fleece the working people of Canada out of their money, that monies are sent to the United States in tremendous sums and very little comes back to Canada.

Prompted by that misstatement, of which I was then only partially aware, I undertook to communicate with the officers of all international unions, asking them for the exact figures of the payments by the organized labor movement of Canada, by the international trades unions, and the expenditures for all purposes made for the men and women of the organized labor movement of the Dominion. The responses which I received are incorporated in the report which the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will have the honor to submit to this convention, and will show that \$200,000 more in the past year was transmitted to and expended for the labor movement of Canada than was received from the organizations of labor in Canada.

I feel that the matter was referred to in one of the addresses of the gentlemen who have spoken to us this morning that I could not escape the opportunity and the desire to put the subject before you, perhaps a bit prematurely, but I hope with some effect and to the ascertainment of the truth.

I want to refer also to a misunderstanding that has gone forth among some of the people of Canada, and I have reference to the word "international." They have tried to confuse the word "international" in our trade union movement with the Internationale of some parts of Europe. I don't know that there is any body of men anywhere so out of harmony with that so-called Internationale as the American Federation of Labor. But we surely cannot call the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America for instance, a national organization, because it has a large number of members in the Dominion of Canada. And we recognize the Dominion of Canada as an independent nation, at least independent of the United States, and if we want to have the affiliations with and from our

Canadian fellow trade unionists we cannot have a national trade union movement, it must be international. What is true of the carpenters is true of the coal miners, it is true of the printing trades, it is true of my own trade, the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, and it is true of nearly every other organization of workers.

In addition to that there is an international aspiration among the toiling masses of the whole world that the time has come when a further attempt at tyranny and injustice shall come to an end wherever it exists. During the war and before the war, that is, before the United States entered the war, we met in a conference to consider what the attitude of the labor movement of the United States should be if we made up our minds to enter the struggle. Nearly a month before the President of the United States appeared before the Congress of the United States to lay his indictment against the murderous, autocratic policy of the German Imperial Government, organized labor through its official representatives declared that, come what may, whether we might enjoy the beneficence of peace and peaceful pursuits or we were dragged into the maelstrom of the European war, we would stand behind the Republic of the United States against all its enemies whomsoever they might be.

That declaration was unanimously adopted nearly a month before the President appeared before Congress and before Congress passed the resolution declaring a state of war. We were even at that time mindful of the fact that after every war there was a feeling of reaction against the freedom and liberties of the people of nearly every country. I commend to the thoughtful trade unionist and the thoughtful student of the American labor movement the declaration of March 12, 1917, and I think you will find the predictions that were clearly foreseen and told and the warning given to the men of labor of the United States and the whole American continent were well founded.

That reaction has set in here and there. There was a time when every so-called radical denounced the strike as ineffective, obsolete and of absolutely no use. That thought was inimical and so declared by every publication hostile to labor; and every siren of so-called political economy and social philosophy declared strikes obsolete, ineffective and unable to do anything in the interests of labor.

I well remember the declaration which I made in a report to a convention of the American Federation of Labor some twenty-five years ago, in which I made a statement somewhat like this—the verbal accuracy is not necessary: That the trade union movement pure and simple is the most effective movement to protect and promote the interests and rights of labor and to bring about the disenfranchisement of labor from all forms of injustice and wrong. I know of no utterances made by any man which was so subjected to ridicule and contempt as the one I then

made; and yet we have reached the time when so-called radicals now, when they have reached the end of their tether, when they are no longer able to apply their nostrums, call upon labor to engage in a strike to accomplish it. And the enemies of labor are now turned from the idea that strikes are disastrous to the interests of labor and want to make strikes unlawful.

I don't know how far my fellow trade unionists will join with me in my thought or hope, but now, as ever, now and here, as at any time and place, I hold that any attempt to enforce compulsory labor must be resisted at any cost. I have no fear as to what the results will be. The whole of life is made up of joy and of pain. The development of the human race is that of pain and travail, as well as joy and the glory of achievement, and the one who fails to understand that there is a law of compensation in all the struggles in the life of the people of the world fails to understand the fundamental principle of human development and progress. At least, so long as life shall be with me, and my mind is not impaired, I shall endeavor to stand for the right of labor, the right of the men and women who toil, to own themselves, unhampered and untrammelled or unowned by any other human being.

In turn, I bid you gentlemen welcome to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, the fraternal delegates from the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, the fraternal delegates from all other bodies, and you, my fellow delegates to this convention—I bid you welcome to Montreal, the wonderful city within whose gates we are meeting.

And let me remind you of just this one fact, that when we met in Canada in 1909, in the city of Toronto, we reported that the membership of the unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor numbered 1,450,000. We meet now in Montreal with a membership of the affiliated organizations of our Federation of 4,072,450. We have grown in numbers, we have grown in influence, we have grown in power in the same ratio that we shall grow, and grow, and still grow, providing we hold ourselves in leash, having power and influence and using them with moderation and determination that the ranks of labor, no matter how far advanced some may be, must keep time and step with those who are the most backward in order that they may keep on the firing line for labor's advancement and progress and disenfranchisement.

No one can hurt us, no one can injure our movement, no one can destroy it but ourselves. For unity, to obtain the best results, to maintain the spirit of unity of action on the part of our men and our women—that is the work. And for all the activity of ourselves and our fellows, let us spur them on and urge them on to duty, to right thinking and right action. Let us impress upon ourselves the voluntary discipline which is so essential to our unity, our progress and our success.

And for the present—Now for the Five Million Mark.

I declare this annual convention of the American Federation of Labor now opened for business.

Although the credentials of the delegates have not yet been reported, I shall ask the delegates whether they will permit the appointment of the assistant to the secretary, the sergeant-at-arms and messenger, in order that they may be confirmed and give service as soon as possible.

No objection being offered, President Gompers made the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary—John Cantwell, Typographical Union No. 176.

Sergeant-at-Arms—R. Lynch, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Local No. 1244.

Messenger—J. A. Belland, Amalgamated Association of Sheet Metal Workers, Local No. 251.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Montreal, Quebec, Canada, June 7, 1920,
To the Officers and Delegates of the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials beg to leave report that they have examined the credentials of 563 delegates representing 98 International and National Unions, 3 Departments, 29 State Branches, 112 Central Bodies, 91 Local, Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 5 Fraternal delegates; and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artists of America, Associated — James William Fitz Patrick, Frank Gillmore, 69 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, R. C. Schneider, 274 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen — Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer, James C. Shanessy, C. F. Foley, Roe H. Baker, 442 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of — Thomas Corley, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of — James W. Kline, W. G. Powlesland, C. N. Glover, M. W. Martin, 483 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Bro-

therhood of — J. A. Franklin, Louis Weyand, Charles J. MacGowan, Charles F. Scott, Dan McKillop, John Dohney, 1,030 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of — Walter N. Reddick, David T. Davies, Mary E. Meehan, 207 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union — Collis Lovely, C. L. Baine, Patrick J. O'Byrne, Joseph Lacouture, Albert A. Richard, 467 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United — John Rader, Albert J. Kugler, Joseph Obergfell, Joseph Proebstle, John Sullivan, 341 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, International Union of America — Wm. J. Bowen, Thomas R. Preece, Walter V. Price, George P. Greely, Peter S. Shaughnessy, John McLeod, 700 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United — Frank Kasten, Wm. Tracy, 52 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association — P. J. Morrin, S. P. Tobin, M. J. Cunnane, Bert Bowen, 242 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International — Will R. Boyer, 14 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway — Martin F. Ryan, O. J. Shoemaker, Thomas P. Hyland, Geo. A. Nolte, Louis Beuloin, Laughlin McKinnon, Adelard Laurendeau, 1,821 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of — Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, O. E. Woodbury, E. W. Van Duyn, Bob White, J. A. Ross, P. H. McCarthy, Tom Moore, 3,315 votes.

Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood — Frank Detlef, 12 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America — G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, J. Mahlon Barnes, W. A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, 888 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway — E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, Wade Shurtleff, H. B. Odell, J. W. Nelson, R. P. Dee, Mable McNulty, 1,860 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail — E. E. Baker, H. J. Conway, W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, 208 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Postal — Thos. F. Flaherty, Pierce E. Butler, John J. Shine, 162 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car — W. O. Murphy, 12 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America — Andrew C. Hughes, James J. Doyle, 43 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America — Edward De Raay, 6 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and — Michael J. Browne, 35 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of — Jas. P. Noonan,

Frank J. McNulty, Martin T. Joyce, Edward Barton, Julia S. O'Connor, Chas. L. Love, J. J. McAndrews, 1,392 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of — Frank Feeney, 31 votes.

Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America, National Marine — Wm. S. Brown, Geo. A. Grubb, Bert L. Todd, 170 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating — Milton Snellings, H. M. Comerford, E. L. Edgerton, A. M. Huddell, 329 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo — Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady, 59 votes.

Federal Employees, National Federation of — Luther C. Steward, Charles L. Wiegand, 385 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of — Fred W. Baer, J. B. Dalphon, 221 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary — Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Brennan, 296 votes.

Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of — A. R. Linn, Thomas Cameron, L. E. Gerrity, 91 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United — T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Albert Adamski, Frank Doyle, Daisy Houck, 459 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies — Benj. Schlesinger, Louis Langer, Saul Metz, Harry Berlin, Luigi Antonini, Mary Goff, 1,054 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada — John A. Voll, John H. Arnold, Wm. A. Loder, 100 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint — Wm. P. Clarke, John P. O'Brien, John F. Carbery, 99 votes.

Glass Workers, Window, National — Fred Brogneaux, Herbert Thomas, 48 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The — James Duncan, Alexander W. Russell, Alexander Inneside, 105 votes.

Hatters of North America, United — Martin Lawlor, John O'Hara, Richard M. Humphrey, 105 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International — D. D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison, J. V. Moreschi, John Carley, W. F. Dwyer, 420 votes.

Horse Shoers of the United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen — Hubert S. Marshall, Henry F. Broening, 54 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America — Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, John J. McDevitt, 604 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of — David J. Davis,

John J. Sullivan, Michael Mahoney, Philip Edwards, 315 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International — Abraham Greenstein, Samuel Beardsley, Theo. Mathieu, 81 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal — William J. McSorley, J. H. Duty, 59 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union — Harry L. Morrison, Earl W. Young, 67 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union — W. E. Bryan, Wm. F. Alterman, 117 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of — Edward J. Gainer, Ed. J. Cantwell, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, 325 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada — Philip Bock, Samuel H. Maitland, 61 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International — Thomas V. O'Connor, O. A. Anderson, Simon P. O'Brien, Bernard Cavanaugh, Albert Workman, 740 votes.

Machinists, International Association of — Wm. H. Johnston, A. O. Wharton, William Schoenberg, J. J. Connolly, H. W. Brown, C. F. Grow, William Hannon, J. A. Taylor, 3,308 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of — Stephen C. Hogan, 12 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of — John H. Pruett, John C. Strain, 71 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated — John F. Hart, Dennis Lane, Philip J. Guest, Jacob H. Davis, T. A. McCreash, 653 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet — John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, James T. Moriarity, Richard Pattison, 218 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of — Charles H. Moyer, Joseph D. Cannon, William Davidson, Emma F. Langdon, 211 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United — John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, William Green, Frank J. Hayes, Frank Farrington, John Moore, John P. White, Thomas Kennedy, 3,936 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International — Jos. F. Valentine, John P. Frey, R. W. Burton, Henry Rosendale, Hugh Sutherland, 573 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of — Jos. N. Weber, D. A. Carey, C. A. Weaver, Jos. F. Winkler, 700 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America — R. E. Evans, W. J. Yarrow, Harry Baker, 208 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of — Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, P. J. Guerin, James Root, A. W. Sherman, John J. Lynch, 1,031 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of — J. T. Carey, W. M. Parker, 74 votes.

- Pattern Makers' League of North America — James Wilson, James L. Gernon James L. Forrest, 90 votes.
- Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of — Edward I. Hannah, 19 votes.
- Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada — Carl Bergstrom, 26 votes.
- Plano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International — Chas. Doid, 32 votes.
- Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative — Ed. J. McGivern, John Donlin, Wm. J. Hamilton, C. M. Anderson, 194 votes.
- Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of — John Coefield, Thomas Kearney, Charles Anderson, Charles M. Rau, E. W. Leonard, 320 votes.
- Pollshers, Metal, International Union — W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, 100 votes.
- Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative — Edward Menge, James J. Ward, 80 votes.
- Print Cutters' Association of America, National — Fred. J. Roth, 4 votes.
- Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate — William D. Clark, 14 votes.
- Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International — George L. Berry, William H. McHugh, Victor Sauve, S. B. Marks, Thomas E. Dunwoody, 350 votes.
- Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of — John P. Burke, Maurice La Belle, Herbert W. Sullivan, 95 votes.
- Quarry Workers' International Union of North America — Fred W. Suito, 30 votes.
- Railway Employees, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric — W. D. Mahon, J. H. Cookman, Garrett F. Burns, Peter J. Rooney, Edward A. Raleigh, 987 votes.
- Railway Mail Association — H. N. Link, W. M. Collins, C. M. Harvey, 144 votes.
- Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition — J. T. Hurley, 18 votes.
- Seamen's Union of America, International — Patrick Flynn, John Clark, Thomas Conway, Dan Ingraham, Wm. H. Brown, David E. Grange, 659 votes.
- Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad — D. W. Helt, D. C. Cone, C. D. Martin, 123 votes.
- Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical — James Lemke, P. J. Ryan, Chas. C. Shay, Thomas Maloy, 196 votes.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of North America, International — James J. Freel, Chas. A. Sumner, 59 votes.
- Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen — Arthur C. Dougherty, Joseph Blasey, 41 votes.
- Stove Mounters' International Union — W. L. Funder Burk, 19 votes.
- Switchmen's Union of North America — S. E. Heberling, Jas. B. Connors, Thos. C. Cashen, 140 votes.
- Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen — Thos. Sweeney, M. A. Trummer, C. N. Bolander, 120 votes.
- Teachers, American Federation of — Charles B. Stillman, L. V. Lampson, Abraham Lefkowitz, 93 votes.
- Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of — Daniel J. Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, Wm. A. Neer, James Wilson, 1,108 votes.
- Telegraphers, Order of Railroad — E. J. Manion, H. B. Perham, O. D. Gorham, W. L. Braun, M. W. Atkins, 487 votes.
- Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial — Roscoe H. Johnson, 22 votes.
- Textile Workers of America, United — John Golden, Sara A. Couboy, Mary J. Kelleher, Thomas F. McMahon, John J. Dean, 1,049 votes.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union — Anthony McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, Chas. Alder, 152 votes.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union — Thomas J. Curtis, 30 votes.
- Typographical Union, International — Marsden G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, T. W. McCullough, William Young, J. W. Hays, 705 votes.
- Upholsterers' International Union of North America — James H. Hatch, Edwin E. Graves, 56 votes.
- Building Trades Department — William J. Spencer, 1 vote.
- Metal Trades Department — James O'Connell, 1 vote.
- Union Label Trades Department — John J. Manning, 1 vote.
- Alabama State Federation of Labor — Lewis Bowen, 1 vote.
- California State Federation of Labor — A. J. Rogers, 1 vote.
- Colorado State Federation of Labor — Chas. M. Moore, 1 vote.
- Connecticut State Federation of Labor — Patrick F. O'Meara, 1 vote.
- Georgia State Federation of Labor — Ross Copeland, 1 vote.
- Illinois State Federation of Labor — John H. Walker, 1 vote.
- Indiana State Federation of Labor — Adolph J. Fritz, 1 vote.
- Iowa State Federation of Labor — J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.
- Kansas State Federation of Labor — Alex Howat, 1 vote.
- Kentucky State Federation of Labor — Wm. G. Shea, 1 vote.
- Maryland — District of Columbia — State Federation of Labor, E. D. Bieretz, 1 vote.
- Massachusetts State Federation of Labor — Michael O'Donnell, 1 vote.

- Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.
- Mississippi State Federation of Labor—Joseph W. Jones, 1 vote.
- Missouri State Federation of Labor—Frank Shobe, 1 vote.
- Montana State Federation of Labor—Stephen Ely, 1 vote.
- New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—Richard A. Cooney, 1 vote.
- New Jersey State Federation of Labor—William Kavanaugh, 1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor—James P. Holland, 1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor—Charles Staff, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Geo. B. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—David Williams, 1 vote.
- Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.
- Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Thos. J. Smith, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—Edward Cunningham, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—Robert H. Harlin, 1 vote.
- West Virginia State Federation of Labor—James Riley, 1 vote.
- Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.
- Yerdesden, South Dakota, Central Labor Union—Dan. M. Jones, 1 vote.
- Akron, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Harry M. Gilletly, 1 vote.
- Albany, Ala., Central Labor Union—J. E. Blair, 1 vote.
- Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union—Harry F. Plummer, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Geo. F. Haney, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Jesse G. Francis, 1 vote.
- Bellingham, Wash., Central Labor Council—Sam Caddy, 1 vote.
- Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Robert R. Moore, 1 vote.
- Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John B. Lennon, 1 vote.
- Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union—Thos. L. Gregson, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Richard W. Garrity, 1 vote.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—James Costello, 1 vote.
- Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council—Robert C. Lacey, 1 vote.
- Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frank L. Kelley, 1 vote.
- Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Frank H. Darr, 1 vote.
- Cedar Rapids, Ia., Federation of Labor—R. G. Stewart, 1 vote.
- Chelsea, Mass., Central Labor Union—James R. Queeny, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Ben F. Parker, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council—William Niemeyer, 1 vote.
- Clarksburg, W. Va., Trades and Labor Assembly—Walter B. Witherell, 1 vote.
- Cleburne, Tex., Central Labor Union—R. E. Rogers, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—John G. Owens, 1 vote.
- Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council—S. P. Oplinger, 1 vote.
- Cornwall, Ont., Can., Central Labor Union—John J. Thomas, 1 vote.
- Cortland, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Henry O'Neill, 1 vote.
- Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Harry V. Dill, 1 vote.
- Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—Cornelius McCue, 1 vote.
- Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Grant Fink, 1 vote.
- Detroit, Michigan, Federation of Labor—Robert Ewald, 1 vote.
- Douglas, Arizona, Central Labor Union—W. J. Stanley, 1 vote.
- Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Jules Block, 1 vote.
- Elkhart, Ind., Central Labor Union—E. Parker, 1 vote.
- El Reno, Okla., Trades and Labor Council—P. M. Pollock, 1 vote.
- Fairmont, W. Va., Monongahela Trades and Labor Council—Frank Stansberry, 1 vote.
- Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frederick C. Dinamore, 1 vote.
- Flint, Michigan, Federation of Labor—G. Mueller, 1 vote.
- Fort Edward, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Henry Hassard, 1 vote.
- Gainesville, Texas, Trades Council—John R. Evans, 1 vote.
- Gloucester, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Frederick Hemsley, 1 vote.
- Grand Island, Nebr., Central Labor Union—Sylvester W. Freind, 1 vote.
- Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Claude O. Taylor, 1 vote.
- Hagerstown, Md., Central Labor Union—Robert B. Snyder, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—E. W. A. O'Dell, 1 vote.
- Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—Lewis M. Krouse, 1 vote.
- Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union—William Dermont, 1 vote.
- Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union—Fred M. Knight, 1 vote.
- Hoosick Falls, N. Y., Central Labor Union—James F. Murray, 1 vote.
- Houston, Texas, Labor and Trades Council—L. M. Andler, 1 vote.
- Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union—Chas. J. Jennings, 1 vote.

- Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union—Clarence E. Kerns, 1 vote.
- Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council—Madge Argo, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Charles R. Nuzum.
- Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—John T. Smith, 1 vote.
- Lackawanna, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Frank Barnack, 1 vote.
- Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Union—Edw. J. Evans, 1 vote.
- Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union—G. A. Hayward, 1 vote.
- Lansford, Pa., Panther Creek Valley Central Labor Union—John B. Breslin, 1 vote.
- Linton, Ind., Central Labor Union—J. L. Sims, 1 vote.
- Lorain, O., Central Labor Union—E. W. Ralisse, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—James A. Gray, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—Patrick E. Gorman, 1 vote.
- Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—Chas. D. Keavney, 1 vote.
- Millnocket, Maine, Central Labor Union—Walter E. Gagnon, 1 vote.
- Mobile, Ala., Central Labor Union—E. D. Rhone, 1 vote.
- Montreal, Que., Canada, Trades and Labor Council—Alfred Mathieu, 1 vote.
- Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union—M. Edwin Deming, 1 vote.
- McAlester, Okla., Pittsburg Co., Central Labor Union—Robinson O. Jaggers, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Adam E. Zusi, 1 vote.
- New Haven, Conn., Trades Council—Ira M. Ornburn, 1 vote.
- New York, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity—J. Ryan, 1 vote.
- Niles, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Bert Walsh, 1 vote.
- Omaha, Nebraska, Central Labor Union—Robert Dunlap, 1 vote.
- Orange, N. J., Federated Trades Council—M. A. Carney, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Ont., Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.
- Petersburg, Va., Central Labor Union—John T. Wilkinson, 1 vote.
- Piqua, Ohio, Central Labor Union—John B. Fitzgerald, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union—William E. Heck, 1 vote.
- Poplar Bluff, Missouri, Central Labor Union—Wm. C. Bush, 1 vote.
- Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—John Bradley, 1 vote.
- Quebec, Que., Canada, Trades and Labor Council—Omer Fleury, 1 vote.
- Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union—Alex. F. Hastie, 1 vote.
- Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.
- Richmond Borough, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Louis G. Gebhardt, 1 vote.
- Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Richard H. Curran, 1 vote.
- St. John, N. B., Canada, Central Labor Union—Frederick A. Campbell, 1 vote.
- St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—F. W. Brand, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—Thomas E. Coyne, 1 vote.
- San Bernardino, Cal., Central Labor Council—C. A. Adams, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—John P. McLaughlin, 1 vote.
- San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council—Fred D. Ferguson, 1 vote.
- Sandusky, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank W. Kleinfelder, 1 vote.
- Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—John M. Hourigan, 1 vote.
- Seattle and vicinity, Wash., Central Labor Council—James A. Duncan, 1 vote.
- Shawining Falls, Que., Can., Central Labor Union—Geo. Mercier, 1 vote.
- South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—T. E. Maloy, 1 vote.
- South Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union—Vernon E. Vaughan, 1 vote.
- Three Rivers, Que., Canada, Central Labor Union—George A. Louthood, 1 vote.
- Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union—John J. Quinlivan, 1 vote.
- Topeka, Kansas, Industrial Council—R. A. Christal, 1 vote.
- Toronto, Ont., District Labor Council—James Simpson, 1 vote.
- Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Wm. F. Canavan, 1 vote.
- Waco, Texas, Central Labor Council—E. A. Harrell, 1 vote.
- Waltham, Mass., Central Labor Union—John T. Fennell, 1 vote.
- Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Newton A. James, 1 vote.
- Waterloo, Iowa, Central Labor Union—Leon A. Link, 1 vote.
- Westfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—John Fitzgerald, 1 vote.
- Wilder, Vt., Central Labor Union—Joseph W. Williams, 1 vote.
- Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Patrick J. Leary, 1 vote.
- Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Wm. J. McGeory, 1 vote.
- Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress (Mahoning County)—James A. Norrington, 1 vote.
- Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—Henry F. W. Stehmyer, 1 vote.
- Aqueduct Workers' Union No. 16561, Montreal, Que., Can.—John Talbot, 1 vote.

Automobile Laborers and Tire Repairmen's Union No. 17077, Chicago, Ill.—Thomas Enright, 1 vote.

Baggage Handlers, Freight Handlers and Stationmen's Union No. 16559, Philadelphia, Pa.—James J. Pugh, 1 vote.

Boilermakers' Helpers' Union No. 15980, Baltimore, Md.—John H. Smith, 1 vote.

Boilermakers, Blacksmiths and Machinists' Helpers' Union No. 16199, Mobile, Alabama, and Railway Car Repairers' Union No. 16513, Mobile, Ala.—Edmund Turner, 4 votes.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.—Ann Hogan, 3 votes.

Cement Makers' Union No. 17106, Hanover, Ont., Can.—Clarence Ellis, 1 vote.

City Employes' Union No. 15951, Manchester, N. H.—Patrick J. Cahillane, 1 vote.

City Policemen's Union No. 16668, Oklahoma City, Okla.—Joe C. Campbell, 1 vote.

City Policemen's Union No. 16807, Boston, Mass.—Seymour C. Butler, 1 vote.

Cloth Examiners and Shrinkers' Union No. 11680, New York, N. Y.—Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 3 votes.

Coach Cleaners and Helpers' Union No. 16331, Kansas City, Mo.—Eugene Posey, 1 vote.

Coach and Car Cleaners' Union No. 16702, Philadelphia, Pa.—Frank M. Phaire, 1 vote.

Coach and Car Cleaners' Union No. 16771, New York, N. Y.—Richard Eugene Billinger, 1 vote.

Commercial Addressers' Union No. 17233, Chicago, Ill.—William Castleman, 1 vote.

Compress and Oil Mill Workers No. 16957, Weleetka, Okla.—W. L. Smoot, 1 vote.

Counters, Timekeepers and Clerks' Local No. 15009, Philadelphia, Pa.—Milford Lane, 2 votes.

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

Cranefollowers and Platform Workers' Local No. 14451, Schenectady, N. Y.—Harold MacDougal, 1 vote.

Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.—John A. Schoonover, 4 votes.

Elevator Starters and Operators' Union No. 16429, New York, N. Y.—James J. Golden, 12 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 12552, Utica, N. Y.—Wm. J. Davies, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18067, Madison, Wis.—Willard Longe, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16298, Montreal, Que. Can.—Isaie Lalonde, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 16523, London, Ont., Can.—J. F. Thomson, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16579, Knoxville, Tenn.—Wm. Carlock, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16592, Manchester, N. H.—Arthur Delisle, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 16786, Ludington, Mich.—Wm. J. Hall, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17097, Savannah, Ga.—Sam Brown, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17150, Sapulpa, Okla.—L. G. Maund, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17201, Shawnee, Okla.—C. C. Grove, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16871, Cornwall, Ont., Can.—Edward LaRose, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16878 and Janitors' Helpers' Union No. 16034, Charleston, S. C.—Jacob Middleton, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 16923, Framingham, Mass.—Donald Heywood, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16935, Brockville, Ont., Can.—Francis E. Boyd, 1 vote.

Felt, Straw, Panama, Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 15858, Newark, N. J.—Alice Scott, 5 votes.

Film Exchange Workers' No. 17107, Toronto, Ont., Can.—Wm. P. Covert, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16220, Richmond, Va.—Robert E. Burford, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employes' Union No. 16381, Baltimore, Md.—Wm. Carter, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Helpers' Union No. 16407, Memphis, Tenn.—W. O. T. Hodge, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers Union No. 16700, Petersburg, Va.—D. B. McKnight, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers Union No. 16738, Jonesboro, Ark.—Matt Lewis, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17025, Lynchburg, Va.—Alfred Ward, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Local No. 17053, Washington, D. C.—James L. Jasper, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17161, Danville, Va.—S. W. McDaniel, 1 vote.

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

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16430, Jacksonville, Fla.—M. V. Tyler, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17025, Lynchburg, Va.—Alfred Ward, 1 vote.

Gas Workers' Local No. 16571, Montreal, Que., Can.—Frank Griffard, 3 votes.

Gold Beaters' Union No. 13013, Chicago, Ill.—Paul Schwartzkopf, 1 vote.

Hospital Stewards and Nurses' Union No. 16931, San Francisco, Calif.—Frances Gray, 1 vote.

Hospital Attendants' Union No. 17007, New York, N. Y.—Charles P. Weber, 1 vote.

Janitors' Union (Flat) No. 14332, Chicago, Ill.—Wm. F. Quesse, 14 votes.

Janitors' Protective Union No. 18483, Springfield, Ill.—Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Janitors' Union No. 15481, Chicago, Ill.—S. E. Kelleher, 1 vote.

Janitors' Union No. 16954, Hazleton, Pa.—A. W. Gabrio, 1 vote.

Japanners and Sheet Metal Truckers' Union No. 15235, Schenectady, N. Y.—A. V. Gould, 1 vote.

Lace Accessory and Finishers' Union No. 15393, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—Patrick A. Ramsey, 1 vote.

Last Makers' Union No. 16705, Marlboro, Mass.—Frederick L. Morse, 1 vote.

Library Employees' Union No. 15590, Greater New York—Maude Malone, 1 vote.

Navy Yard Helpers' Union No. 14915, Washington, D. C.—Albert Bridges, 3 votes.

Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200, Boston, Mass.—Anna Weinstock, 1 vote.

Newsboys' Union No. 16756, Minneapolis, Minn.—George Gites, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Association No. 12755, Chicago, Ill.—James Flynn, 8 votes.

Office Employees' Union No. 13188, San Francisco, Cal.—Frederick W. Ely, 3 votes.

Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883, Chicago, Ill.—Philip S. Stevens, 1 vote.

Railroad Shop Workers' Union No. 16797, Houston, Texas—R. J. Smallwood, 1 vote.

Railroad Freight Handlers' Union No. 16810, Wichita Falls, Texas—Joe H. Wilcox, 1 vote.

Railway Coach Cleaners' Union, No. 16088, St. Louis, Mo.—Jordan W. Chambers, 1 vote.

Railway Coach and Station Cleaners' and Porters' Union No. 16351, Chicago, Ill.—Noah Allen, 2 votes.

Railroad Coach and Station Cleaners' and Porters' Union No. 16685, Cleveland, Ohio—Frederick Wilson, 1 vote.

Railway Station Porters and Cleaners' Union No. 16717, New York, New York—William Jenkins, 1 vote.

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

Slate Workers' Union No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.—Hugh J. Roberts, 2 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Indiana—Jessie M. Sharon, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—E. J. Tracy, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 15251, Los Angeles, Cal.—W. E. Walcott, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeep-

ers and Assistants' Union No. 16340, Sydney Mines, N. S.—Walter Stewart, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16384, Pittsburg, Pa.—Jane Tait, 1 vote.

Stereoptican Slide Workers' Union No. 17183, Chicago, Ill.—George Reynolds, 1 vote.

Sugar Refinery Workers' Union No. 16572, Montreal, Que., Canada—Donat Poirier, 1 vote.

Theatre Employes' Union No. 15330, Schenectady, N. Y.—Harry A. Engle, 1 vote.

Theatre Ushers' Union No. 16293, New York, N. Y.—Benjamin Witaszkin, 1 vote.

Theatrical Doormen's Union 14333, New York, N. Y.—Frank Rothenstein, 1 vote.

United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14581, New York, N. Y.—M. Feinstein, 1 vote.

Warehouse Employees' Union No. 16311, New York, N. Y.—Thomas F. Ryan, 7 votes.

Window Cleaners' Union No. 17102, Boston, Mass.—William Dodson, 1 vote.

Wood Workers' Helpers' Union No. 16017, Portsmouth, N. H.—Robert F. Bond, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress, England—J. W. Ogden and J. Jones (M.P.), 2 votes.

Trades and Labor Congress of Canada—J. A. McClelland, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League, Chicago, Ill.—Anna Fitzgerald.

National Women's Trade Union League of America, Washington, D. C.—Ethel M. Smith.

PATRICK O'BYRNE, Chairman,
JOHN H. ARNOLD,
WM. SCHOENBERG, Secretary.

The secretary of the committee stated that the report presented was a partial one, and another report would be presented later.

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

At 1:15 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:45 p. m., of the same day.

FIRST DAY—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order Monday, June 7th, at 2:45 p. m., President Gompers in the chair.

President Gompers: In accordance with the constitutional provision, the president appoints the following committees:

The secretary will read the committees appointed.

The following list was read by Secretary Morrison:

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—John Sullivan, W. C. Powlesland, Theodore Thompson, Jos. D. Cannon, T. J. Curtis, Ed. Menge, Geo. A. Grubb, Michael J. Browne, Frank Kasten, James H. Hatch, J. T. Carey, J. V. Moreschi, A. O. Anderson, Andrew J. Hughes, R. E. Evans.

Committee on Report of Executive John L. Lewis, C. L. Baile, T. W. McCopncil—James Wilson, George L. Berry,

Cullough, T. V. O'Connor, Jere L. Sullivan, Frank X. Noschang, Wm. P. Clarke, W. A. Campbell, Wm. H. Johnson, John Coefield, Wm. J. Bowen, Jos. N. Weber, Henry B. Perham.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, John P. Frey, G. W. Perkins, George F. Hedrick, B. A. Langer, John A. Voll, Martin Lawlor, Martin F. Ryan, A. A. Myrup, Jos. W. Morton, J. A. Franklip, Jas. L. Gernon, John Moore, Thomas L. Hughes, H. M. Comerford.

Committee on Law—Daniel J. Tobin, S. E. Heberling, Frank Farrington, Thomas F. Flaherty, Dennis Lane, Peter J. Shaughnessy, P. H. McCarthy, E. E. Baker, M. T. Joyce, Jos. Proebstle, James Lemke, Luther Stewart, Timothy Healy, E. H. Fitzgerald, James P. Holland.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, Sara A. Conboy, A. Kugler, Wm. A. Neer, Thos. S. Farrell, H. L. Morrison, W. S. Brown, Chas. H. Moyer, E. J. Mantion, John P. Burke, F. J. McNulty, Dan Ingraham, Fred W. Baer, Louis Langer, G. G. Jacobs.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, R. S. Sexton, A. McAndrew, Thos. Sweeney, Max S. Hayes, John O'Hara, H. S. Marshall, W. R. Boyer, Peter Belsel, John F. Hart, C. F. Foley, H. C. Diehl, Jos. F. Winkler, Thomas F. McMahon, Thomas Corley.

Committee on Adjustment—Thomas A. Rickert, John Golden, Collis Lovely, James C. Shanessy, H. J. Conway, Milton Smellings, Edward Flore, A. W. Russell, John P. White, P. J. Morrin, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, William E. Bryan, D. A. Carey, J. W. Kline.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Jacob Fischer, P. J. Brady, Charles C. Shay, William C. McHugh, H. B. O'Dell, John Clark, P. M. Draper, C. A. Adams, John T. Smith, Ross Copeland, Michael J. O'Donnell, A. J. Rogers, Richard A. Cooney, Newton A. James, William Kavanaugh.

Committee on Education—Matthew Woll, Charles E. Stillman, John H. Walker, M. G. Scott, Frank Gilmore, David T. Davies, Thos. E. Dunwoody, David J. Davis, John B. O'Brien, J. W. Nelson, H. N. Link, Thomas Conway, Chas. A. Sumner, John B. Lennon, Ira M. Ornburn.

Committee on State Organizations—Joseph Valentine, William L. Hutcheson, Simon P. O'Brien, P. J. Guerin, H. W. Brown, Michael Mahoney, John T. Muga-
vin, Thomas P. Hyland, James A. Taylor, Stephen F. Hogan, Garrett P. Burns, George W. Lawson, E. W. A. O'Dell, J. C. Lewis, Edward Barton, Carl Bergstrom.

Committee on Boycotts—W. D. Mahon, Chas. J. MacGowan, John J. Sullivan, J. J. Freel, J. M. Gillespie, W. W. Britton, W. L. Funder Burk, J. T. Moriarity, C. N. Glover, Jas. B. Connors, Patrick J. O'Byrne, Mable McNoity, Pierce E. Butler, Fred Brogneaux, John H. Arnold.

Committee on Building Trades—John Donlin, Jas. P. Noonan, Wm. J. McSorley, D. D'Alessandro, Chas. A. Rau, J. C. Skemp, Frank Feeney, Arthur C. Dougherty, John J. Hynes, J. T. Hurley, S. P.

Tobin, O. E. Woodbury, A. M. Huddell, Thos. R. Preece, Alexander Ironside.

Committee on Shorter Workday—William Green, J. W. Hays, George Leary, Thomas Redding, R. W. Burton, Benj. Schlesinger, O. J. Shoemaker, Edward J. Galmor, John J. Frust, Louis Weyand, Edward J. McGivern, J. J. Connelly, A. R. Linn, J. H. Cookman, Mary J. Kelleher.

Committee on International Relations—George W. Perkins, James Duncan, Max S. Hayes, Martin Lawlor, James Wilson, John P. Frey, James O'Connell, B. A. Langer, T. V. O'Connor, Daniel J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, John Golden, James Lord, W. J. Bowen, J. J. Hynes.

The appointments were confirmed by the convention.

Vice President Duncan: I offer as a motion that the President of the American Federation of Labor be added to the Committee on International Relations. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its report to this convention found it necessary to enter into a great many details of the several important details with which the report deals. It would be impossible to attempt to read that report in its entirety, except as the matters may be referred to the committees. First Vice-President Duncan will read a digest of the report of the Executive Council.

First Vice-President Duncan read a digest of the report. The report of the Executive Council in full was distributed to the Delegates in printed form.

The secretary read the following list of subjects referred to the various committees:

Reference of Subjects in Executive Council's Report

"Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"December 13th Conference"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Non-Partisan Political Campaign"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Presidential Industrial Conferences"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Constructive Demands"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Kansas Court of Industrial Relations"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"High Cost of Living"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Committee on Labor"—Committee on E. C. Report.

- "Report of Labor Legislation"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Hostile Legislation Defeated"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Railroads"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Child Labor"—Committee on Education.
- "Sedition"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Espionage Act"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Department of Labor"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Immigration"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Education"—Committee on Education.
- "Profiteering"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Bonus for Public Employes"—Committee on State Bodies.
- "Manipulation of Prices"—Committee on State Bodies.
- "Steel Strike Investigation"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Convict Labor"—Committee on State Bodies.
- "Strikes"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Minimum Wages"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Soldiers' Relief"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Compulsory Military Training"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "War Risk Insurance"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "School Teachers' Retirement"—Committee on Education.
- "Postal Wage Legislation"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Suffrage in the District of Columbia"—Committee on Education.
- "Attack on Vocational Board"—Committee on Education.
- "Rehabilitation of Cripples"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Women's Bureau"—Committee on Education.
- "Seamen"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Compulsory Arbitration"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Anti-Trust Legislation"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Railroad Training Act"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Collective Bargaining"—Committee on Education.
- "Kentucky's Syndicalism-Sedition Law"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Colorado Industrial Commission Law"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Teachers' Unions"—Committee on Education.
- "Industrial Commission"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Cooperative Stores"—Committee on Education.
- "Conservatory of Music"—Committee on Education.
- "Newspaper Mailing Privileges"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Retirement"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Pan-American Federation of Labor"—Committee on International Relations.
- "Conditions in Porto Rico—San Domingo"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Wage-Workers' Organization in India"—Committee on International Relations.
- "International Labor Relations"—Committee on International Relations.
- "Amsterdam Meeting"—Committee on International Relations.
- "International Federation of Trade Unions Meeting in Washington, D. C., October-November, 1919"—Committee on International Relations.
- "International Labor Conference"—Committee on International Relations.
- "The Cry for Relief"—Committee on International Relations.
- "The Treaty of Peace"—Committee on International Relations.
- "History, Encyclopedia, and Reference Book"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Investigation of Educational Systems"—Committee on Education.
- "Health Insurance"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Trade Union Information Bureau for Immigrants"—Committee on Organization.
- "Cooperative Plan"—Committee on Education.
- "The 'Underpaid' Professions"—Committee on Education.
- "The Coal Strike and the Lever Act"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Steel Strike"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "The Boston Police"—Committee on Resolutions.
- "Electrical Workers-Engineers"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Hatters-Cap Makers"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Jewelry Workers-Metal Polishers-Machinists"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Jurisdictional Controversies"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Representation in Central Bodies"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.
- "Constitutional Amendment"—Committee on Law.
- "Labor's Memorial Day and Labor Sunday"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.
- "Labor and the Organized Farmers"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "War Veterans' Association"—Committee on E. C. Report.
- "Extremist Propaganda and Movements"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Political Prisoners"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Mooney Case"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Porto Rico"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Report of A. F. of L. Commissioners, Peter J. Brady and Anthony McAndrew, on Conditions in Porto Rico"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Mexico"—Committee on International Relations.

"Second Pan-American Financial Congress"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Report of American Federation of Labor Commissioners, Peter J. Brady and Anthony McAndrew, on Conditions in Santo Domingo"—Committee on E. C. Report.

President Gompers: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in compliance with not only practice but the direct instructions of the last convention, that of 1919, and of a conference held in Washington December 13, 1919, carrying out the policy of endeavoring to secure the right to which labor is entitled and the removal of legislation inimical to the freedom of action of the organized workers of the Americas, in furtherance of these purposes the Executive Council selected a committee to present to both of the dominant political parties a series of demands in accordance with the purposes to which I have referred. That committee is composed of

one of the vice-presidents and the president of the American Federation of Labor with authority to increase the number to three or four.

In accordance with the action of the Executive Council, Vice-President Woll and President Gompers will be required to leave Montreal this evening and proceed to Chicago and present the demands. The subject matter of the demands will be presented to the platform committees of the conventions of both parties and will be submitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in its present session.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, moved that the question of the controversy between the Jewelry Workers and Metal Polishers be referred to the Committee on Adjustment and not to the Committee on Executive Council's Report. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Woll and Treasurer Tobin opposed the motion. Delegate Greenstein and Delegate Cannon spoke in favor of the motion.

The motion offered by Delegate Greenstein was lost.

At the close of the session resolutions were introduced and will be printed in Tuesday's proceedings.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, June 8th.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

MONTREAL CANADA, June 7, 1920.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

The American nation and the American trade union movement have passed through a period of unwonted storm and stress during the year which closes with the rendering of this report of the Executive Council to the fortieth convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We mark the close of a year during which, while technically in a state of war, we have been compelled to face the problems of peace and reconstruction. The nation has during the year continued to labor in the arts of peace under the laws of war. It has been compelled to find its way amidst trials and tribulations incident to recovery of peacetime activities in the midst of a period of partisan storm and anger. It has been compelled to struggle for the preservation and extension of the liberties and freedom of democracy during a period in which the tides of reaction have run high. Against willful opposition on the part of the men and institutions of great wealth and against the same opposition on the part of those allied with partisan political organizations, the trade union movement has struggled on in behalf of the rights of man. It is of the activities of such a period that we report here to the convention of the A. F. of L.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning May 1, 1919, and ending April 30, 1920.

It is with satisfaction I report at the close of the fiscal year a balance on hand of \$203,980.46. Of the total amount on hand, \$164,074.34 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions.

The balance \$39,906.12 is in the general fund and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$929,255.95; the total expenses \$917,765.65; excess of receipts over expenses, \$11,490.30.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1920:

RECEIPTS		
Balance on hand April 30, 1919.....		\$192,490 16
Per capita tax.....	\$562,608 13	
American Federationist.....	168,079 32	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:		
Per capita tax from locals.....	\$52,069 23	
Refund of strike benefits.....	198 00	
Refund on loan for A. F. of L. Building.....	25,000 00	
	77,267 23	
Initiation fees.....		60,834 51
Reinstatement fees.....		1,452 47
Interest:		
Bank deposits.....	\$4,089 75	
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	1,600 00	
Canadian Victory Loans.....	825 00	
	6,514 75	
Supplies.....		30,870 69
One-cent assessment.....		5,837 26
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.....		13,285 93
National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.....		903 85
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....		1,801 81
		929,255 95
Total receipts.....		\$1,121,746 11
EXPENSES		
General.....	\$603,581 63	
American Federationist.....	150,919 67	
Defense Fund:		
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	\$87,912 95	
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax.....	5 83	
	67,918 78	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....		11,121 06
One-cent assessment.....		5,837 26
Refund of initiation fees.....		54 00
Paid to trustees for A. F. of L. Building fund.....		75,000 00
National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.....		903 85
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....		2,429 40
		917,765 65
Total expenses.....		917,765 65
Balance of funds on hand April 30, 1920.....		\$203,980 46

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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RECAPITULATION	
In General Fund.....	\$39,906 12
In Defense Fund for Local and Federal Labor Unions.....	164,074 34
Balance of funds on hand April 30, 1920.....	\$203,980 46

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1920:

Rent.....	\$12,220 00
Refunds on premiums on bonds, overpayments on per capita tax and supplies returned.....	191 05
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	11,246 06
Secretary's bond.....	10 00
Fire insurance.....	16 74
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	1,061 59
Legislative expenses.....	12,771 99
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	210 94
Office fixtures.....	1,459 80
Postage stamps.....	11,129 82
Printing and binding Proceedings of the Atlantic City Convention.....	4,722 03
Supplies and printing.....	83,577 00
Telegrams.....	7,614 74
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	974 67
Expenses of fraternal delegates to Great Britain, Canada and Amsterdam.....	2,650 00
Atlantic City Convention:	
Committee rooms.....	248 00
Expenses, Secretary attending Atlantic City Convention.....	280 70
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary.....	785 20
Printing Roll-Call and supplies.....	360 60
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	2,963 05
Stenographers.....	2,596 22
Clerks.....	466 20
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out Daily Proceedings, rent of typewriters and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery and hauling.....	247 40
Salary:	
President.....	9,375 00
Secretary.....	6,875 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employes.....	100,201 36
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	452 50
Executive Council Meetings.....	13,863 51
Expenses, E. C. Meetings and President Wilson's Industrial Conference, E. C. Members.....	4,552 96
Labor and Peace Treaty conferences, E. C. Members.....	452 30
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter, rental, etc., E. C. Meetings.....	240 63
Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. Meetings.....	906 68
President traveling.....	2,435 97
Secretary traveling.....	978 94
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits and lockouts.....	67,912 95
Refunds of overpayment of per capita tax received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	5 83
Initiation fees returned.....	54 00
Organizing expenses.....	285,584 45

Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	\$150,919 67
Printing and editing A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....	7,843 00
Postage on A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....	75 00
Expenses Committee on Social Insurance.....	109 93
Compiling A. F. of L. Year Book.....	733 00
Legal expenses.....	1,250 00
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	5,000 00
American Federation of Labor Peace Delegation to Paris.....	2,990 89
One-cent assessment (account Peace Delegation).....	5,837 26
American Federation of Labor Delegates and a Secretary to Amsterdam Conference.....	6,695 16
Paid to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Loan.....	75,000 00
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	2,429 40
Delegates, guests, committee and officers badges, Atlantic City Convention.....	555 48
Floral piece from E. C. to John Mitchell, deceased.....	25 00
Expenses Fraternal Delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	200 00
Per capita tax, for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	774 09
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	176 85
Union Label Trades Department.....	47 64
Transcript of proceedings of Committee on Education of U. S. Senate, re-investigating strike in Steel Industries.....	254 55
Engrossing resolutions for former Vice-President John R. Alpine.....	150 00
Expenses for floral piece for Vice-President W. D. Mahon's wife.....	20 00
Expenses of special committee to investigate Labor conditions in Porto Rico and San Domingo.....	3,179 00
Expenses, National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.....	903 85
Contribution of A. F. of L. toward past indebtedness of the A. F. of L. to the old International Federation of Trade Unions.....	400 00
Total	\$917,765 65

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On April 30, 1920, we had 1,286 local trade and federal labor unions, with an average membership for the fiscal year of 86,784, and a defense fund of \$164,074.34, to protect the members of the 1,286 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout. While the average membership for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1920, was 86,784, we have received per capita tax on 114,501 members for April, the last month of the fiscal year of 1919-1920.

There are only 9 unions of the 110 national and international unions that have a membership exceeding the 114,501 members contained in the local trade and federal labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

The Federation has 2,206 district organizers, as well as 72 paid organizers and the officers of 926 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 April 30, 1919, we had 884 local unions. On the same date this year we had 1,286—a gain of 402 locals. The average membership last year was 65,227, as against 86,784 this year—a gain in average membership of 21,557. This year we issued 770 charters to local trades and federal labor unions. During the year, 332 unions were suspended or affiliated with national and international unions. 46 locals were reinstated. There was received a total tax from the local unions during the year of \$52,069.23; initiation fees, \$60,834.51, and reinstatement fees, \$1,452.47.

DEFENSE FUND

The balance on hand of the defense fund on April 30, 1920, was \$164,074.34. Last year it was \$179,725.89—a decrease of \$15,651.55, due to the fact that we paid increased strike benefits of \$67,912.95, against \$7,636 last year. This year the benefits we paid to members on strike was increased from \$4 to \$6 per week without making any provisions to increase the amount set aside for the strike fund. To insure the stability of this defense fund, I would recommend that the amount to be set aside should be increased from five (5) cents to ten (10) cents per member per month. The benefits paid each year has seldom exceeded \$12,000. With the present membership of local unions this increase should be made.

Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a very large sum were averted last year through the splendid assistance of the organizers of the American

Federation of Labor, who succeeded in adjusting the differences with employers and at the same time securing the conditions desired by the unions.

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 by each organization during the fiscal year ending April 30, 1920:

RECEIPTS	
Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund.....	\$52,069 23
Return to Defense Fund by Trustees, A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	25,000 00
Returned Strike Benefits.....	198 00
Total.....	\$77,267 23

EXPENSES			
Union and Location.	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Shipyard Laborers, No. 15599, San Francisco, Calif.....	315	6	\$11,370 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 16087, Kewanee, Ill.....	675	2	8,106 00
Shipyard Laborers, No. 15430, Oakland, Calif.....	211	6	7,590 00
Ship Clerks, No. 16145, San Francisco, Calif.....	115	6	4,134 00
Blast Furnace Workers, No. 15664, Jackson, Ohio.....	98	8	4,008 29
Federal Labor Union, No. 15938, Waynesboro, Pa.....	86	7	3,576 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 15295, Fort Wayne, Ind.....	87	8	3,280 66
Slate Workers, No. 15159, Grayville, N. Y.....	59	9	3,222 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12439, Puerta de Tierra, P. R.	104	6	2,496 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 15632, Joppa, Ill.....	65	6	2,364 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 16104, Batavia, Ill.....	78	6	1,880 00
Tin, Steel, Iron & Granite Ware Workers, No. 10943, Granite, Ill.....	154	2	1,848 00
Slate Workers, No. 15178, Poultney, Vt.....	29	9	1,542 00
Tie Carriers, No. 15982, Brookport, Ill.....	41	6	1,482 00
Tobacco Box Decorators, No. 15367, San Juan, P. R.....	51	6	1,224 00
Cigarmakers' Helpers, No. 15206, San Juan, P. R.....	61	5	1,220 00
Stampers & Decorators, No. 15953, Ponce, P. R.....	50	6	1,196 00
Wetters & Dryers, No. 15954, Ponce, P. R.....	47	6	1,128 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 15959, Kingston, Ontario, Can.....	37	6	896 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12722, Bayaman, P. R.....	37	6	888 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 15994, Utuado, P. R.....	37	6	888 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 16103, Juana Dias, P. R.....	37	6	884 00
Potash Workers, No. 15509, Albany, N. Y.....	28	5	576 00
Cemetery Employes, No. 10634, San Francisco, Calif.....	46	3	556 00
Egg Inspectors, No. 16167, Boston, Mass.....	15	5	438 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 15784, Manati, P. R.....	15	6	360 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 16094, San Lorenzo, P. R.....	17	5	340 00
Mail Order & Packers' Union, No. 16282, Toledo, Ohio.....	5	6	156 00
Awning & Tent Workers, No. 15342, Buffalo, N. Y.....	11	2	138 00
Window Cleaners, No. 15368, Philadelphia, Pa.....	17	1	102 00
Brass Bobbin Winders, No. 14659, Philadelphia, Pa.....	6	1	24 00
Total strike benefits.....			\$67,912 95
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax in Defense Fund.....			5 83
Total expenses.....			\$67,918 78

RECAPITULATION	
Balance in defense fund April 30, 1919.....	\$154,725 89
Receipts for twelve months ending April 30, 1920.....	77,267 23
Total.....	\$231,993 12
Paid out of defense fund.....	67,918 78
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, April 30, 1920.....	\$164,074 34

Receipts and Expenses Defense Fund 1902-1920

The following table will show that since the defense fund was inaugurated in 1902 up

to and including the fiscal year there has been received into the fund \$496,654.64, and paid out \$332,580.30:

	Receipts	Expenses	Cash Balance on Hand
1902.....	\$20,423 00		\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,663 40	\$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904.....	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	3,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,893 78	103,078 89
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	105,282 09
1909.....	11,383 05	788 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911.....	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
1912.....	19,336 26	67,455 33	85,663 27
1913.....	18,214 70	18,953 15	84,924 82
1914.....	16,316 60	9,388 00	91,853 42
1915.....	14,257 98	48,723 57	57,387 83
1916.....	25,878 56	14,115 37	69,151 02
1917.....	37,549 70	15,566 08	91,134 64
1918 (seven months).....	25,758 72	8,821 16	108,072 20
1919.....	54,308 19	7,654 50	154,725 89
1920.....	77,267 23	67,918 78	164,074 34
Total.....	\$496,654 64	\$332,580 30	

RECAPITULATION		
Total Receipts.....		\$496,654 64
Total Expenses.....		332,580 30
Balance on hand April 30, 1920.....		\$164,074 34

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1920, are \$168,079.32, the total expenses are \$150,919.67, which is an excess of receipts over expenses of \$17,159.65. The outstanding accounts on April 30, 1920, were \$2,609.16.

We have paid commissions this fiscal year upon contracts for advertisements amounting to \$61,834.80, to be published in May, 1920, and succeeding months.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1920:

RECEIPTS	
Advertisements and subscriptions.....	\$116,069 70
Tax received from local trade and federal labor unions on account of subscriptions.....	52,009 62
Total.....	\$168,079 32

EXPENSES	
Cost of procuring advertisements and subscriptions.....	\$70,042 75
Printing local union edition <i>American Federationist</i>	58,324 79
Printing regular edition <i>American Federationist</i>	9,788 26
Salaries and expenses.....	7,322 43
Postage, pound rate.....	4,200 00
Attorney fees.....	670 00
Office rent.....	355 00
R. G. Dunn & Company.....	150 00
Hauling.....	30 00
Postage stamps.....	30 00
Refunds.....	6 44
Total.....	\$150,919 67

RECAPITULATION	
Receipts.....	\$168,079 32
Expenses.....	150,919 67
Excess of receipts over expenses.....	\$17,159 65

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT

The St. Paul Convention decided that as our emergency war measure the Executive Council be authorized to levy an assessment of one cent per capita upon the membership of the affiliated organizations.

The E. C. at their meeting, July 23-28, 1918, considered the demands upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor created by the war, and anticipating the further additional outlay that would be necessary and acting upon the authority provided in the resolution, levied an assessment of one cent per member upon affiliated organizations. Previous to this year the amount collected in this fund from August 18, 1918, to April 30, 1919, was \$26,108.86, and expenditures \$26,108.86, as reported to the Atlantic City, 1919, A. F. of L. Convention. With the amount collected last year of \$26,108.86, added to the amount collected this year of \$5,837.26, makes a total received in this fund ending April 30, 1920, of \$31,946.12, and likewise the same total amount, \$31,946.12, expended to April 30, 1920.

The following is the statement of the amount received from the one-cent assessment during this year only; i. e., May 1, 1919, to April 30, 1920:

RECEIPTS		
Receipts, May 1, 1919, to and including April 30, 1920.....		\$5,837 26
EXPENSES		
NAME	SERVICES	AMOUNT
May 7, 1919. James B. Mahon	Balance expenses, assistant to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	\$1,094 44
May 19, 1919. John R. Alpine....	Balance expenses, as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,720 43
May 19, 1919. Frank Duffy.....	Balance expenses, as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,768 62
May 19, 1919. Wm. Green.....	Balance expenses, as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,211 77
May 26, 1919. James Duncan ...	Part of balance due for expenses and services on Peace and Labor Conferences in Europe (Remainder of amount, total of amount \$1,443.50, less \$42--" \$1,401.50 charged to General Fund, A. F. of L.).....	42 00
	Total.....	\$5,837 26

RECAPITULATION	
Receipts, May 1, 1919, to April 30, 1920.....	\$5,837 26
Expenses, May 1, 1919, to April 30, 1920.....	5,837 26

FUND FOR PROMOTING AND ADVANCING COOPERATION

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including April 30, 1920, \$4,037.08, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to April 30, 1920, \$2,009.88, leaving a balance on hand April 30, 1920, amounting to \$2,027.20.

RECAPITULATION	
Total of donations, April 1, 1918, to April 30, 1920.....	\$4,037 08
Total expended, February 6, 1919, to April 30, 1920.....	2,009 88
Balance on hand April 30, 1920.....	\$2,027 20

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

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CIGARMAKERS' FUND

The contributions received in the fund to assist the strike of the Cigarmakers' Union in accordance with the appeal issued from the American Federation of Labor, showed a total of

receipts from September 13, 1919, to April 30, 1920, \$12,645.22, as against the total amount of checks forwarded to George W. Perkins, amounting to \$12,645.22, the account being squared on April 30, 1920.

Total of donations, September 13, 1919, to April 30, 1920.....	\$12,645 22
Total of checks forwarded to President Perkins of Cigarmakers to April 30, 1920.....	12,645 22

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

CONTRIBUTIONS TO STEEL WORKERS' STRIKE FUND

Under date of October 28, 1919, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued an appeal to all local unions for donations to assist the Iron and Steel Workers on strike. As a result of the appeal, \$426,823.29 was received, of which amount \$418,141.14 was paid over to John J. Fitzpatrick, Chairman of the National Committee for organizing Iron and Steel Workers; \$20 for two unpaid checks, and \$8,662.65, which was received after strike was declared off, January 10, 1920, was returned to the senders.

RECEIPTS

Total donations received from October 22, 1919, to January 10, 1920 (Part I).....	\$418,141 14
Total donations received from January 12, 1920, to February 18, 1920, and returned to contributors by direction of the National Committee for organizing Iron and Steel Workers (Part II).....	8,662 65
Total of donations received at A. F. of L. Headquarters.....	\$426,823 79

EXPENDITURES

Total of amounts forwarded to John J. Fitzpatrick, Chairman, National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers.....	\$418,141 14
Total of two unpaid checks of \$10 each made good to bank.....	20 00
Total of refund checks returned to contributors by direction of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers of all donations received at A. F. of L. Headquarters after January 10, 1920.....	8,662 65
Total of checks drawn.....	\$426,823 79
Total of donations, October 22, 1919, to February 18, 1920.....	\$426,823 79
Total expended, October 22, 1919, to February 18, 1920.....	426,823 79

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

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

An appeal was issued to all affiliated organizations by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor for contributions to assist in carrying out the instructions of the Atlantic City Convention and the declarations of the conference of December 13, 1919, 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 up to and including April 30, 1920, was \$29,545.42; the expenses covering the same period were \$11,096.25, leaving a balance on hand April 30, 1920, of \$18,449.17. 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.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, February 24, 1920, to April 30, 1920.....	\$29,545 42
Total expended, March 18, 1920, to April 30, 1920.....	11,096 25
Balance on hand April 30, 1920.....	\$18,449 17

UNION LABELS

There are now 50 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.	Glove Workers.	Papermakers.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Hatters.	Photo-Engravers.
Bill Posters and Billers.	Horseshoers.	Piano and Organ Workers.
Boilermakers.	Iron and Steel Workers.	Plate Printers.
Blacksmiths.	Jewelry Workers.	Powder Workers.
Bookbinders.	Lathers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Boot and Shoe Workers.	Laundry Workers.	Print Cutters.
Brewery Workmen.	Leather Workers.	Sawsmiths.
Brickmakers.	Lithographers.	Slate Workers.
Broommakers.	Machine Printers and Color	Stove Mounters.
Carpenters and Joiners.	Mixers.	Tailors.
Brotherhood.	Machinists.	Textile Workers.
Carvers, Wood.	Marble Workers.	Timber Workers.
Cigarmakers.	Metal Polishers.	Tobacco Workers.
Coopers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	Typographical.
Electrical Workers.	Molders.	Upholsters.
Garment Workers, United.	Painters.	Weavers, Wire.
Garment Workers, Ladies.		

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

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

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Bed Spring Makers; Chemical Laboratory Workers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender makers; Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

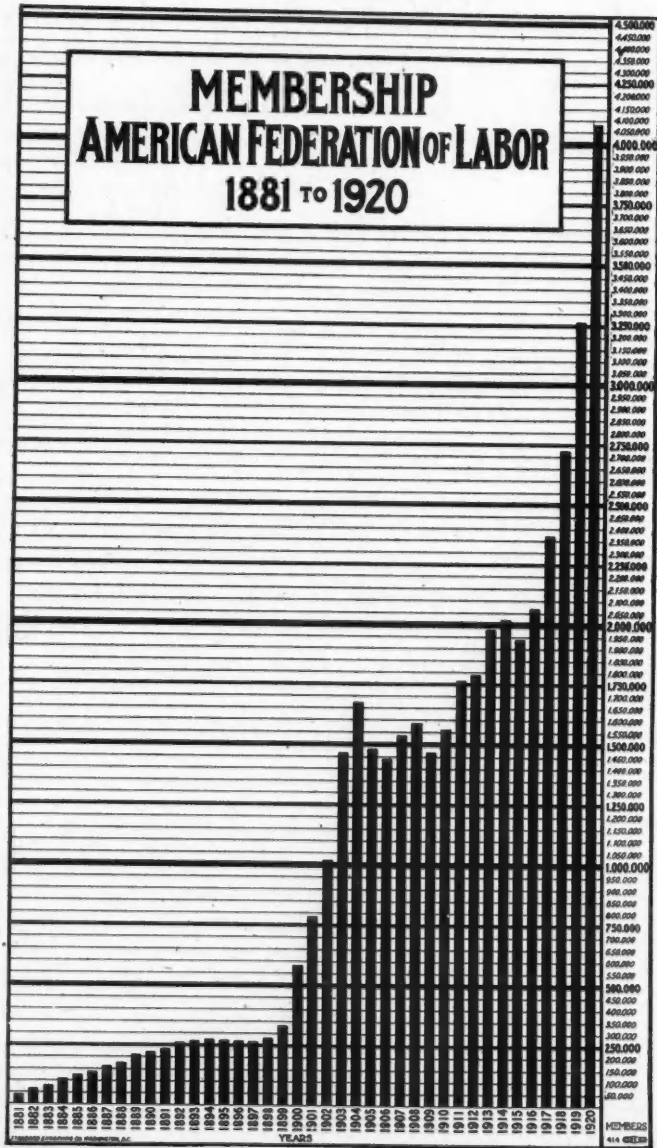
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 4,078,740, an average increase of 818,672 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

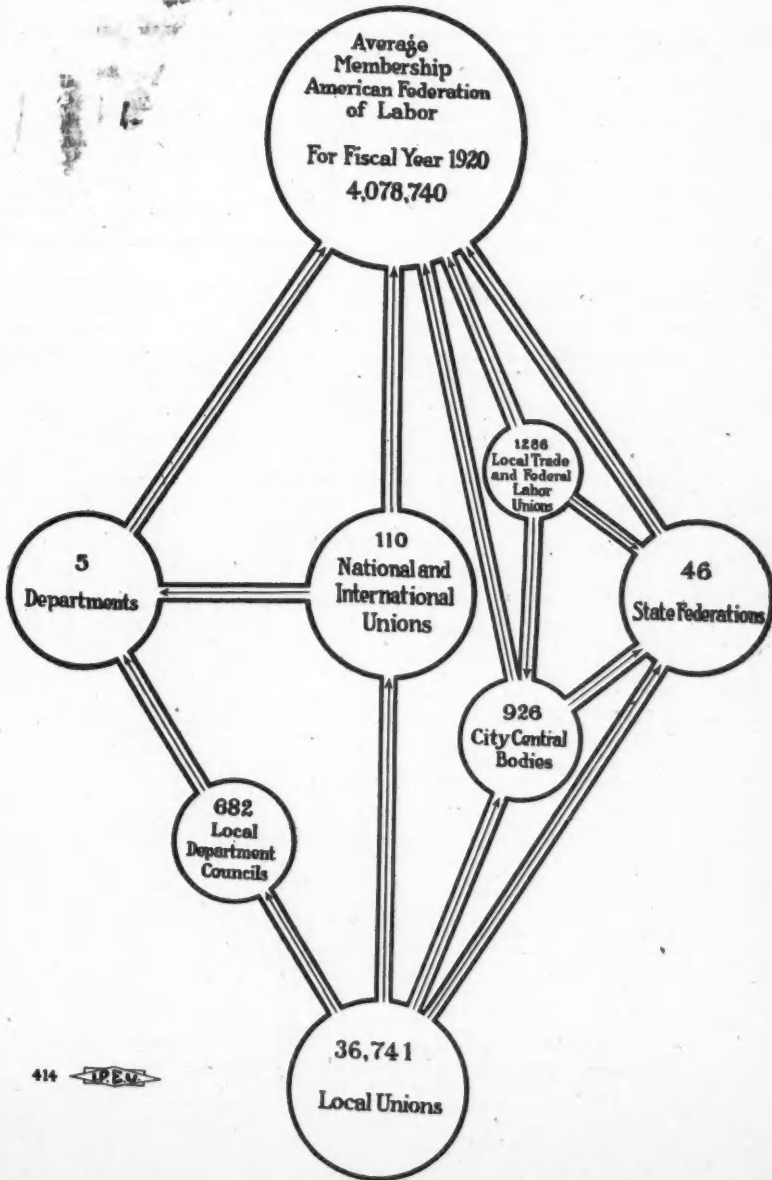
The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past twenty-four

years:		years:		years:		years:	
Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1903.....	1,465,800	1909.....	1,482,872	1915.....	1,946,347
1898.....	278,016	1904.....	1,676,200	1910.....	1,562,112	1916.....	2,072,702
1899.....	349,422	1905.....	1,494,300	1911.....	1,761,835	1917.....	2,371,434
1900.....	548,321	1906.....	1,454,200	1912.....	1,770,145	1918.....	2,726,478
1901.....	787,537	1907.....	1,538,970	1913.....	1,996,004	1919.....	3,260,068
1902.....	1,024,399	1908.....	1,586,885	1914.....	2,020,671	1920.....	4,078,740

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the steady growth in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1920—forty 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 will show that there are 36,741 local unions in the 110 national and international unions and 1,286 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 4,078,740 for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1920.

While the average paid-up and reported membership of affiliated organizations for the twelve months ending April 30, 1920, was 4,078,740, the April, 1920, membership was 4,302,148. Add to the April membership 207,005, the reported membership of the five national and international organizations suspended from the Federation, you have a grand total of 4,509,213 members in organizations chartered by the Federation.





BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1920, INCLUSIVE

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

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.
1902-3.....	\$529 00	\$309 60	1911-12.....	\$2,710 07	\$2,089 15
1903-4.....	398 75	402 60	1912-13.....	3,225 55	3,863 18
1904-5.....	406 75	285 65	1913-14.....	3,221 75	1,598 55
1905-6.....	736 35	591 16	1914-15.....	5,190 74	5,052 66
1906-7.....	1,128 79	817 76	1915-16.....	5,092 79	4,428 19
1907-8.....	1,261 51	1,021 96	1916-17.....	5,906 61	4,970 68
1908-9.....	1,692 35	1,226 03	1917-18.....	3,544 91	3,055 26
1909-10.....	2,874 75	2,392 75	1918-19.....	9,626 78	8,067 33
1910-11.....	2,988 55	1,448 38	1919-20.....	13,285 93	11,121 06
			Total.....	\$63,821 93	\$53,041 95

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts from 1902 to April 30, 1920.....	\$63,821 93
Total expenses from 1902 to April 30, 1920.....	53,041 95
Excess from 1902 to April 30, 1920.....	\$10,779 98

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1920, INCLUSIVE

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 40 years:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882.....	268 20	252 25
1883.....	690 19	352 32
1884.....	337 42	543 20
1885.....	584 03	450 58
1886.....	474 11	635 08
1887.....	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888.....	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889.....	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890.....	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892.....	17,834 51	18,324 07
1893.....	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894.....	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898.....	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899.....	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900.....	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901.....	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902.....	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903.....	247,802 96	196,015 57
1904.....	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905.....	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906.....	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907.....	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908.....	207,655 23	196,987 36
1909.....	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910.....	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911.....	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912.....	207,373 60	277,479 23
1913.....	244,292 04	258,702 92
1914.....	263,166 97	265,737 21
1915.....	271,625 53	303,985 95
1916.....	334,275 41	315,047 32
1917.....	412,047 76	402,440 40
1918 (7 months).....	303,463 71	277,110 57
1919.....	654,687 57	587,518 39
1920.....	929,255 95	917,765 65
Totals.....	\$6,050,857 35	\$5,846,876 89

RECAPITULATION

Receipts.....	\$6,050,857 35
Expenses.....	5,846,876 89
Balance on hand April 30, 1920.....	\$203,980 46

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 \$285,584.45. Of this amount \$6,984.50 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$75, 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, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia.....	\$9,453 68
2. **John Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, District of Columbia, Wisconsin.....	7,091 90
3. J. E. McCadden.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, District of Columbia.....	6,861 34
4. E. T. Flood.....	Nebraska, Illinois, District of Columbia, Ohio, Kentucky, Michigan, New York, Indiana.....	6,206 25
5. C. P. Taylor.....	Washington, California.....	5,790 96
6. C. O. Young.....	California, Oregon, Michigan, Mississippi, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Louisiana, District of Columbia, Washington.....	5,711 24
7. A. Wilson.....	Illinois, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Indiana, New York.....	5,363 98
8. S. J. Rokosz.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York.....	5,363 70
9. J. Olchon.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, New York.....	5,308 17
10. I. Liberti.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois, District of Columbia.....	5,110 77
11. T. H. Flynn.....	Illinois, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia, Ohio, New York, Michigan, Massachusetts.....	5,097 37
12. Wm. Collins.....	New York, New Jersey, Illinois.....	5,085 91
13. P. J. Smith.....	Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, West Virginia, Ohio, District of Columbia, New York, Pennsylvania.....	5,043 79
14. J. B. Dale.....	California.....	5,032 56
15. T. A. Harris.....	Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois.....	4,892 15
16. C. N. Idar.....	Texas, Arizona.....	4,844 93
17. H. L. Eichelberger.....	Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, District of Columbia.....	4,811 20
18. J. E. Roach.....	Maryland, Ohio, New York, Vermont, New Jersey, District of Columbia, Massachusetts.....	4,797 14
19. T. J. Conboy.....	Pennsylvania, New York, District of Columbia.....	4,788 19
20. J. D. Chubbuck.....	North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota.....	4,701 98
21. E. E. Ball.....	Texas, Illinois, Oklahoma, Missouri, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Georgia, District of Columbia, Pennsylvania.....	4,695 58
22. P. F. Duffy.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, District of Columbia.....	4,693 34
23. T. Augustino.....	Illinois, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia, Indiana, Ohio.....	4,669 27
24. Wm. Varley.....	Canada.....	4,619 92
25. J. J. Keane.....	Ohio, Georgia.....	4,584 85
26. A. Farmilo.....	Canada, New York, District of Columbia.....	4,583 63
27. S. Cupinski.....	Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska.....	4,567 35
28. J. A. Flett.....	Canada, New York, Ohio.....	4,403 63
29. M. P. Scully.....	New York, New Jersey.....	4,394 15
30. F. Kurowski.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York.....	4,343 44
31. Cal Wyatt.....	District of Columbia, Delaware, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Michigan.....	4,195 84
32. C. Covert.....	Washington, Oregon.....	4,182 00
33. A. Bastien.....	Canada.....	4,078 77
34. H. F. Hilfers.....	New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts.....	4,052 66
35. John Riley.....	Illinois, Indiana.....	3,982 97
36. C. B. Stillman.....	Illinois, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Indiana, California, Texas, New York, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Tennessee, District of Columbia, Missouri, Washington, Kentucky, Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Oregon, Wyoming, North Dakota, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia.....	3,890
37. L. V. Lampson.....	Utah, Illinois, Ohio, District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Maryland, Connecticut, Missouri.....	3,849 29
38. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New York, Connecticut.....	3,809 12
39. T. J. Vind.....	Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania.....	3,699 08
40. H. Streifer.....	New York, Pennsylvania.....	3,679 76

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	Amount Received
41. S. Iglesias	Porto Rico	\$3,608 75
42. Cora B. Hogan	Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, New York, Canada, New Jersey, District of Columbia, Virginia	3,662 22
43. C. J. Jennings	New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York	3,264 86
44. J. Brown	Virginia, North Carolina	2,972 51
45. J. M. Richie	Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York	2,865 53
46. J. Kikuleki	Illinois, Pennsylvania	2,862 93
47. J. L. Beaghen	Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, West Virginia, District of Columbia	2,852 15
48. A. Neary	New York, New Jersey, Maryland, District of Columbia	2,608 96
49. H. A. Riviere	Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, New York, Canada, Connecticut, Maryland	2,608 94
50. A. Marks	New York, New Jersey	2,524 70
51. J. W. Worthey	North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia	2,524 70
52. J. E. Roach, Jr.	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut	2,476 92
53. J. E. Smith	Illinois, District of Columbia	2,332 65
54. M. Kelleher	Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina	2,228 19
55. J. J. Dean	North Carolina, South Carolina, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama	2,168 71
56. W. C. Birthright	Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas	2,130 84
57. J. H. Doyle	California	2,120 17
58. H. Tenhunen	Minnesota	2,103 01
59. H. C. Diehl	Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania	2,044 01
60. R. E. Clodfelter	North Carolina, Virginia	1,966 35
61. A. Goode	Virginia	1,896 38
62. W. J. Wysocki	New York	1,594 83
63. A. W. Muir	Montana, Washington	1,549 35
64. C. A. Brandt	Illinois, Indiana, Michigan	1,533 75
65. S. English	North Carolina	1,482 60
66. W. V. McCoy	New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania	1,248 00
67. M. Scott	New York, New Jersey	1,173 57
68. H. D. Friel	Ohio	1,167 95
69. J. J. Coyne	New Hampshire	1,104 72
70. I. Williams	Illinois, North Dakota, Minnesota, District of Columbia, Pennsylvania	1,067 16
71. J. Colby	California, Texas, Arizona	1,008 28
72. Retta Lewis	Missouri	940 00
73. F. W. Detlor	North Carolina, Virginia	935 05
74. F. Butterworth	Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Maryland, New Jersey	925 00
75. Cora Edmonds	Michigan	880 00
76. A. Elledge	North Carolina	863 69
77. Wm. I. Bost	Illinois	720 00
78. W. Lodge	Canada	639 03
79. T. C. Berns	Michigan	540 00
80. Lettie Howard	Washington	500 00
81. Rafael Alonso	Porto Rico	500 00
82. J. E. Tighe	Canada	486 13
83. J. Godfrey	New Jersey	440 00
84. F. A. Campbell	Canada	412 95
85. W. Shurtleff	Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, District of Columbia	400 00
86. A. E. Harvey	Utah	396 14
87. W. E. Castro	California	342 00
88. D. Kreyling	Illinois, Missouri	325 16
89. M. C. Howarth	Washington	320 00
90. M. E. Alarie	Canada	317 30
91. A. R. Garden	Washington	295 40
92. F. A. Sokolowsky	Connecticut	240 00
93. L. W. Lowry	Arkansas	229 37
94. Jas. Leonard	Louisiana	216 00
95. Alfred Cialone	Connecticut	216 00
96. P. R. Bell	Indiana	202 60
97. R. S. Sexton	Porto Rico	191 05
98. J. L. Sims	Indiana	172 13
99. S. E. Alonso	Porto Rico	170 00
100. C. Aviles	Porto Rico	160 00
101. Lester B. Doane	Arizona	155 38
102. O. E. Heath	Oklahoma	150 00
103. T. N. Taylor	Indiana	140 06
104. L. Thompson	Minnesota	120 00
105. R. Russell	Florida	120 00
106. Wm. T. Bonsor	California	118 15

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	Amount Received
107. J. W. Jones.....	Mississippi.....	\$110 00
108. W. R. Robbins.....	Florida.....	110 00
109. J. O. Walsh.....	California.....	106 60
110. F. J. Weber.....	Wisconsin.....	100 00
111. M. E. Smith.....	Pennsylvania.....	99 09
112. A. J. Couch.....	New York.....	97 45
113. T. Murphy.....	Illinois.....	96 26
114. J. J. Dillon.....	New York.....	94 00
115. J. Prather.....	Texas.....	90 00
116. A. L. Dickson.....	Washington.....	90 00
117. T. Aybar.....	Porto Rico.....	90 00
118. A. A. Mahoney.....	Massachusetts.....	90 00
119. J. L. Sullivan.....	Massachusetts.....	90 00
120. W. J. Lamb, Jr.....	Ohio.....	83 55
121. W. E. Freeman.....	Kansas.....	80 00
122. E. Fenton.....	Oklahoma.....	80 00
123. E. K. McMaster.....	Oklahoma.....	80 00
124. E. Anderson.....	Colorado.....	80 00
125. O. R. Hartwig.....	Oregon.....	80 00
	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$75	6,984 50
	Total.....	\$285,584 45

*Includes \$4,402.69 paid for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer, interpreter, and other organizers.

**Includes \$3,884.20 paid for one-half rent of office, salary stenographer, telegrams, stationery and office supplies.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LOCAL UNIONS

The American Federation of Labor in the past twenty-five years has formed out of directly chartered local unions, the following eighty-seven national and international organizations:

1896.

Mineral Mine Workers' Progressive, Northern.
Actors' National Protective.
National Union of Textile Workers.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders' Union.
Brickmakers' Alliance, National.
Federated Association of Wire Drawers.

1897.

Bicycle Workers' International Union.
Gold Beaters' National Union.
Steam Engineers' National Union.
Core Makers' International Union.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.
Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's National Union.

1898.

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union of America.
Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union.

1899.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.
Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers.
Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.
Team Drivers' International Union.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

1900.

Chain Makers' National Union of the United States of America.
 Glass Workers' National Union.
 International Jewelry Workers' Union of America.
 International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.
 Building Laborers' International Protective Union.
 International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.
 United Metal Workers' International Union.
 Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

1901.

Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.
 Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.
 International Watch Case Makers.
 International Association of Car Workers.
 Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America.
 National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.

1902.

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America.
 Sawsmiths' Union of North America.
 Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America.
 National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States
 United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.
 International Association of Tube Workers.
 International Association of Marble Workers.
 Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America.

1903.

Quarrymen's International Union of North America.
 American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.
 International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.
 International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters.
 International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.
 Brotherhood of Railway Expressmen of America.
 International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America.
 International Shingle Weavers' Union of America.
 Bill Posters and Billers of America, National Alliance of.
 International Association of Glass House Employes.
 Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of America.
 Glove Workers' International Union of America.
 Order of Commercial Telegraphers.
 Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union of America.
 National Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America.
 International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.

1904.

Asbestos Workers of America, National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and
 International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada.
 Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers' International Union.
 Brushmakers' International Union.
 International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes.
 International Union of Building Employes of America.
 International Union of Paper Box Makers.
 Tack Makers' International Union.

1905.

National Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.
 International Union of Pavers and Rammermen.

1906.

Steel Plate Transferers' Association of America.

1907.

International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of United States and Canada.
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.
Lobster Fishermen's National Protective Association.

1910.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

1913.

International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada (second time chartered)

1914.

Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.
Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks.

1915.

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

1916.

American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots.
American Federation of Teachers.
International Jewelry Workers' Union.

1917.

National Federation of Federal Employes.
International Union of Timber Workers.

1918.

International Association of Fire Fighters.

1919.

International Federation of Draftsmen's Union.
International Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' League.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending April 30, 1920, there has been issued 943 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, three were granted to the following Internationals:

National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers;
Order of Sleeping Car Conductors;
Brotherhood of Railroad Patrolmen.

One hundred and seventy Central Bodies, as follows:

Alabama:	Colorado:	Macomb.
Gadsden.	Boulder.	Ottawa.
Tuscaloosa.	Ft. Collins.	Sesser.
Arizona:	Greeley.	Wood River.
Douglas.	Las Animas.	Zeigler.
Arizona:	Sterling.	Iowa:
Douglas.	Florida:	Carroll.
Arkansas:	Ft. Myers.	Indiana:
Hot Springs.	St. Petersburg.	Frankfort.
Jonesboro.	Georgia:	Oakland City.
Arkansas-Texas:	Bainbridge.	Sullivan.
Texarkana.	Idaho:	Wabash.
California:	Buhl.	Winslow.
Barstow.	Coeur d'Alene.	Kansas:
Calexico.	Nampa.	Abilene.
Napa.	Rupert.	Dodge City.
Petaluma.	St. Maries.	Ellis.
Santa Cruz.	Illinois:	Herington.
Canada:	Bloomington.	Horton.
Cornwall, Ont.	Carbondale.	Pratt.
Glace Bay, N. S.	Cartersville.	Wellington.
Shawanegan Falls, Que.	Eldorado.	Winfield.
Sherbrooke.	Ladd.	Kentucky:
Three Rivers, Que.	Lake County.	Somerset and Vic.

Louisiana: Amite. Bogalusa. Lake Charles.	Nevada: Tonopah.	Pennsylvania: Berwick. Brookville. Coatesville. Jersey Shore. Lebanon. Renova. Sunbury. Titusville.
Maine: Rockland. Skowhegan.	New Mexico: Gallup.	South Dakota: Huron.
Massachusetts: Clinton. North Adams.	New York: Amsterdam. Ballston Spa. Lackawanna. North Tonawanda. Salamanca.	Texas: Abilene. Breckenridge. Burkburnett. Desdemona. Houston. Ranger. Strawn. Teague. Tyler. Vernon. Weatherford.
Michigan: Benton Harbor and St. Joseph. Gladstone. Ludington. Niles. Sturgis.	North Carolina: High Point. Mt. Airy. Rocky Mount. Salisbury and vicinity. Statesville.	Tennessee: Clarksville.
Minnesota: Albert Lea. Austin. Bemidji. Hibbing. Stillwater.	North Dakota: Devils Lake. Dickinson. Jameston. Mandan. Valley City. Williston. Enderlin.	Vermont: Burlington.
Mississippi: Columbus. Gulfport. Laurel. Ocean Spring, Biloxi and Gulfport. Pascagoula. Pascagoula.	Ohio: Athens. Jackson. Lancaster. Montpelier. Mt. Vernon.	Virginia: Fredericksburg. Lynchburg. Petersburg. Richmond. Saltville.
Missouri: Cape Girardeau. Independence. Kirksville. Poplar Bluff. St. Charles.	Oklahoma: Ada. Cushing. Durand. Holdenville. Hugo. Okmulgee. Pittsburgh County. Ponca City. Sand Springs. Walters. Wynona and vicinity.	Virginia-Tennessee: Bristol.
Nebraska: Nebraska City. Norfolk. Scottsbluff. York.	Oregon: Baker. Eugene and vicinity. Klamath Falls. La Grande. Pendleton.	Washington: Pasco.
New Hampshire: Dover. Keene. Laconia.		West Virginia: Grafton. Randolph County. Skelton.
New Jersey: Atlantic City.		Wisconsin: Grand Rapids. Stevens Point. Waukesha.
		Wyoming: Evanston. Green River. Lusk. Rawlins.

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND RESTORED

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Suspended, 3. The Chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America, membership, 980; Spinners' International Union, membership, 2,165; United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers, membership, 154,060; Amalgamated, 1. International Slate and Tile Roofers Union of America, membership, 662, with International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, membership, 743.

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 26; suspended, 24.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 26; suspended, 206; joined national and international organizations, 44; reinstated, 34; merged, 1.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 12; suspended, 116; joined national and international unions, 17.

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1912 up to and including 1920. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.....	110	110	110	87	90	47	30	30	69
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Asso. of Heat and Frost Insulators.....	8	8	10	10	10	10	16	18	22
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.....	146	151	157	158	175	189	204	210	275
Barbers' International Union, Jour.....	299	318	343	341	359	398	384	359	442
Bill Posters.....	14	14	14	14	15	15	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	93	90	96	85	97	120	183	283	483
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....	167	162	167	173	182	312	555	849	1030
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	333	343	381	356	390	396	358	368	467
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	85	91	94	85	93	114	145	164	207
Brewery Workmen, International Union.....	450	450	520	520	496	450	450	400	341
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.....	34	39	32	29	32	28	25	27	52
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	700	700	700	700
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs., Intl. Asso.....	100	100	102	100	100	j	160	170	242
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.....	7	7	7	7	8	7	7	10	14
Brushmakers' International Union.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....	1923	2107	2128	1956	1977	2317	2673	3079	3315
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	27	29	35	38	40	42	l	l	l
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.....	287	280	287	293	308	390	534	1004	1821
Carvers' Union, International Wood.....	10	10	11	10	11	12	12	10	12
Cement Workers.....	90	90	73	16	g	g	g	g	g
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	415	402	400	394	377	416	395	363	388
Clerks, Bro. of Railway.....	50	50	50	50	51	68	172	714	1860
Clerks, Bro. of Railway Postal.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.....	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	208
Clerks, National Post-office.....	18	22	28	32	42	i	i	i	i
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	28	38	36	30	63	88	m	m	m
Compressed Air & Foundation Workers.....	6	8	10	12	14	16	n	n	n
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Coopers' International Union.....	45	46	45	39	36	39	40	40	43
Cutting Die & Cuttermakers, Intl Union.....	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.....	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	6
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Electrical Workers, International Bro.....	196	227	308	362	362	415	544	1312	1392
Elevator Constructors.....	23	26	27	27	28	29	29	30	31
Engineers, B'n. Ass. of U. S. & C., Nat. Mar. Engineers, Intl. Union of Steam.....	177	200	203	210	210	220	230	250	320
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.....	40	44	47	48	51	51	51	50	59
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Federal Employees, National Fed. of.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	81	109	204	385
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary.....	114	160	160	160	170	170	171	205	296
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad.....	25	10	29	1	1	1	1	1	1
Foundry Employes, Intl. Bro. of.....	5	5	6	6	8	13	33	54	91
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Garment Workers of America, United.....	464	585	607	422	430	449	459	460	459
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Glass Workers' International Assn., Amal.....	11	13	12	11	h	h	h	h	h
Glass Workers, American Flint.....	.....	91	99	94	94	98	99	95	99
Glass Workers, National Window.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Glove Workers.....	11	13	11	10	10	8	7	7	10
Grinders & Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.....	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1
Granite Cutters' Intl. Asso. of A., The.....	135	135	135	135	131	125	119	107	105
Hatters of North America, United.....	85	85	85	85	85	85	91	100	105
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.....	125	221	256	319	324	324	367	400	420
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.....	62	63	57	57	58	54	54	54	64
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.....	476	539	590	606	590	646	632	608	604
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.....	45	55	64	65	67	110	161	197	315
Jewelry Workers' International.....	2	1	1	1	53	43	48	51	81
Lace Operatives, Amal.....	10	11	12	12	11	12	12	9	que
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....	584	788	699	653	851	823	895	905	1054
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. & Metal.....	50	50	55	60	60	60	60	60	59
Laundry Workers, International Union.....	26	26	28	41	43	46	55	60	67
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	20	19	18	18	18	k	k	k	c
Leather Workers of America, Amal.....	6	c	c	c	c	32	41	67	117
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Letter Carriers, National Asso. of.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	305	307	325
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.....	24	26	28	35	42	46	49	56	61
Lithographic Pressfeeders.....	9	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.....	235	220	250	250	250	255	260	313	740
Machinists, International Association of.....	598	710	754	719	1009	1125	1436	2546	3308
Maintenance of Way Employes, I. B. of.....	91	80	65	81	89	97	56	542	que
Marble, etc., International Asso. of.....	28	30	41	16	40	10	10	10	10
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	40	54	62	61	73	96	291	663	653
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.....	166	169	178	178	175	176	183	202	218
Mine Workers of America, United.....	2670	3708	3345	3116	3180	3520	4134	3938	3936
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.....	506	485	369	167	161	179	167	178	211

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	518	573
Musicians, American Federation of.....	500	546	600	600	600	604	650	654	700
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....								45	209
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	685	709	744	753	782	852	845	827	1031
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	28	40	44	45	52	64	60	57	74
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.....									26
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	60	65	67	65	65	70	88	90	90
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....	15	15	16	16	15	15	17	*18	19
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....	35	35	35	35	33	32	32	26	26
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....	20	10	10	10	10	15	21	20	32
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & C., Oper.....	157	173	180	183	184	190	190	190	194
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	260	290	297	320	320	320	320	320	320
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.....						81	101	145	162
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	65	65	77	78	77	76	78	74	80
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	3	3
Printing Pressmen, International.....	190	190	193	227	290	330	340	340	350
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. & C. Plate.....	12	13	13	13	12	13	12	13	14
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....	35	31	35	43	44	65	80	84	95
Quarry Workers, International.....	40	40	40	36	35	35	31	30	30
Railway Employees' Amal. Assn., S. & E.....	402	457	545	589	646	737	786	897	987
Railway Mail Association.....							94	134	144
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.....									
United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	10	18
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	160	160	160	160	217	322	371	427	659
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....				7	8	9	8	9	62
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	r
Slate Workers.....	4	3	3		††	††	††	††	††
Spinners' Intl. Union.....	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....	110	132	150	180	181	186	186	186	196
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.....					27	20	29	37	d
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....	43	45	45	49	49	52	53	54	59
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....	89	66	60	44	43	41	42	39	40
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	11	11	11	11	12	17	19	19	19
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	87	96	98	90	93	102	107	118	140
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....					27	21	10	28	93
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	415	469	511	516	590	708	729	756	1108
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	20	22
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	250	250	250	250	250	272	377	446	487
Textile Workers of America, United.....	109	162	180	189	255	371	459	558	1049
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	24	27	30	30	28	28	25	o	d
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.....						2	23	32	101
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	3	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Tip Printers.....	2	2	†	†	3	3	3	p	p
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	37	36	37	39	34	32	33	42	152
Transferrers' Assn. of Amer. Steel Plate.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.....	9	9	9	9	10	10	k	k	c
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.....	18	19	17	15	27	34	24	20	30
Typographical Union, International.....	547	564	594	591	607	616	633	647	705
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	28	31	35	35	39	40	48	55	56
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle.....	15	31	25	7	4	5	o	o	o
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Centrals.....	560	621	647	673	717	762	781	816	926
State Branches.....	41	42	43	44	45	45	45	46	46
Directly affiliated local unions.....	590	659	570	489	705	1016	1076	1091	1498
Total vote of Unions.....	18499	20976	21185	20433	21906	24973	28375	33849	41307

* Charter revoked. **Withdrawn. †Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ††Disbanded. a Merged with Machinists. b Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. d Not recognized. e Merged with Carpenters. f Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. g Merged with Operative Plasterers. h Merged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. i Bro. of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged. j Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. k Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers. l Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. Convention. m Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. n Merged with Hod-carriers. o Merged with Timber Workers. p Merged with Bookbinders. que Suspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City A. F. of L. Convention. r Merged with Composition Roofers, etc.

CHARTERS—Reports from the Secretaries of 77 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 5,449 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,639 lapsed and surrendered—1,338 of the charters lapsed and surrendered were locals of the National and International unions and 301 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 77 International organizations over the membership on the first of May last year is 377,261.

STRIKES—Reports were received from 77 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. All the International organizations have not available complete figures covering strikes in their trades and the figures supplied in the following table do not cover completely movements for improved conditions of labor. The information, however, is sufficient to show that the organized workers are steadily standardizing conditions and improving them. The reports show that there were 1,255 strikes, in which there were 734,056 involved. 587,479 secured improved conditions. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$3,212,056.73. Adding to that amount \$135,086.58, donations made by unions for financial assistance of other unions, we have a total of \$3,347,143.31 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pending.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
A. F. of L. Locals.....	770	301	21,557	49	34	38	10	32,411	29,520	3,355	20 cts per hour		\$94,104.60	\$9,687.85
Aspacos Workers.....	75	22	1,500	1	1			2,400	2,400				2,010.00	
Blacksmiths.....	107	21	13,000	2		5		1,200	2,401	400			96,612.34	
Bookbinders.....	29	12	5,438	17	1	2		300		9	20 per cent	9 to 8 hour day		
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	88	29	11,253	1		2					20 per cent	8-hour day		
Brewery Workers.....	57 ^w	84 ^s	7,423						8,500	6,000	\$1 per day	8-hour day	34,282.00	9,500.00
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers.....	55	10	7,000	26	2		1	9,000			65 cts to \$1.30	to 2 to 4 per week		1,685.00
Brick and Clay Workers.....	14	17	7,000								\$1 per day	8-hour day		
Car Railway.....	191	18	29,078								\$1 to \$3 per day	8-hour day	17,907.98	
Carpenters.....	418	168	257	18	2	2		343	340	3		from 54 to 44 p. w.	235,029.95	
Cigarmakers.....	17	9	4,866	12	13	29	9	26,209	26,832	13,379		8-hour day	285,387.92	
Clerks, Railway.....	443	103	25,731										4,056.87	
Clerks, Postal.....	215	3	5,000											
Cooks.....	27	3	302								15 per cent			
Conductors, Sleeping Car.....	21	22	102	12	1	5	1	650	650	145	65 cents per day		3,312.00	
Cutting Die Makers.....	1		57								10 per cent			
Diamond Workers.....											25 per cent	hrs. 5 days; t Sat.		5,398.00
Draftsmen.....	17	3	1,622	3		2		153	96	153			2,808.10	
Elevator Constructors.....	11	1	483	3				2,000	9,000	500				
Engineers, Marine.....	3		4,953	3		1		85	83	580				
Engineers, Steam and Operating.....	77	39	7,280	2	3	19	4	140	140	550	25 per cent	8-hour day	17,463.19	71.00
Explosives, Shot and Copper Plate.....	48	7	8,500								25 per cent			
Federal Employees.....	48	42									25 per cent	50 per cent		
Fire Fighters.....	48													

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strokes compromised.	Strokes pending.	Strokes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pending.	Gain in In wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other union.
Firemen Stationary.....	273	5	10,402	1	3	1	1,793	209	10 25 per cent	10 25 per cent	from 12 to 8	\$16,200.00	\$10,000.00
Foundry Employees.....	66	51	4,500	8	1	1	4,250	3,575	375 65 cts. to \$1. p. day.	375 65 cts. to \$1. p. day.	"	3,846.50	100.00
Garment Workers, United	49	28	1,015	1	1	3	600	420	50	20 per cent		3,000.00	15,000.00
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	12	2	10,000	9	1	1	14,000	350	350	10 per cent		100,000.00	6,000.00
Glass Bottle Blowers, Local	5	3	400	2	1	1	350	1	1	5 per cent		13,000.00	700.00
Glass Window Workers.....	7	3	350	2	1	1	834	800	800	\$1 per day		1,406.75	750.00
Granite Cutters.....	5	3	1,500	8	10	1	2,500	2,500	4,000	\$3 per day		49,160.15	3,500.00
Hatters.....	10	66	25,966	2	3	2	2,000	1,500	1,000	\$ to 15 per cent		8,000.00	
Horsehoopers.....	4	5	1,000	10	14	1	20,000	1,300	5,000	\$1.50 per day		47,923.59	19,784.73
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.	17	10	10,604	9	19	1	10,604	6,927	30	30 per cent	1 hour per day	7,200.00	2,000.00
Laundry Workers.....	10	12	7,000	6	4	3	16,500	3,000	223	\$1 per day	6-day week	22,926.00	6,500.00
Leather Workers.....	62	27	7,000	4	3	3	2,017	440	900	\$1.25 per day	8-hour day		
Letter Carriers.....	30	20	7,000	5	2	4	2,017	440	900	\$250-\$300 per year	8-hour day		
Lithographers.....	41	4	2,000	2	4	3	2,017	440	900	\$1.25 per day	8-hour day		
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	4	1	6099	1	1	1	6099	6099	600	\$1 per day	basic 8-hour day	78,730.50	500.00
Mine Workers, United.....	128	52	7,100	4	2	1	23,000	19,000	4,000	\$1 per day	basic 8-hour day	300,000.00	10,000.00
Molders.....	464	133	10,500	1	56	3	400,000	400,000	4,000	20 and 42 per cent	5-day week	1,117,242.38	30,000.00
Molders.....	191	56	25,605	100	25	12	22,000	2,000	2,000	10 to 30 per cent	5-day week	90,267.28	
Pattern Makers.....	5	4	1,250	6	12	3	22,000	2,000	2,000	\$1 per hour		418.00	
Pavers, Rammermen, etc.	3	8	10,630	40	20	2	1,500	1,500	300	50 cts. per day		52,912.50	200.00
Paving Cutters.....	34	1	983	1	1	1	92	92	48	15 per cent		14,838.20	60.00
Posters, Metal.....	3	1	983	1	1	1	92	92	48	15 per cent		14,838.20	60.00
Printers.....	1	1	7	1	1	1	70	470	2	90c. to \$2 p. day	4 hours per week		
Printers and Color Mixers.	1	1	7	1	1	1	70	470	2	20 per cent	4 hours per week		
Printers, Steel and Copper Plate.	20	11	3,000	2	3	1	5,000	1,500	1,500	50 cts. per day	8-hour day	5,308.75	
Printing Pressmen.....	20	11	3,000	2	3	1	5,000	1,500	1,500	50 cts. per day	8-hour day	10,500.00	
Rup and Sulphite Workers	30	1	5,000	1	1	1	200	150	1,500	40 to 96 cts. per day	8-hour day	50,556.95	
Railway Employees, Street	73	26	7,000	40	6	3	60,000	56,000	1,965	1 to 20 cts. p. hour		95,747.23	
Railway Mail Association	20	2	1,356	5	6	3	250	250	250	75 cts. per day			
**Roofers, Slate and Tile.	20	2	1,356	5	6	3	250	250	250	25 per cent			
Signalmen, Railroad.....	16	5	300	5	5	5	250	250	4	4 per cent			50.00

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number in strikes pending.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Stone Cutters	5		150	1	2		1	700	55		75 c. to \$1 p. h.	8-hour day	\$870.00	
Stone Mounters	17	3	180	0	1	3		300	290	80			\$8,517.50	
Tailors	47	40	180	45	12	10		10,050	9,772	1,328			169,409.00	
Teachers	104	18	5,200	84	8	11		46,000		2,000	\$1.25 per day	1 hour	55,395.00	
Teamsters	3	1	5,000	1				15	15		\$1 per day		12,000.00	\$1,000.00
Telegraphers, Railroad	8	6	500	15				5,000		20	\$1 per day		12,000.00	
Telegraphers, Commercial	11	0	9,108	15	2			2,700	1,400	15,000	20 to \$5.30		12,000.00	
Timber Workers	18	11	13,128	5	3			700		8 and 10 per cent		from 10 to 8 hr. day	500.00	2,000.00
Transferers, Steel Plate			4									1 per day	600.00	100.00
Tunnel and Subway Constructors	1	22	4,149	3				300	61				496.50*	
Typographers	69	22	5,000	7				67		725	\$12 per week		109,200.00	
Upholsterers	18	3	500	4				2,275			20 per cent			500.00
Weavers, American Wire	1		24											
Totals	5449	1639	377,261	706	186	275	88	734,056	587,479	65,960			\$3,212,056.73	\$135,086.58

a, for about 40 unions; b, 200 benefited; c, 48 to 44 hour week for 30 per cent; from longer hours to 48-hour week for 20 per cent; d, \$1 per day, day rate, 18 per cent piece rates; e, piece work abolished, reduction 2 hours per day for 10,050 members; f, 140 benefited; g, piece workers 10 and 20 per cent, week workers, \$4 to \$8 per week increase; h, approximately 2,300 getting shorter workday and six-day week; i, for 10,000; j, hours from 12 to 8 for 300, all outside day workers from 9 to 8 hours; k, affecting 2,000, 9 to 8 hours; l, approximately 10 per cent, affecting 38, 8 per cent affecting 43; m, from \$4 to \$5.30 for 1919-1920 for common labor, wages for skilled trades increased in proportion; n, From 24-hour day to monthly schedule of 240 hours; o, substantial gains; p, gain secured through National Agreement; q, ocean ships, 5 classes, \$92.50 to \$100 per month for chiefs, \$15 to \$35 for assistants; r, N. Y. City, Phila., and other localities; s, 3,000; t, approximately 35 per cent for 350, 60 per cent for 300, 10 per cent for 150; u, from 7 to 6-day week, benefiting 15,000; v, from April 1, 1919, to September 30, 1919; w, 6 branch unions; x, 23 branch unions; y, total gains for year ending May 31, 1919, aggregate \$10,708,153.00; z, expenses offensive and defensive purposes, \$91,087.30; *, year ending July 1, 1919; **, since October 1, 1919; ***, year ending May 31, 1919.

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
A. F. of L. Locals.....	\$4,863 84	\$543 00	\$9,010 04	\$3,526 31	\$45 00	\$3,181 17
Barbers.....	50,150 00		69,163 02			
Blacksmiths.....	4,500 00					
Bookbinders.....	11,100 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	18,175 00		d 85,156 77			
*Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers.....	216,694 25		f			
Carmen, Railway.....	98,900 00					
Carpenters.....	527,340 30					
Carvers.....	2,900 00				139 00	
Cigarmakers.....	317,441 86		165,584 39	20,536 69		21,966 75
Clerks, Postal.....			9,000 00			
Conductors, Sleeping Car.....	10,750 00					
Coopers.....	5,350 00					
Cutting Die Makers.....	400 00			603 94		
Diamond Workers.....	2,000 00		1,593 00			1,169 50
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.....		115 00	100 00	123 23		
Foundry Employes.....	1,500 00					
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	5,100 00					
Glass Window Workers.....	7,600 00	2,200 00				
Glove Workers.....	100 00					
Hatters.....	33,123 00					
Hodcarriers.....	16,200 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employes.....	69,480 80		98,087 56			
Lathers.....	4,250 00					
Laundry Workers.....	900 00					
Leather Workers.....	1,420 00		4,740 00			
Letter Carriers.....	178,370 06		86,592 61			
Lithographers.....	20,400 00		11,447 00			1,980 00
Meat Cutters.....	22,950 00					
Molders.....	88,247 00		b 259,378 20			36,729 00
Painters.....	189,303 05	22,775 00	c			
Patternmakers.....	13,825 00		12,015 18		5,617 75	
Paving Cutters.....	2,050 00			981 77		
Polishers, Metal.....	8,075 00		a 8,000 00			
Potters.....	14,200 00					
Print Cutters.....	1,700 00					
Printers and Color Mixers.....	600 00					
Printing Pressmen.....	14,653 41					
Quarry Workers.....	1,474 90					
Railway Employes, Street.....	560,903 83		91,047 48			
Railway Mail Association.....	44,000 00					
**Roofers, Slate and Tile.....	3,000 00					
Stone Cutters.....	8,700 00					
Stove Mounters.....	2,700 00					
Tailors.....	12,835 30		18,835 00			
Telegraphers, Railroad.....	200,000 00					
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	1,200 00					
Tobacco Workers.....	1,300 00		6,774 00			
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.....	300 00					
***Typographical.....	386,346 70		e			
Weavers, American Wire.....	400 00		695 00	500 00		
Total.....	\$3,187,773 30	\$25,633 00	\$937,219 25	\$26,271 94	\$5,801 75	\$65,026 42

a, Locals only; b, Disability benefits, \$11,625; c, Disability benefits, \$25,225; donations, benefit local unions, \$57,258.75; d, Disability benefits, \$4,400; e, Pensions, \$337,330; f, Relief or pension, \$390,785; *, To March 31, 1920; **, Since October 1, 1919; ***, Year ending May 31, 1919.

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. The amounts hereinbefore reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year 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.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Actors and Artists.—No report.

Asbestos Workers.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1; number involved, 60; benefited, 60; cost of strikes, \$5,000. Gain in wages, 20 cents per hour. All locals have an agreement with employers.

Bakers and Confectioners.—No report.

Barbers.—Charters issued, 75; surrendered, 22. Number involved in strikes, 2,401; benefited, 2,401; cost of strikes, \$2,919. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$50,150; sick benefits, \$69,163.02.

Bill Posters and Billers.—No report.

Blacksmiths.—Charters issued, 107; surrendered, 21. Gain in membership, 15,000. Strikes won, 2; pending, 5; number involved, 1,200; number involved in strikes pending, 400; cost of strikes, \$96,612.34. Reduction in hours, from 9 to 8 hour day. 2 agreements secured. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$4,500.

Boilermakers.—No report.

Bookbinders.—Charters issued, 29; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 5,438. Strikes won, 17; compromised, 1; lost, 2; pending 2; number involved in strikes pending, 9. Substantial increases in wages, some locals reporting as high as 4 increases in year. 8-hour day prevails, with provisions for making up Saturday half-holiday. 87 agreements secured by arbitration, 17 by strike. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$16 for 10 hours to \$36 for 8 hours for men, and to a minimum of \$20 for women. Death benefits, \$11,100.

Boot and Shoe Workers.—Charters issued, 88; surrendered, 29. Gain in membership, 11,253. Strikes won, 1; lost, 2; number involved, 300; all benefited. Gain in wages 20 per cent. Hours reduced 2 to 4 per week. Numerous decisions secured through Massachusetts State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. Death benefits, \$18,175; sick benefits, \$85,156.77; disability benefits, \$4,400.

Brewery Workers.—Charters issued, 57; surrendered, 84. Cost of strikes, \$34,282. Donations to other unions, \$9,500.

Bricklayers.—Charters issued, 55; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 7,423. Gain in wages average \$1. About 40 unions have secured 8-hour day. Numerous agreements secured by arbitration. Death benefits, \$216,694.25; relief or pension benefits, \$390,785.

Brick and Clay Workers.—Charters issued, 54; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, approximately, 7,000. Strikes won, 26; compromised, 2; lost, 1; number involved, 18,000; benefited, 8,500; number involved in strikes pending, 9,000. Gain in wages from 65 cents to \$1.30 per day. Reduction in hours from 9-10 hours to 8 hours, except 2 locals working 9 hours, recently organized. 163 agreements secured. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization hours reduced to 8 and wages increased over rate for former 10-hour day. Donations to other unions, \$1,685.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.—No report.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.—No report.

Carmen, Railway.—Charters issued, 191; surrendered, 18. Gain in membership, 29,073. Strikes lost, 1; cost of strikes, \$17,907.98. 8-hour day obtains. 1 national agreement obtaining covering all crafts in mechanical department of railways. As a result of organization the sliding scale of from 13 cents to 25 cents per hour has been changed under the National Agreement to 45, 67 and 72 cents per hour. Death benefits, \$98,900.

- Carpenters, Brotherhood.**—Charters issued, 418; surrendered, 168. Cost of strikes, \$235,029.95. Death benefits, \$527,340.30.
- Carvers, Wood.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 257. Strikes won, 18; compromised, 2; pending, 2; number involved, 343; number benefited, 340; number involved in strikes pending, 3. Gain in wages from \$1 to \$3. Reduction in hours from 54 to 44 per week, benefiting about 200. Cost of strikes, \$4,056.87. As a result of organization wages have increased from 25 cents per hour at time of organization of international to \$1 per hour, present rate. Death benefits, \$2,900; tool insurance, \$139.
- Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 9. Gain in membership, 4,866. Strikes won, 12; compromised, 13; lost, 9; pending, 29; number involved in strikes, 28,209; benefited, 26,832; number involved in strikes pending, 13,379; cost of strikes, \$285,387.92. 8-hour day prevails. In addition to gains made in strikes won, 164 unions have received increases in prices involving 12,027 without strikes. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$317,441.86; sick benefits, \$165,584.39; traveling benefits, \$20,536.69; unemployed benefits, \$21,966.75.
- Clerks, Railway.**—Charters issued, 443; surrendered, 103. Gain in membership, 25,731. 1 agreement secured covering all railroads under Government control, and 15 other agreements.
- Clerks, Retail.**—No report.
- Clerks, Postal.**—Charters issued, 215; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 5,000. Gain in wages, 15 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased 100 per cent in lower grades, and approximately 40 per cent in higher grades.
- Conductors, Sleeping Car.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 382. Gain in wages, 90 cents, affecting entire membership. Reduction in hours from 24-hour day to monthly schedule of 240 hours. 1 agreement secured by arbitration; 1 by Board of Railroad Wage and Working Conditions; compromised by establishing 240-hour month, equivalent to 31 per cent increase in pay. Death benefits, \$10,750.
- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 27; surrendered, 22. Gain in membership, 100. Strikes won, 12; compromised, 3; lost, 1; pending, 5; number involved, 650; benefited, 650; number involved in strikes pending, 145; cost of strikes, \$3,312. Gain in wages 20 per cent, affecting nearly entire membership. Death benefits, \$5,350.
- Cutting Die Makers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 57. Gain in wages 10 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased about 100 per cent, and hours reduced from 54-60 to 48 per week. Death benefits, \$400; traveling benefits, \$603.94.
- Diamond Workers.**—Gain in wages 25 per cent, affecting all members. Reduction in hours, $\frac{1}{2}$ hours for 5 days, $\frac{1}{2}$ Saturdays, affecting all members. 1 agreement secured providing payment for 1 week's vacation. As a result of organization wages have advanced from \$26 for 56 to 60 hours per week in 1902 to \$100 for 44-hour week in 1920. Death benefits, \$2,000; sick benefits, \$1,593; unemployed benefits, \$1,169.50; donations to other unions, \$5,398.
- Draftsmen's Union.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 1,622. Strikes pending, 2; number involved in total strikes, 153; number benefited, 96; number involved in strikes pending, 153. Cost of Strikes, \$2,808.10.
- Electrical Workers.**—No report.
- Elevator Constructors.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 483.
- Engineers, Marine.**—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 4,953. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 1; number involved in total strikes, 2,000; benefited, 8,000 to 9,000; number involved in strikes pending, over 500. Gain in wages per month, ocean ships, 5 classes from \$92.50 to \$100 for chiefs; from \$15 to \$35 for assistants. 8-hour day prevails. Many more ships have better accommodations for eating and sleeping. Agreements secured for all ocean going ships and towboats, both coast and gulf. All ocean-going agreements adjusted through Shipping Board, Division of Conciliation. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages have advanced from \$75, \$100 and \$130 to present rate of \$387.50 per month.

- Engineers, Steam.—Charters issued, 72; surrendered, 39. Gain in membership, 7,000. Strikes won, 9; compromised, 3; lost, 4; pending, 19; number involved in total strikes, 698; benefited, 83; number involved in strikes pending, 580; cost of strikes, \$17,463.19.
- Engravers, Photo.—No report.
- Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.—Charters issued, 7. Gain in membership, 281. Strikes won, 2; number involved in total strikes, 140; number benefited, 140. Gain in wages 25 per cent, 140 benefited. Minimum wage rate established in 2 locals. 2 local agreements secured by arbitration, 15 per cent increase affecting 36 in one instance, and 10 per cent increase in the other affecting 79. As a result of organization solidarity of action producing respect from employers and average wage increase of 20 per cent for all members have been secured. Death benefits, members' wives, \$115; sick benefits, \$100; traveling benefits, \$123.23; donations to other unions, \$71.
- Federal Employees.—Charters issued, 48. Gain in membership, 8,500.
- Fire Fighters.—Charters issued, 48; surrendered, 42. Gain in wages, 25 per cent. Hours of labor reduced about 50 per cent. Improvement secured through legislation.
- Firemen, Stationary.—Charters issued, 272; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 10,402. Strikes won, 11; compromised 1; lost, 1; pending, 3; number involved, 1,793; benefited, 209; number involved in strikes pending, 10; cost of strikes, \$16,200. Gain in wages, 25 per cent on most jobs. Reduction in hours, 12 to 8 hour day, and 7 to 6 day week, benefiting 15,000 men. Wage agreement secured with Railroad Administration. 300 agreements signed without strike. As a result of organization 95 per cent of membership work 8-hour day, 6 days per week. Donations to other unions, \$10,000.
- Foundry Employees.—Charters issued, 66; surrendered, 51. Gain in membership, 4,500. Strikes won, 8; pending, 1; number involved, 4,250; benefited, 3,875; number involved in strikes pending, 375; cost of strikes, \$3,846.50. Gain in wages 65 cents to \$1 per day. 27 agreements secured without strike. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$1.25 to \$5 per day, and hours reduced from 10 to 8. Death benefits, \$1,500; donations to other unions, \$100.
- Fur Workers.—No report.
- Garment Workers, United.—Charters issued, 49; surrendered, 28. Gain in membership, 1,015. Strikes lost 3; pending, 1; number involved in total strikes, 600; benefited, 420; number involved in strikes pending, 50; cost of strikes, \$3,000. Gain in wages per week, piece workers receiving 10 per cent and 20 per cent increase on all prices; week workers, receiving from \$4 to \$8 more per week. As a result of organization weekly wages have advanced from \$18-\$22 for cutters to \$35-\$51; from \$8-\$20 for tailors, to \$40-\$75; and from \$7-\$10 for overall workers to \$16-\$45. Donations to other unions, \$15,000.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, about 10,000. Strikes won, 9; involved, 14,000. Gain in wages about 20 per cent throughout industry.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.—Strikes pending, 1; number involved, 350; Gain in wages, 10 per cent. Cost of strikes, \$100,000. Attempt at reduction in wages successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$5,100; donations to other unions, \$6,000.
- Glass Workers, Flint.—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 400. Strikes lost, 1; number involved in strikes, 1; cost of strikes, about \$13,000. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted.
- Glass Workers, Window.—Gain in membership, 109. Gain in wages, 5 per cent for each member, secured through negotiation with wage committees. Wages settled at wage conferences between manufacturers and workers' wage committees. Death benefits, \$7,600; death benefits, members' wives, \$2,200. Donations to other unions, \$700.
- Glove Workers.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 350. Strikes won, 2; lost, 1; number involved, 834; benefited, 800. Approximate gain in wages, 35 per cent for 350; 60 per cent for 300, 20 per cent for 300; 10 per cent for 150. 10 agreements secured, 4 new and 6 renewed without strike. Death benefits, \$100.

- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 5. Strikes won, 8; pending, 10; number involved in total strikes, \$6,500; benefited, 2,500; number involved in strikes pending, 4,000. Gain in wages, \$1 to whole membership. 52 agreements secured by strike and conciliation. Progress made in dealing with dust question. Cost of strikes, \$1,406.75. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.50 for 10-hour day to \$7 for 8-hour day. Donations to other unions, \$750.
- Hatters.**—Charters issued, 10. Gain in membership, 1,500. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 3; pending, 2; number involved, 2,000; benefited, 1,500; number involved in strikes pending, 1,000; cost of strikes, \$49,160.15. Gain in wages \$3 per day. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. In last 2 years minimum wage has been increased from \$27.50 to \$55 per week. Death benefits, \$33,123. Donations to other unions, \$3,500.
- Hodcarriers.**—Charters issued, 252; surrendered, 66. Gain in membership, 25,966. Strikes won, 38; pending, 14; number involved, 20,000; number involved in strikes pending, about 5,000. Gain in wages 5 to 15 per cent per day. Maximum wage last year, \$1 an hour; this year, \$1.25. Death benefits, \$16,200.
- Horseshoers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 10; number involved, 1,200; benefited, 1,200. Gain in wages, \$1.50 per day; reduction in hours, 1; 8-hour day prevails. 100 agreements secured through strikes and arbitration. Cost of strikes, \$8,000. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.50 and \$3 for 10 hours to \$6 and \$8 for 8-hour day.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees.**—Charters issued, 171; surrendered, 109. Strikes won, 90; compromised, 19; lost, 23; pending, 1; number involved in total strikes, 10,604; number benefited, 6,927; number involved in strikes pending, 30; cost of strikes, \$47,923.59. Steadily increasing number of workers getting shorter workday and six-day week, approximately 2,300. Cooperation with Health Boards compel employers to make needed improvements in sanitary situation. 332 unions renewed annual agreements by conferences. As a result of organization catering industry calling for seven days and long hours has been changed to six-day week and shorter hours. Death benefits, \$69,480.80; sick benefits, \$98,087.56. Donations to other unions, \$19,784.73.
- Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.**—No report.
- Jewelry Workers.**—No report.
- Lathers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 12. Gain in wages, 30 per cent. 200 agreements secured by mutual consent. Death benefits, \$4,250. Donations to other unions, \$2,000.
- Laundry Workers.**—Charters issued, 62; surrendered, 27. Gain in membership, 7,000. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 4; lost, 3; pending, 3; number involved in total strikes, 16,500; benefited, 3,000; number involved in strikes pending, 223; cost of strikes, \$7,200. Gain in wages, average of 20 per cent. 8-hour day established for majority of locals. 94 agreements signed, most through negotiations or arbitration, 5 as a result of strikes. As a result of organization hours have decreased from 15 and 16 to 8 hour day, and wages have increased 150 per cent. Death benefits, \$900. Donations to other unions, \$6,500.
- Leather Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 30; surrendered, 20. Gain in membership, 7,000. Strikes won, 5; compromised, 2; lost 3; pending, 4; number involved in total strikes, 2,017; benefited, 440; number involved in strikes pending, 900; cost of strikes, \$22,926. Gain in wages, \$1.25 per day. Reduction in hours from 9 to 8 hour day affecting 2,000. 25 agreements secured through negotiation; 3,000 secured increased wages. Assistance given by Department of Labor through conciliation department. As a result of organization saddlery workers' hours reduced from 9 to 8, and wages increased from 40 cents to 75 cents per hour; tannery workers increased from \$40 to \$55 per week; travelers goods' workers from \$3.50 to \$6.50 per day. Death benefits, \$1,420; sick benefits, \$4,740.
- Letter Carriers.**—Charters issued, 41. Gain in membership, 2,000. Gain in wages from \$250 to \$300 per year. Extension of holiday service obtained; appointment of Joint Congressional Commission on Postal Salaries. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$600 to \$1,200 per year and 8-hour day established with pay for overtime. Death benefits, \$178,370.06; sick benefits, \$86,592.61.

Letter Carriers, Rural.—No report.

Lithographers.—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership from April 1, 1919, to September 30, 1919, 609. Gain in wages, \$1.25 per day. 1 agreement secured by conference with employers. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$12.25 for a 59-hour week to \$32.14 for a 48-hour week. Death benefits, \$20,400; sick benefits, \$11,447; unemployed benefits, \$1,980.

Longshoremen.—No report.

Machinists.—No report.

Marble Workers.—No report.

Masters, Mates and Pilots.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 2,600. Strikes pending, 1; number involved in strikes pending, 500.

Meat Cutters.—Charters issued, 138; surrendered, 52. Strikes won, 4; compromised, 10; lost, 1; pending, 2; number involved, 23,000; benefited, 19,000; cost of strikes, \$78,730.50; number involved in strikes pending, 4,000. Gain in wages, \$1 per day. 8-hour day prevails. 175 local agreements secured. Death benefits, \$22,950. Donations to other unions, \$500.

Metal Workers, Sheet.—No report.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.—No report.

Mine Workers, United (year ending July 1, 1919).—Charters issued, 464; surrendered, 133. Gain in membership, 7,100. 1 general strike won; number involved, 400,000 benefited, full membership; cost of strike, \$300,000, spent for aid in various mining sections. Gain in wages, 20 and 42 per cent to different classes of labor. Donations to other unions approximately \$10,000.

Molders.—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 10,500. Strikes pending, 56; cost of strikes, \$1,117,242.38. Death benefits, \$88,247; disability benefits, \$11,625; sick benefits, \$259,378.20; unemployed benefits, \$36,729.

Musicians.—No report.

Oil Field Workers.—No report.

Painters and Decorators.—Charters issued, 191; surrendered, 56. Gain in membership, 25,605. Strikes won, 100; compromised, 25; lost, 3; pending, 12; number involved in total strikes, 22,000; number involved in strikes pending, 2,000. Gain in wages from 10 to 30 per cent. Five-day week prevails in several cities. 600 agreements secured. Death benefits, \$189,303.05; death benefits, members' wives, \$22,775; disability benefits, \$25,225. Donations, local unions, \$57,258.75. Donations to other unions, \$30,000.

Paper Makers.—No report.

Patrolmen, Railroad.—No report.

Pattern Makers.—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 1,250. Cost of strikes, \$90,267.28. As a result of organization a general wage advance and hours reduced to 8 per day, where a longer working day prevailed.

Pavers and Rammermen.—Wages increased for pavers, rammers and curb setters, \$1 per hour. Agreement secured calling for closed shop. Wages of asphalt workers increased.

Paving Cutters.—Charters issued, 4. Strikes won, 6; number involved, 92; benefited, 92. Gain in wages, 20 per cent. 25 agreements secured through negotiations. Cost of strikes, \$418. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3-\$4 per day to \$6-\$8, and hours have been reduced from 10 to 8, with in some instances a 44-hour week. Death benefits, \$2,050; traveling benefits, \$981.77.

Piano and Organ Workers.—No report.

Plasterers, Operative.—No report.

Plumbers.—No report.

Polishers, Metal.—Charters issued, 31; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 10,630. Strikes won, 40; compromised, 10; lost, 2; pending, 20; number involved in total strikes, 1,500; benefited, 1,500; number involved in strikes pending, 300; cost of strikes, \$52,912.50. Gain in wages 50 cents per day. Reduction of hours 48 to 44 hour week.

affecting 30 per cent; from longer hours to 48-hour week affecting 20 per cent. Continual improvement of blower system. 600 new agreements secured, 575 by conferences; 25 by strikes. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages increased approximately 350 per cent. Death benefits, \$8,075; sick benefits, \$8,000. Donations to other unions, \$200.

- Potters.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 993. Strikes pending, 1; number involved, 48; number involved in strikes pending, 48. Gain in wages, average 15 per cent to all trades in industry. 2 agreements secured by conference. Cost of strikes, \$14,838.20. As a result of organization wages have increased on an average of 83 per cent for all trades in industry. Death benefits, \$14,200.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—No report.
- Print Cutters.**—As a result of organization wages have increased from \$12-\$18 for a week of unlimited hours, sometimes 60 and over to present scale of \$30 per week of 48 hours. Death benefits, \$1,700. Donations to other unions, \$60.
- Printers and Color Mixers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 7. Strikes won, 1; number involved, 70; benefited, 470. Gain in wages, 90 cents to \$2 per day. Reduction in hours from 54 to 50. As a result of organization 90 per cent of all machine printers and color mixers in entire industry are members of organization, with result that non-union firms are compelled to give conditions almost equal to those enjoyed by our members. Death benefits, \$600.
- Printers, Steel and Copper Plate.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 34. Number involved in strikes pending, 2. Gain in wages, 20 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$15 to \$40 per week.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 3,000. Cost of strikes, \$5,308.75. Death benefits, \$14,653.41.
- Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 5,000. Strikes compromised, 2; lost, 1; pending, 3; number involved in total strikes, 5,000; number involved in strikes pending, 1,500; cost of strikes, \$10,500. Gain in wages 50 cents per day for 10,000. Reduction of hours from 12 to 8 affecting 300. All outside day workers' hours reduced from 9 to 8 hour day. 6 agreements secured. As a result of organization hours have decreased from 13, 11 and 10 hours to a general 8-hour day and wages have more than doubled.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 1,500. Strikes compromised, 1; pending, 1; number involved in total strikes, 200; benefited, 150; number involved in strikes pending, 50; cost of strikes, \$556.95. Gain in wages 40 to 96 cents for 3,000. 2,000 limestone quarry workers receive time and one-half after 8 hours. 10 agreements secured through conferences with employers. 1 agreement secured through War Labor Board. As a result of organization granite quarrymen's wages have increased from \$1.60 for 10 hours to \$4.16 for 8 hours.
- Railway Employes, Street and Electric.**—Charters issued, 73; surrendered, 26. Gain in membership, 7,000. Strikes won, 40; compromised, 26; lost, 3; pending, 6; involved, 60,000; benefited, 56,000; number involved in strikes pending, 1,965; cost of strikes, \$95,747.23. 177 agreements secured, 41 through arbitration; 31 through strikes, remainder through conferences with employing companies. Death benefits, \$560,903.83; sick benefits (1919), \$91,047.48.
- Railway Mail Association.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 1,356. Gain in wages, 75 cents. As a result of organization increased wages have been secured. Death benefits, \$44,000.
- Roofers, Slate and Tile (From October 1, 1919).**—Charters issued, 20. Gain in membership, 300. Strikes won, 5; number involved, 250; benefited, 250. Gain in wages, 25 per cent. 15 agreements secured, 5 by strikes; 10 by negotiation. Death benefits, \$3,000.
- Saw Smiths.**—No report.
- Seamen.**—No report.

- Signalmen, Railroad.**—Charters issued, 16; surrendered, 5. Gain in wages, 4 per cent. Working conditions improved under national agreement covering all railroads under federal control. 33 agreements secured through Joint Division of Labor and Operation. As a result of organization wages have advanced 100 per cent; hours reduced from 10 to 8; overtime for Sundays, holidays and all time after regular hours. Donations to other unions, \$50.
- Stage Employes, Theatrical.**—No report.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—No report.
- Stone Cutters.**—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 150. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 2; lost, 1; number involved, 700; benefited, 56; cost of strikes, \$3,870. Gain in wages from 75 cents to \$1 per hour. 2 agreements secured as result of strike. As a result of organization wages have increased from 35-40 cents per hour to \$1. Death benefits, \$8,700.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 180. Strikes won, 9; compromised, 1; pending, 3; number involved in total strikes, 300; benefited, 220; number involved in strikes pending, 80. Cost of strikes, \$8,517.50. Gain in wages, \$1 per day, day rate, 18 per cent piece rates. 114 agreements secured through arbitration providing for above increase. Death benefits, \$2,700.
- Switchmen.**—No report.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 47; surrendered, 40. Strikes won, 45; compromised, 12; pending, 10; number involved in total strikes, 10,050; benefited, 9,772; number involved in strikes pending, 1,328; cost of strikes, \$169,409. Reduction in hours, 2 hours affecting 10,050; abolished piece work and established 8-hour day. Death benefits, \$12,835.30; sick benefits, \$18,835.
- Teachers.**—Charters issued, 104; surrendered, 18. Gain in membership, 5,200.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 222. Gain in membership, 35,224. Strikes won, 84; compromised, 8; pending, 11; number involved, 46,000; benefited, all; number involved in strikes pending, 2,000; cost of strikes, \$55,395. Gain in wages, \$1.25 per day. Reduction in hours, 1 per day. 480 agreements secured.
- Telegraphers, Railroad.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 5,000. Strikes won, 1; number involved in strikes, 15; benefited, 15; cost of strikes, \$2,000. Gain in wages, \$1 per day. 121 agreements secured. As a result of organization wages have increased 400 per cent. Death benefits, \$200,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Telegraphers, Commercial.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes lost, 1; number involved, 5,000; cost of strikes, \$12,000. Gain in wages, approximately \$1. 5 agreements secured by arbitration—old agreements revised, 1,000 affected, resulting in 20 per cent increase. 3 decisions by Canadian Railway Adjustment Board, 2 by Board of Conciliation and Investigation under Canadian Industrial Disputes Act. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$65 to \$175 per month, and hours have been reduced from 9 to 8 hour day. Death benefits, \$1,200.
- Textile Workers.**—No report.
- Timber Workers.**—Charters issued, 116; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 9,000. Strikes won, 15; lost 3; pending, 2; number involved in total strikes, 2,275; benefited, 1,400; number involved in strikes pending, 15,000; cost of strikes, \$12,000. Gain in wages, from \$4 to \$5.30 for common labor; wages for skilled trades increased in proportion. 3 agreements secured by arbitration. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.25 for 10 hours to from \$4.80 to \$5.30 for 8 hours, for common labor.
- Tobacco Workers.**—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 13,128. Strikes won, 3; lost, 3; number involved in strikes, 700; cost of strikes, \$500. Gain in wages, 20 per cent. Reduction in hours from 10 to 8 hour day. 11 agreements secured. As a result of organization wages have increased and hours have been reduced. Death benefits, \$1,300; sick benefits, \$6,774. Donations to other unions, \$2,000.

- Transferrers, Steel Plate.—Gain in membership, 4. Gain in wages, approximately 10 per cent affecting 38; 8 per cent affecting 43.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors.—Charters issued, 1. Strikes lost, 1; number involved, 300; cost of strikes, \$600. Gain in wages, 50 per cent. Reduction in hours, 1 per day; 8-hour day prevails. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages have increased for drill runners from \$4.50 per day to \$7; for rockmen from \$3.75 to \$6 per day with promise of \$1 additional increase per day. Death benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Typographical (year ending May 31, 1919).—Charters issued, 69; surrendered, 22. Gain in membership, 4,149. Strikes won, 3; lost, 3; number involved, 67; benefited, 61; cost of strikes, \$496.50; expenses for offensive and defensive purposes, \$91,087.30. Gains in wages aggregate \$10,708,153. Death benefits, \$386,346.70; old-age pensions, \$337,330.
- Upholsterers.—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 7; lost, 1; pending, 4; number involved in total strikes, 2,275; number involved in strikes pending, 725; cost of strikes, \$109,200. Gain in wages, \$12 per week. 82 agreements secured without strikes, 7 by strikes. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$15 per week of 60 hours to \$50 per week of 44 hours.
- Weavers, American Wire.—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 24. Gain in wages, 20 per cent. 1 agreement secured through conference. As a result of organization hours have decreased 58 to 50 per week, and wages have increased 50 per cent. Death benefits, \$400; sick benefits, \$695; traveling benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$500.
- Weavers, Elastic Goring.—No report.

LOCAL UNIONS

Improvements in working conditions secured in the past year by directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor are reported as follows:

- Aqueduct Workers, No. 16561, Montreal, Que., Can.: Wages increased 5 cents per hour, benefiting 120.
- Awning Workers' Union, No. 14667, Maplewood, Mo.: \$2 per day increase in wages for journeymen; \$1.50 per day for helpers. Hours of labor reduced 1 per week, 12 o'clock, noon, on Saturdays, instead of 1 P. M. 10 agreements secured; 10 out of 11 shops unionized. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3 to \$6 for journeymen; from \$2.50 to \$5 for helpers. Hours reduced from 10 to 9 per day.
- Awning and Tent Workers' Union, No. 15342, Buffalo, N. Y.: \$1.83 per day increase in wages. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$15 to \$35 per week.
- Basket Makers' Protective Union, No. 14353, Brooklyn, N. Y.: 85 per cent increase in wages. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. 2 agreements secured with good results. As a result of organization wages increased from \$2.50 per day of 10 hours to \$1 per hour, 8-hour day.
- Bath Workers and Masseurs' Union, No. 17052, New York, N. Y.: \$1.50 per day increase for extra men; \$5 per week for permanent workers. Hours of labor reduced from 12 to 9 and 6-day week. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$8 to \$10 for 7 days, to \$15 for 6-day week.
- Bed Spring Makers', No. 17123, Atlanta, Ga.: 25 per cent increase in wages.
- Boot Blacks' and Porters' Union, No. 16943, Tulsa, Okla.: Gain in wages 5 cents on every shoe shine; \$7 per week for porters, secured through arbitration.
- Brushmakers' Local, No. 16091, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Wages increased 30 per cent and hours reduced 1 per day, affecting 75 members. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 54 to 48, and piece work rate increased 100 per cent.
- Button Workers, Ivory, Union No. 14978, Newark, N. J.: Gain in wages 20 per cent; 10 per cent at two requests, affecting about 500 employees. Reduction in hours 1 per day for about 500. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$19 for a 55-hour week to \$35 for a 50-hour week.

- Button Workers, Ivory, Union No. 15463, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Gain in wages about 28 per cent. Reduction in hours 1 per day. 2 agreements secured by arbitration.
- Button Workers' No. 16809, Warsaw, Ill.: Wages increased \$1.50 and hours of labor decreased 1 per day, affecting 90. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 60 to 52-hour week.
- Button Workers, Pearl, Union No. 14615, Union Hill, N. J.: Wages increased 15 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$15 to \$33 per week.
- Cement Mill Workers' Union, No. 17170, Cape Girardeau, Mo.: Wages increased 42 cents per day, 104 men benefited. As a result of organization the wage-scale of 26 to 41 cents per hour has been increased to 30 to 45 cents per hour.
- Cement Workers' Union, No. 15595, Hartshorne, Okla.: Wages increased 60 cents per day. 1 new contract secured. As a result of organization wages have increased from 17½-53 cents per hour to 40-73 cents per hour.
- Cement Mill Workers' Union, No. 16779, Sellersburg, Ind.: Wages increased 50 cents per day and hours reduced 4 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 23½-31 cents, 12-hour day, to 42-52 cents, 8-hour day.
- Cigar Factory Employees No. 15951, Manchester, N. H.: Wages increased 50 cents per day. Reduction in hours 1 per day, week reduced from 54 to 48. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$19 for 54-hour week to \$22 for 48-hour week.
- City Employees' Union, No. 16427, Denver, Colo.: Wages increased 50 cents for laborers; \$1 for man and team. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3 to \$4 for 8 hours for laborers, and from \$6 to \$8 for man and team.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15501, Concord, N. H.: Wages increased 50 cents to \$1 per day for 33. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$1.50 per day for 10 hours to \$3.50 per day for 9 hours, with Saturday half-holiday.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15951, Manchester, N. H.: Wages increased 80 cents per day and pay for legal holidays and wet days, affecting 140 members.
- City Employees' Union, No. 16208, Hamilton, Ont. Can.: Wages increased \$1.36 for 600 outside workers, and hours reduced 1 per day.
- City and County Public Service Employees' Union, No. 16562, Cleveland, Ohio: As a result of organization wages have increased 40 per cent.
- Cloth Examiners and Spongers, No. 17151, Philadelphia, Pa.: Wages increased 15 per cent, affecting 39. As a result of organization the wage-scale of \$25 per week in November, 1919, has increased from 15 to 25 per cent.
- Coach Cleaners No., 16542, Los Angeles, Calif.: Reduction in hours 2 per day. As a result of organization coach cleaners' wages have increased from 37 to 45 cents per hour, and hours have decreased from 10 to 8.
- Coach Cleaners and Helpers, No. 16331, Kansas City, Mo.: Wages increased 40 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 20 to 45 cents, and hours decreased 10 to 8.
- Coach and Car Cleaners, No. 16702, Philadelphia, Pa.: Wages increased from 37 to 45 cents per hour and hours of labor decreased from 10 to 8, benefiting 140.
- Coach Cleaners', Railroad, Union No. 17242, Danville, Va.: Wages increased 38 cents per day. Hours reduced from 11 to 8.
- Coach and Car Cleaners', Railroad, Union No. 16828, Camden, N. J.: Wages increased from \$2.96 to \$3.60 per day.
- Coach and Car Cleaners', Railroad, Union No. 15495, Little Rock, Ark.: Wages increased 88 cents per day. Hours reduced from 10 to 8; time and one-half for all overtime.
- Coach and Car Cleaners', Railroad, Union No. 16685, Cleveland, Ohio: Wages increased 56 cents per day, 8-hour day.
- Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, No. 14286, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased about 20 or 30 per cent. 5 agreements secured through arbitration. As a result of organization wages have increased 50 to 300 per cent.

- Copper Workers' Union, No. 16163, E. Taunton, Mass.: Wages increased 15 per cent. Improvements in washrooms and sanitary drinking fountains. As a result of organization wages have increased about 65 per cent and hours have been reduced from 55 to 48 per week. Agreement with company secured on collective bargaining.
- Crane Followers and Platform Workers', No. 14451, Schenectady, N. Y.: Wages increased 20 per cent and hours reduced one third hour per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 15, 20 and 22 cents per hour, to 51, 55, and 57½ cents.
- Curb Stone Cutters and Setters' Union, No. 8373, Toledo, Ohio.: As a result of organization wages have increased from 50 cents to \$1.10 per hour.
- Eggs and Produce Workers, Wholesale and Retail Poultry, No. 16831, Fort Worth, Tex.: Wages increased \$1.50 per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. 3 agreements secured, 2 by strike and 1 by arbitration.
- Egg Inspectors' Union, No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased \$2.40, regular workers; \$4.40, extra workers. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$12 per 60-hour week, to \$1 per hour, regular workers, and \$1.25, extra workers, per 44-hour week.
- Egg Inspectors' Union, No. 16086, San Francisco, Calif.: As a result of organization wages have increased \$1.50 per day and hours reduced 2 per day.
- Elevator Starters & Operators Local, No. 16429, New York, N. Y.: Wages increased 25 to 40 per cent per day.
- Engineering Inspectors' Union, No. 16026, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Wages increased from \$5.25 per day for 300 days in year, to yearly wage of \$1,692, beginning January 1, 1920; 8-hour day prevails. As a result of organization wages have increased 10 per cent each year.
- Express Porters' Union, No. 17254, Lynchburg, Va.: Wages increased \$10 per month. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8. Work 6 days, receiving pay for 7.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 8227, Ottumwa, Iowa: Wages increased from 10 to 12½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 11366, Denton, Tex.: Wages increased 50 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 2 to 4. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3 and \$3.25 for 10-12 hours to \$3.50 and \$3.75 for 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 11449, Thurber, Texas: As a result of organization wages for 8-hour day for common labor have advanced to \$4; mechanics, \$7 and \$8, and helpers \$5.50.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 12901, Murphysboro, Ill.: As a result of organization common laborers receive 50 cents, firemen, ice pullers, ice house men, 55 cents; oilers and engineers, 60 cents, and street motormen and conductors, 50 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 13136, Anaconda, Mont.: As a result of organization wages have increased \$2.50 per day and 8-hour day prevails.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14257, Girard, Kans.: As a result of organization wages have increased from \$1.95 for 10-hour day, to \$3.78 for 9-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14441, Wilkeson, Wash.: Wages increased from \$1.50 to \$2 per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day for clerks and butchers, benefiting 16. As a result of organization wages have been doubled and hours reduced.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14636, Portland, Ore.: Wages increased 85 cents per day. As a result of organization 8-hour day has been established, and wages have increased 10 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14696, Centralia, Ill.: Wages increased from \$4.20 to \$4.83 per day. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 12 to 8 and wages increased from \$2.25 to \$4.83.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15034, Streator, Ill.: As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.25 for 9 hours to average wage of \$4.20 for 8 hours.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15127, Lewiston, Idaho: Wages increased \$1, benefiting 60, practically all laborers. 8-hour day prevails. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3-\$4, to \$5 per day.

- Federal Labor Union, No. 15290, E. Liverpool, Ohio: Wages increased 14 per cent, piece work: 50 per cent, day wage. As a result of organization wages have increased 40 per cent on piece work, and 150 per cent on day work.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15455, Peoria, Ill.: Wages increased \$1 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15488, Ft. Madison, Iowa: Wages increased \$1.60, benefiting all laborers.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15582, Livingston, Mont.: As a result of organization wages have increased from 30 cents to 62½ cents per hour and hours have been reduced from 9 to 8.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15632, Joppa, Ill.: Wages increased 75 per cent for common labor, and \$1.25 per day for skilled labor. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$1.50 for 12 hours to \$4 and \$5.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15716, Bloomington, Ill.: Wages increased 90 cents per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 30 to 65 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15775, Portland, Ore.: Wages increased \$1 per day for workers engaged in window cleaners' strike. As a result of organization window cleaners' section secured increase in wages to \$6 for 8 hours.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15885, Lyons, Kans.: As a result of organization wages have increased and 8-hour day secured for union members.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15906, Charlestown, Mass.: Wages increased 66½ cents per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$10 to \$16 per week.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15931, Waco, Texas: Wages increased from \$2.50 to \$4. 8-hour day prevails.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15959, Kingston, Ont., Can.: Wages increased 4 cents per hour. Hours of labor reduced from 50 hours per week to 45.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16067, Madison, Wis.: Wages increased 25 per cent.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16231, Galva, Ill.: Wages increased 20 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased from 20 cents per hour to 45 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16253, Ft. Scott, Kans.: Wages increased 80 cents per day. 1 agreement secured through strike resulting in increasing wages from 23 and 42 cents per hour to 30 and 50 cents.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16298, Montreal, Can.: Wages increased 10 per cent. Hours reduced 2 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased 22 per cent.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16319, Guttenberg, N. J.: Wages increased 32 cents per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16350, Stratford, Ont., Can.: Wages increased about 20 per cent. Saturday half-holiday secured.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16364, Geneva, Ill.: Wages increased \$1 per day. Hours reduced from 10 to 9; time and one-half secured for time over 50 hours per week.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16441, Hudson Falls, N. Y.: As a result of organization wages have increased \$7 per week.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16457, Orillia, Can.: Wages increased 50 cents per day. As a result of organization wage rate of 35 cents per hour increased to 40 and 50 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16464, Shelbyville, Ind.: Wages increased 80 cents per day, and hours reduced 1 per day, with Saturday half-holiday. As a result of organization wages have increased from 25 to 37½-60 cents per hour and hours have decreased from 60 to 50 per week.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16509, Weatherford, Tex.: As a result of organization wages are 50 cents an hour with 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16517, Ottawa, Ont., Can.: Hours of labor reduced 1 hour for 5 days and 4 hours on Saturday. As a result of organization wage-scale increased from 45 to 50 cents per hour and hours reduced from 9 to 8-hour day.

- Federal Labor Union, No. 16523, London, Ont., Can.: In the past year wages increased 5 to 20 cents per hour; average increase of 10 cents affecting 1,000, particularly the iron trades. All increases in wages secured through shop committees. As a result of organization wages have increased from a minimum of 30 cents per hour to a general minimum of 45 cents per hour for a 9-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16530, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: Wages increased 2 to 5 cents per hour. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 9 to 8 hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16541, Greenfield, Ind.: Hours reduced from 10 to 8 hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16524, Hattiesburg, Miss.: Wages increased 30 cents per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16579, Knoxville, Tenn.: Wages increased from 41 to 46 cents for station porters; truckers receive 31 cents for 8 hours, time and one-half for all over 48 hours per week.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16582, Galt, Ont., Can.: In past year wages increased \$1.45 per day. As a result of organization wages increased from 28-33 cents per hour to 48 cents per hour, and hours reduced from 10 to 9, with half-holiday on Saturday.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16592, Manchester, N. H.: Wages increased 44 cents per day; reduction in hours of labor 6 per week.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16596, Johnstown, Pa.: In past year wages increased 10 per cent; basic 8-hour day established with time and one-half for overtime. As a result of organization wages have increased from 40 to 44 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16635, Penetanguishene, Ont., Can.: Wages increased from \$3 to \$3.75 in some cases, and in others from \$4 to \$4.50 and \$5.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16639, Harvard, Ill.: In past year wages increased from \$1 to \$1.50 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 30 to 55 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16658, Havana, Ill.: Wages increased 40 per cent on day work and 10 to 200 per cent on piece work and established weekly pay-day. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16695, Bloomington, Ind.: Wages increased 25 per cent. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9. As a result of organization wages have increased from 25 to 44 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16760, Whitby, Ont., Can.: Wages increased 45 cents per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16788, Dinuba, Calif.: Wages increased from \$1 to \$2.50 and hours reduced 1 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16791, Boonton, N. J.: Wages increased \$2.24; hours reduced 8 per week. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 55 to 47 per week and wages have increased from 26-44 cents per hour to 52-72 cents.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16811, Harrisburg, Ill.: Wages increased \$1.05 per hour and hours reduced 2 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 35 to 72 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16826, Cincinnati, Ohio: Wages increased 10 per cent; hours reduced from 9½ to 8 hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16844, Whitman, Mass.: Wages increased 6½, 10, and 20 per cent, according to grade of workers. Hours reduced 2 per day, making 48-hour week for women, 50-hour week for men.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16882, Punxsutawney, Pa.: Wages increased 80 cents per day; hours reduced 1 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 40 to 50 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16888, Beacon, N. Y.: Wages increased 20 cents per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 40 to 46 cents per hour for a 9-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16935, Brockville, Ont.: Wages increased 3 cents per hour. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day.

- Federal Labor Union, No. 16947, Watertown, Wis.: Wages increased from 25 to 50 per cent and time and one-half secured for Sunday work. As a result of organization wages have increased from 32½-35 cents to 40-42½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16948, York, Pa.: As a result of organization wages have increased from 45 to 50 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17019, Poplar Bluff, Mo.: As a result of organization former scale of \$2.75 and \$3.80 has been increased to \$3.25 and \$4.50.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17064, Cordele, Ga.: As a result of organization railroad employes work 8 hours at 31 cents per hour, and city men 10 hours at \$2 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17087, Manville, N. J.: Wages increased 20 per cent, and time and one-half for overtime.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17179, Port Washington, Wis.: As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.75 to \$3.75 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17184, Elmira, N. Y.: Reduction in hours of labor 1 per day. As a result of organization wages increased from \$16-\$28 to \$18-\$33.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17201, Shawnee, Okla.: Reduction in hours of labor from 10 to 8 hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17251, San Antonio, Texas: Wages increased 50 cents per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 31½ to 37½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17265, Streator, Ill.: Wages increased \$1.57 per day and hours reduced 1 per day establishing 8-hour day. As a result of organization scale has been increased from 30-52½ cents per hour to 50-60 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 17274, Jonesboro, Ill.: As a result of organization wages have increased from 7 to 10 cents per hour.
- Fish Splitters and Handlers' Union, No. 19270, E. Gloucester, Mass.: As a result of organization wages have increased from 27½ cents per hour to 45 cents, 9-hour day.
- Fish Handlers' Union, No. 15773, Dorchester, Mass.: Wages increased from 50 to 75 cents per day. As a result of organization wages increased from \$18 to \$27.50 per week, 8½-hour day.
- Fish Handlers' Union, No. 17138, Rockland, Me.: Wages increased from \$3.50 to \$4, time and one-half for overtime, including Sundays and holidays.
- Food Inspectors' Union, No. 12912, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased \$15 per month.
- Foremen's Union, City, No. 16687, Worcester, Mass.: Wages increased 10 per cent.
- Forestry Employees' Union, City, No. 14851, St. Louis, Mo.: In the past year wages increased 65 cents per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.50 to \$4.25 for trimmers, and from \$3.50 to \$5.15 per day for foremen.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16439, Jacksonville, Fla.: Wages increased 14 and 23 cents and hours of labor reduced 2 per day. Time and one-half for overtime in excess of 8 hours.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16700, Petersburg, Va.: Reduction in hours of labor 2 per day.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 17161, Danville, Va.: Reduction in hours of labor from 10 to 8 per day.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16599, Pine Bluff, Ark.: 8-hour day established, with time and one-half for overtime.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16410, Louisville, Ky.: Wages increased from 33 to 38 cents per hour; hours decreased from 10 to 8½.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16665, Brunswick, Md.: As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.88 for 10 hours to \$3.26 for 8 hours.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16220, Richmond, Va.: As a result of organization, wages have increased from 20 cents per hour, 10-hour day, to 31 cents per hour for 8-hour day.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16946, Shreveport, La.: Wages increased 10 per cent. Reduction in hours of labor 2 per day.

- Freight Handlers and Helpers' Union, Railroad, No. 16407, Memphis, Tenn.: Wages increased 30 cents per day. Reduction in hours 2 per day. 8-hour day with time and one-half for overtime.
- Freight Handlers, Express and Baggage Station Employees, No. 17008, Raleigh, N. C.: As a result of organization, wages have increased from 31 cents per hour to \$3.17 per day, 8-hour day.
- Freight Handlers, Express, Baggage and Station Employees, No. 17180, Spartanburg, S. C.: Wages increased 31 cents per hour. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8.
- Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, No. 16982, Winston Salem, N. C.: Reduction in hours from 10 to 8. As a result of organization, wages have increased 31 to 40 per cent.
- Fruit Grove Workers, No. 16371, Lake Alfred, Fla.: Wages increased from \$1.50 to \$3 per day.
- Fruit Workers' Union, No. 16860, Selma, Calif.: Wages increased 10 cents per hour; 8-hour day.
- Gardeners and Florists' Union, No. 17117, Morton Grove, Ill.: As a result of organization, wages have increased and working conditions improved; hours reduced from 10 to 9.
- Gardeners and Florists' Union, No. 10615, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased 50 cents per day. As a result of organization, wages have increased from \$60 to \$120 per month.
- Gardeners and Greenhouse Employees, City, No. 15778, St. Louis, Mo.: Wages increased 50 cents per day.
- Gas Distribution Workers' Union, No. 15268, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased 20 per cent. Half-holiday a week for 6 months of year. As a result of organization wages have increased about 55 per cent, and hours reduced from 9-10 to 8.
- Gas House Employees' Union, No. 17009, Newton, Mass.: Wages increased 18 per cent, and hours reduced to 48.
- Gas Workers' Union, No. 15266, Newport News, Va.: Hours reduced from 10 to 8. As a result of organization wages have increased from 15 to 50 cents per hour.
- Gas House Workers' Union, No. 16976, Cambridge, Mass.: 2 agreements secured by arbitration, 1 resulting in 10 per cent increase, and the other increasing wages from \$1.10 to \$3.06 per week.
- Gold Beaters' Union, No. 12899, Philadelphia, Pa.: Wages increased \$1.66 per day.
- Gold Beaters' Union, No. 14670, New York, N. Y.: Wages increased \$1.45 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$15 per week for 59 hours to \$43 for 54 hours.
- Hair Spinners' Protective Union, No. 12353, Baltimore, Md.: In past year, wages increased from \$4 to \$5 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$1.50 for 10 hours to \$5 for 9 hours.
- Hat Trimmers and Operators, United Felt, Straw, Panama, No. 15850, Newark, N. J.: In past year wages increased 55 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased 100 per cent and hours reduced from 9 to 8 hour day.
- Highway Department, Foremen's Union, No. 15506, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased \$1.10 per day.
- Horse Nail Workers' Union, No. 7180, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased 10 cents per hour for men; 7 cents for women. As a result of organization wages for men increased from 23 to 63 cents per hour; women 16½ to 40½ cents per hour, 8-hour day.
- Hospital Stewards and Nurses' Union, No. 16031, San Francisco, Calif.: Wages increased \$10 per month for nurses; stewards in emergency increased from \$120 to \$140; in institution from \$90 to \$100. 8-hour service for nurses and stewards in emergency work.
- Hospital Employees, State, No. 15631, Napa, Calif.: Wages increased \$10 per month. As a result of organization hours of service reduced from 12-14 to 10½, and wages increased from \$45-\$55 to \$50-\$70, including maintenance.
- Hospital Attendants' Union, State, No. 17186, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Wages increased from \$34-\$44 per month and maintenance to \$44-\$56 per month and maintenance.

- Ice and Cold Storage Workers, No. 16918, Centralia, Ill.: Wages increased 50 cents. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 10-14 to 8 per day.
- Janitors' Union, No. 16758, San Antonio, Texas.: As a result of organization wages have increased 10 per cent.
- Janitors' Protective Union, No. 15245, Urbana, Ill.: As a result of organization wages have increased from 21-26 cents for 10 hours to 45-50 cents for 8 hours.
- Janitors' Protective Union, No. 16122, Manchester, N. H.: As a result of organization wages have increased 25 per cent.
- Janitors' Union, School, No. 16010, Scranton, Pa.: Wages increased 25 per cent.
- Janitors' Union, School, No. 16528, Peoria, Ill.: Wages increased \$10 per month.
- Janitors' Union, School, No. 16143, Columbus, Ohio: Wages increased 65 cents per day, making 40 per cent since union was organized.
- Janitors and Station Employes' Union, No. 16515, Ann Arbor, Mich.: As a result of organization wages have increased from \$85 to \$91.50-\$93 per month and hours reduced from 9 to 8 per day.
- Japanners and Sheet Metal Truckers' Union, No. 15255, Schenectady, N. Y.: Wages increased 60 cents per day; hours reduced from 9 to 8 2-3. As a result of organization wages have increased from 23 cents per hour for 9½ hours to 57½ cents for 8 2-3 hours.
- Keepers and Matrons' Association, Department of Correction, No. 16919, New York, N. Y.: Wages increased 54 cents per day.
- Laborers' Protective Union, No. 15080, Shawnee, Okla.: Wages increased 12½ cents per hour. 8-hour day prevails. As a result of organization wages have increased from 17½ cents to 55 cents per hour.
- Last Turners' Union, No. 16412, Brockton, Mass.: Wages increased 22½ per cent; hours reduced 1 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased 34 per cent.
- Last Makers' Union, No. 16850, Newark, N. J.: Wages increased 10 per cent. Hours reduced from 10 to 8½ per day; Saturdays, 4½. As a result of organization wages have increased 50 to 75 per cent.
- Last Makers' Union, No. 16705, Marlboro, Mass.: Wages increased 33 2-3 per cent. Hours reduced 1 per day. Change from contract work to weekly wage. 8-hour day secured.
- Last Scourers' Union, No. 16650, Brockton, Mass.: Wages increased 25 per cent, and hours reduced 1 per day.
- Library Employes' Union, No. 16113, Dorchester, Mass.: As a result of organization wages have increased 40 to 100 per cent.
- Life Guards' Union, No. 17046, Atlantic City, N. J.: Wages increased \$1 per day.
- Logging Enginemen and Trainmen, No. 16506, Seattle, Wash.: Wages increased \$2 per day. 8-hour day prevails. Pay for overtime.
- Marble, Mosaic and Terrazzo Workers' Union, No. 15117, Detroit, Mich.: Wages increased \$2.50 per day. 8-hour day prevails. Time and half to double time over 8 hours. Wages increased as a result of organization from 45 cents per hour to \$1 and hours reduced from 54 to 48 weekly.
- Marble, Mosaic and Terrazzo Workers' Union, No. 10263, St. Louis, Mo.: Wages increased 12½ cents per hour. As a result of organization wages have increased from 25 to 60 cents per hour; 8-hour day.
- Metal Bed Workers' Local 16746, Allentown, Pa.: Wages increased from 90 cents to \$2.16 per day and hours reduced from 55 to 50 per week.
- Moving Picture Theater Attendants' Union, No. 16920, New York, N. Y.: Wages increased 80 cents per day. As a result of organization working days have been decreased from 7 to 6½.
- Municipal Employes' Union, No. 14265, Lowell, Mass.: Wages increased 47 cents per day. As a result of organization scale has increased from \$1.75 to \$4.65 per day.

- Neckwear Cutters' Union, No. 15685, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased 25 per cent. Saturday afternoon holiday before Christmas and Easter. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$18 for 51-hour week to \$30 for 47½-hour week.
- Neckwear Cutters' Union, No. 6939, New York, N. Y.: Wages increased \$10 per week. Hours reduced from 49 to 44 per week. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$18 per week of 53 hours to \$46 per week of 44 hours.
- Neckwear Workers' Union, No. 15200, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased 22 per cent. Since union was organized wages have increased 50 per cent.
- Optical Workers' Union, No. 16893, Rochester, N. Y.: Wages increased 80 cents per day. 48-hour week and half day Saturday. As a result of organization wages increased from 38-57 cents per hour to 45-72 cents per hour.
- Oyster Shuckers' Union, No. 16117, Norfolk, Va.: Through Committee on Arbitration wages have been increased from 30 to 35 cents per gallon.
- Park Employes' Union, No. 14388, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased 5 cents per hour. As a result of organization wages have increased \$1 per day.
- Park Janitors and Attendants' Union, No. 15017, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased \$10 per month. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$55 to \$95 per month.
- Pearl Workers' Union, No. 15540, Philadelphia, Pa.: Hours of labor reduced from 52½-55 hour week to a 48-hour week.
- Pearl Novelty Workers' Union, No. 17245, Philadelphia, Pa.: As a result of organization wages have increased 37 to 50 per cent for day workers, and 25 to 65 per cent for piece workers.
- Picture Frame Workers' Union, No. 15557, Philadelphia, Pa.: Wages increased 15 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased from a scale of \$18-\$20 for a 60-hour week to \$30 for a 48-hour week.
- Policemen's Union, City, No. 16869, Moberly, Mo.: Wages increased 67 cents per day.
- Policemen's Union, City, No. 16924, Zanesville, Ohio: Wages increased 33 1-3 cents per day.
- Public Service Employes, City and County, No. 17034, St. Paul, Minn.: Wages increased 75 cents per day. Hours reduced 2 per day.
- Public Service Employes, City and County, No. 16291, Rochester, N. Y.: Wages increased 13 6-10 per cent.
- Public Service Employes, City, No. 16576, St. John, N. B., Can.: Wages increased about 25 per cent.
- Railroad Employes' Union, No. 16486, Atlantic City, N. J.: Wages for car cleaners increased 8 cents per hour; lamp room attendants, 5 cents per hour.
- Railroad Shop Workers' Union, No. 16797, Houston, Texas: Wages increased 10 cents per hour.
- Railway Car Repairers' Union, No. 16513, Mobile, Ala.: Wages increased 72 cents per day.
- Railway Station Porters and Cleaners' Union, No. 16717, New York, N. Y.: Wages increased 25 cents per day. 8-hour day.
- Reed and Rattan Workers' Union, No. 15053, Los Angeles, Calif.: Wages increased \$2.50-\$3 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3 per day to \$6.50-\$7 and hours reduced from 54-hour to 48-hour week.
- Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union, No. 16857, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased 20 cents per hour. As a result of organization wages have increased from 55 to 75 cents per hour, and hours of labor have decreased from 48 to 44 per week.
- Rubber Workers' Union, No. 16540, Jersey City, N. J.: Hours of labor reduced from 55 to 49½ per week for same weekly wage.
- Railroad Transfer Messengers and Clerks, No. 11639, Boston, Mass.: As a result of organization wages have increased 95 per cent, time and one-half for overtime, 1 week vacation, hours 9 per day.
- Rubber Workers' Union, No. 16574, Montreal, Que., Can.: Wages increased 20½ per cent. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day.
- Rubber Workers' Union, United, No. 16619, Butler, N. J.: Wages increased 15 per cent. Hours reduced from 9 to 8½ per day.

- Rubber and Tire Workers' Union, No. 16483, Butte, Mont.: Wages increased \$1 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$6 to \$7 for 8-hour day.
- Sanitary Enamellers and Helpers' Union, No. 17109, New Brighton, Pa.: General wage increase of 6 per cent; from 20 to 90 per cent increase on piece work prices.
- Scientific Laboratory Workers' Union, No. 16986, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased \$120 per month.
- School House Custodians' Union, No. 13152, Springfield, Mass.: Wages increased \$5 per week.
- Sea Food Workers, United, Union, No. 16975, New York, N. Y.: Wages increased \$1 to \$2.50 per day, benefiting 400; about 500 received increase of \$5 per week. Hours reduced 2 per day, benefiting 400; 3 per day, benefiting 500.
- Shippers, Doors, Sash and Blinds, Receivers, Packers and Union, No. 16741, W. Roxbury, Mass.: Wages increased \$2 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$20-\$25 to \$30-\$35 per week.
- Slate Workers' Union, No. 15178, Poultney, Vt.: Wages increased \$1.26 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from 27 to 50 cents per hour, 9-hour day.
- Slate Workers' Union, No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.: Wages increased \$1.26 per day. As a result of organization wages increased from 22-23-25 cents per hour to 47-48-50 cents per hour.
- Slate Workers' Union, No. 16905, Pen Argyl, Pa.: Wages increased 50 cents per day.
- Special Officers' Protective Union, No. 17203, New York, N. Y.: As a result of organization wages increased from \$4 to \$5 per day.
- Sporting Goods Makers' Protective Union, No. 14824, Chicago, Ill.: As a result of organization wages have increased 80 cents per day.
- Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, No. 14268, Kansas City, Kans.: As a result of organization wages have increased 50 per cent.
- Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, No. 13188, San Francisco, Calif.: Wages increased \$25 per month; 8-hour day prevails.
- Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, No. 16349, Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia, Can.: Wages increased in year 10 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$50-\$115 to \$80-\$150 per month.
- Stove Supply Handlers' Union, No. 15324, Boston, Mass.: As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 57 to 48 with 100 per cent increase in wages.
- Sugar Refinery Workers' Union, No. 16804, St. John, N. B., Can.: Wages increased 40 cents per day. 8-hour day prevails.
- Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Union, No. 10943, Granite City, Ill.: Wages increased \$1 and hours reduced from 9 to 8 per day.
- Tobacco Strippers' Union, Cigar, No. 12971, Manchester, N. H.: Wages increased \$2 per week, piece workers, fillers 1 cent, binders, 1 cent per pound.
- Train Porters' Union, No. 16792, St. Louis, Mo.: Wages increased 50 per cent. Pay for overtime.
- Tuck Pointers and Front Cleaners' Union, No. 13046, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased \$3 per day.
- Valvemen's Union, No. 14990, Cincinnati, Ohio: Wages increased 20 per cent. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per day of 8 hours.
- Watch Case Engravers' Union, No. 14347, Canton, Ohio: Wages increased 25 per cent. Hours reduced 2 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3 for 10 hour day to \$5 for 8-hour day.
- Watchmen's Union, No. 16552, Manchester, N. H.: Wages increased 74 cents per day. As a result of organization wages increased from \$27.47 weekly to \$32.63.
- Watchmen's Protective Union, No. 17121, New York, N. Y.: Wages increased \$1 and hours reduced from 12 to 8 per day, benefiting 1,600 members.

- Watchmen's Protective Union, No. 17155, New Orleans, La.: As a result of organization wages have increased 25 per cent over former \$2 per day scale.
- Water Meter Repairers, Testers and Setters' Union, No. 16181, Newark, N. J.: Wages increased \$1 per day. 8-hour day.
- Wholesale House, Packing Room Employees' Union, No. 15976, St. Louis, Mo.: Wages increased 95 cents per day. Hours reduced 1 hour and 15 minutes per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$12-\$18 for a 60-hour week to \$20-\$27 for a 54-hour week.
- Willow, Reed and Rattan Workers' Union, No. 14565, Boston, Mass.: 1 agreement secured, providing wage scale of \$25 to \$45 per week, 9-hour day time and one-half for overtime.
- Window Glass Snappers' Union, No. 15433, Sandusky, Ohio: Wages increased 5 per cent.
- Window and House Cleaners' Union, No. 15508, Denver, Colo.: Wages increased \$1 per day. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2 for 9 hours per day to \$4 for 8 hours per day.
- Window Washers' Union, No. 12865, Chicago, Ill.: Piece work abolished and a scale of from \$36 to \$42 per week established regardless of weather. 8-hour day and 44-hour week.
- Wood Screw Makers' Union, No. 16726, Providence, R. I.: Wages increased \$1 per day and hours reduced from 54 to 48 per week.
- Water Works' Employes, No. 16503, Albany, N. Y.: Wages increased 25 cents per day. 8-hour day.

VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1920, INCLUSIVE

Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.
1897.....	2,747	1909.....	15,880
1898.....	2,881	1910.....	16,737
1899.....	3,632	1911.....	18,693
1900.....	5,737	1912.....	18,499
1901.....	8,240	1913.....	20,976
1902.....	10,705	1914.....	21,185
1903.....	15,238	1915.....	20,433
1904.....	17,363	1916.....	21,906
1905.....	16,338	1917.....	24,973
1906.....	15,621	1918.....	28,375
1907.....	16,425	1919.....	33,850
1908.....	16,892	1920.....	41,307

The following is a comparative statement showing the increase in the average number of letters, circular letters, and packages, and copies of the *American Federationist*, and A. F. of L. News Letter, mailed from headquarters during the twelve months ending April 30, 1919, and April 30, 1920, respectively:

	1919	1920
Packages of supplies and literature forwarded by express and parcel post.....	16,443	22,427
Official letters.....	107,839	162,026
Circulars and circular letters.....	155,842	366,785
American Federation of Labor News Letter.....	170,440	185,120
<i>American Federationist</i>	756,530	789,490
Total.....	1,207,094	1,525,848

IN CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I desire to express to the delegates present my sincere appreciation of the faithful, earnest and successful efforts put forth by the national and international organizations, state and central bodies and the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to organize the unorganized workers and the substantial assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the national and international unions, state and city 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 Fortieth 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 April 30, 1919, to April 30, 1920. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME.	EXPENSES.
Received of Secretary Morrison: 1919. May 31..... \$64,125 95 June 30..... 47,919 66 July 31..... 67,474 06 August 31..... 57,253 48 September 30..... 77,143 29 October 31..... 83,624 89 November 30..... 78,300 39 December 31..... 74,500 25 1920. January 31..... 89,533 95 February 29..... 70,330 17 March 31..... 103,563 13 April 30..... 115,486 73 Total income for year..... \$929,255 95 Balance in hands of Treasurer, April 30, 1919..... 190,490 16 Total funds..... <u>\$1,119,746 11</u>	Warrants paid: 1919. May 31..... \$62,907 63 June 30..... 57,802 25 July 31..... 74,441 62 August 31..... 56,330 33 September 30..... 77,032 74 October 31..... 83,491 28 November 30..... 77,653 34 December 31..... 74,476 37 1920. January 31..... 89,223 74 February 29..... 69,926 79 March 31..... 103,506 69 April 30..... 90,972 87 Total expenses for year..... <u>\$917,765 65</u>

RECAPITULATION	
Total funds (balance and income).....	\$1,119,746 11
Total expenses.....	917,765 65
April 30, 1920—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$201,980 46
April 30, 1920—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance on hand, April 30, 1920.....	<u>\$203,980 46</u>

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.....	36,980 46
Liberty Bonds.....	50,000 00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	15,000 00
Treasurer's balance April 30, 1920.....	<u>\$201,980 46</u>

Deposits guaranteed by bond.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND. April 30, 1920.

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

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

Commencing with this fiscal year, the liabilities against the A. F. of L. Building amounted to \$72,500; that amount was paid and the building is free of all indebtedness.

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1920:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand April 30, 1919.....	\$2 34
Receipts from rents, May 1, 1919, to April 30, 1920.....	28,000 00
Receipts from waste paper.....	234 36
Receipts from interest of funds on deposit.....	44 35
From General Fund, A. F. of L.....	75,000 00
Total.....	\$103,281 05

EXPENSES	
<i>Maintenance:</i>	
Pay-roll (building employes).....	\$12,615 54
Fuel (coal).....	3,156 70
Repairs and upkeep of elevators.....	3,007 14
Electricity.....	2,016 71
Painting.....	1,734 85
Taxes.....	1,544 49
Supplies.....	1,454 49
Ice.....	884 63
Insurance (liability).....	358 44
Upkeep and repairs.....	475 69
Water rent.....	117 54
Hauling ashes.....	190 00
Total.....	\$27,556 22
Payment to American Security and Trust Company.....	47,500 00
Attorney fees.....	497 84
Interest on money borrowed.....	1,511 81
Payment to Defense Fund, A. F. of L.....	25,000 00
Total expenses, May 1, 1919, to April 30, 1920.....	\$102,065 87

RECAPITULATION	
Receipts.....	\$103,281 05
Expenses.....	102,065 87
Balance on hand April 30, 1920.....	\$1,215 18

The offices in the American Federation of Labor Building, and particularly the Executive Council room, have been utilized for conferences of representatives of labor organizations and representatives of foreign countries and of the public. The prestige and dignity which our building has given to our country and our cause have been of great importance and advantage.

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the E. C., 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 interests of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

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

DECEMBER 13TH CONFERENCE

On October 28th the Executive Council, together with the executive heads of the four railroad brotherhoods issued to the officers of the national and international unions and to representative farmers' organizations a call for a conference to be held in Washington on December 13. This conference was made necessary by the critical period in which Labor found itself with relation to the affairs of the country in general, and the problems of reconstruction in particular. The official call for the conference is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 28, 1919.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Nearly a month before the declaration of war by the United States Government, the executives of the national and international unions met in conference in Washington and then and there declared Labor's attitude toward our government whether in peace or in war, and Labor made good.

The armistice was signed November 11, 1918. Automatically hostilities have ended. Technically we are yet in a state of war. The return of industry from a war footing to a peace basis is not readily accomplished. The patriotic fervor of our country is in peril, for the dangers which threatened the overthrow of democracy and freedom, seems to have subsided.

In this critical reconstruction period Labor is confronted with grave dangers affecting the very foundation of its structure. So grave is the situation regarded that at its recent meeting, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods agreed that the executives of the national and international unions should be invited to participate in a conference at the headquarters of the A. F. of L. at ten o'clock on the morning of December 13, 1919, and there to take counsel and to formulate such action as may be essential to safeguard and promote the rights, interests and freedom of the wage earners, the workers, who form the great mass of the people of our republic.

It is imperative that the responsible representatives of the labor movement shall, therefore, consider the situation in the industrial and legislative field and agree upon fundamental principles and a program which the wage-earners will accept in performing their duties as citizens and at the same time maintaining the right of free men in order to conserve human interest and welfare.

We conferred with the representatives of the various farmers organizations. The conventions of these several bodies will be held within the next thirty days. The representatives of the farmers, while in sympathy with the purposes of the conference, did not feel that they had the authority to append their names to this call. However, formal communications will be sent to their conventions inviting them to appoint representatives to participate in the conference of December 13th with authority to speak in the name of the organizations they represent.

You are earnestly urged to attend the conference in person, and thereby give the most effective and responsible expression of the needs to meet the situation.

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor: Samuel Gompers, President; James Duncan, First Vice-President; Jos. F. Valentine, Second Vice-President; Frank Duffy, Third Vice-President; William Green, Fourth Vice-President; W. D. Mahon, Fifth Vice-President; T. A. Rickert, Sixth Vice-President; Jacob Fischer, Seventh Vice-President; Matthew Woll, Eighth Vice-President; Daniel J. Tobin, Treasurer; Frank Morrison, Secretary.

Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief, Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers.
Timothy Shea, Grand Chief, Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen.
W. E. Lee, Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
L. E. Sheppard, Grand Chief, Order Railway Conductors of America.

The conference met in Washington on December 13 and adopted a declaration entitled "Labor, Its Grievances, Protest and Demands" which was immediately thereafter published in pamphlet form and given wide distribution in that manner and through the press of the country. The conference and its work are described in the introduction to the printed pamphlet and there is no better method of laying the facts before the convention than by quoting from that introduction as follows:

Documents of great importance and of great constructive value to the American Republic have been given to the world by the American labor movement before and during the period of time covered by the world war. Labor's voice has not been raised in this manner except at those times when democracy had need of an expression of its views and its proposals. Labor has spoken always with a clear purpose and in answer to a real need.

History will beyond doubt place above all other expressions of Labor's views those two documents which marked the beginning and the end of the war. On March 12, 1917, the accredited representatives of the national and international trade unions met in the city of Washington and adopted by unanimous vote the now historic declaration of "Labor's Position in Peace or in War." Upon the platform and the principles there laid down Labor conducted itself through the great conflict.

On December 13, 1919, nearly three years later, with victory secure and with the problems of peace crying for constructive attention, the representatives of the national and international unions, the railroad brotherhoods and the farmers' organizations once more assembled in Washington for the purpose of giving expression to the best thought of the trade union movement. "Labor, its Grievances, Protest and Demands" was there adopted. It has taken rank with the earlier document as an expression of deep wisdom and high patriotism. It is an expression of the devotion of America's workers to the principles of freedom, democracy and justice, and an evidence of their ability to contribute to the common effort to safeguard those great principles in the American Republic.

The conference assembled in the Executive Council chamber of the American Federation of Labor headquarters building and deliberated upon the issues which confront the nation. The broad views of American citizenship dominated the assemblage and the conclusions were the conclusions of earnest men and women devoted to the progress of humanity and anxious that its acts might be the acts of wisdom and justice at a time when the trials of America and of the world were most sorely perplexing. The complete declaration which was unanimously adopted by the conference, and the signatories thereto, follow:

Labor, Its Grievances, Protest and Demands

We speak in the name of millions who work—those who make and use tools—those who furnish the human power necessary for commerce and industry. We speak as part of the nation and of those things of which we have special knowledge. Our welfare and interest are inseparably bound up with the well-being of the nation. We are an integral part of the American people and we are organized to work out the welfare of all.

The urgent problems that sorely trouble our nation and vitally affect us as workers make necessary this special consultation.

* * *

The great victories for human freedom must not have been won in vain. They must serve as the instruments and the inspiration for a greater and nobler freedom for all mankind.

Autocratic, political and corporate industrial and financial influences in our country have sought, and are seeking, to infringe upon and limit the fundamental rights of the wage-earners guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Powerful forces are seeking more and more aggressively to deny to wage-earners their right to cease work. We denounce these efforts as vicious and destructive of the most precious liberties of our people. The right to cease work—strike—as a final means of enforcing justice from an autocratic control of industry, must be maintained.

The autocratic attitude and destructive action of the United States Steel Corpora-

tion and its subsidiary branches to oppress the workers by denying them the exercise of their freedom of action, freedom of association, freedom of expression, must give way to a better understanding and relation and to secure the wage-earners in the exercise of their rights and liberties as free workers and citizens.

We realize fully all that is involved in the exercise of the right to strike, but only by the exercise of that right can industrial autocrats be compelled to abandon their tyranny and give way to the establishment of freedom and justice in industry.

American Labor sets for itself the task, gladly and proudly assumed, to preserve and perpetuate this standard of justice and measure of liberty.

* * *

We protest against the attitude and action of the majority of the representatives of the employers in the employers' group who participated in the President's Industrial Conference October 6-23, 1919.

The proposals which the representatives of labor submitted to that conference were conservative, constructive and helpful. They were calculated to establish a working basis for the promotion of better relations between employers and workers—the right to organize, the right to collective bargaining through representatives of the workers' own choosing. The representatives of the public constituted as a group endorsed and voted for that principle. By a small majority the employers' group voted against it, and thus the proposals were defeated and the conference failed.

* * *

The protection of the rights and interests of wage-earners in national, state and municipal service requires for them the right of organization. Since the interests of these workers can be best promoted through legislation and administration, their right to organization and affiliation with the A. F. of L. must at all times be fully safeguarded.

* * *

The paramount issues that concern all the people of the United States, and in particular the wage-earners, are the perversion and the abuse of the writ of injunction and the necessity for full and adequate protection of the voluntary associations of wage-earners organized not for profit.

Government by injunction has grown out of the perversion of the injunction process. By the misuse of that process workers have been forbidden to do those things which they have a natural and constitutional right to do.

The injunction as now used is a revolutionary measure which substitutes government by judicial discretion or bias for government by law. It substitutes a trial by one man, a judge, in his discretion, for a trial by jury. This abuse of the injunctive process undermines and destroys the very foundations of our free institutions. It is subversive of the spirit of a free people working out their destiny in an orderly and rational manner.

Because we have reverence for law, because we believe that every citizen must be a guardian of the heritage given us by our fathers who fought for and established freedom and democracy, by every lawful means we must resist the establishment of a practice that would destroy the very spirit of freedom and democracy. Our protest against the abuse of the writ of injunction and its unwarranted application to Labor in the exercise of Labor's normal activities to realize laudible aspirations is a duty we owe to ourselves and to posterity.

Formerly injunctions issued in labor disputes were of a prohibitive character. Within the recent past this abuse of the injunction writ has been enlarged to include mandatory orders whereby men have been compelled to do specific things which they have a lawful right to refrain from doing.

We declare these abuses in the exercise of the injunction writ are clearly violative of the Constitution and that this issue must be determined definitely in accordance with the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States.

* * *

Workers are free citizens, not slaves. They have the constitutional right to cease working. The strike is a protest against autocratic management. To penalize strikes

or to make them unlawful is to apply an unwarrantable and destructive method when a constructive one is available. To reduce the necessity for strikes, the cause should be found and removed. The government has a greater obligation in this matter than to use its coercive powers.

Legislation which proposes to make strikes unlawful or to compel the wage earners to submit their grievances or aspirations to courts or to governmental agencies, is an invasion of the rights of the wage earners and when enforced makes for industrial serfdom or slavery.

We hold that the government should supply information, assistance and counsel, but that it should not attempt by the force of its own power to stifle or to destroy voluntary relations and policies of mutuality between employers and employees.

We specifically denounce the antistrike provisions of the Cummins bill and all similar proposed legislation as un-American, as being vicious in character, and establishing by legislation involuntary servitude.

The warning given by Jefferson that the danger of the people of this Republic lies in the usurpation by our judiciary of unconstitutional authority, has been fully demonstrated. A judiciary unresponsive to the needs of the time, arrogating to itself powers which neither the constitution nor the purposes of our laws have conferred upon them, demands that at least in our time Americans must insist upon safeguarding their liberties and the spirit of the sacred institutions of our Republic.

We urge that the judges of our federal courts shall be elected by the people for terms not exceeding six years.

We assert that there can not be found in the Constitution of the United States or in the discussions of the Congress which drafted the constitution any authority for the federal courts of our country to declare unconstitutional any act passed by Congress. We call upon the people of our country to demand that the Congress of the United States shall take action for the purpose of preventing the federal courts from continuing the usurpation of such authority.

We declare that the voluntary organizations of the workers, organized not for profit, are agencies of human progress and promote justice in industry and trade. Despite legislative declarations that trade unions do not come under the provisions of antitrust legislation, courts have not understood and are not now able or willing to understand that the organizations of wage earners are not conspiracies in restraint of trade.

We submit that antitrust legislation has not only been interpreted to serve the purpose of outlawing trade unions, robbing them of their treasuries and the savings of their members and depriving them of their legal and natural rights to the exercise of normal activities, but that it has also failed completely to protect the people against the outrageous machinations of combinations and monopolies.

The United Mine Workers of America did all in their power to avert an industrial controversy in the coal industry. The autocratic attitude of the mine owners was responsible for the losses and sufferings entailed. While the miners have returned to the mines and have only now been afforded the opportunity of having their grievances and demands brought to the light of reason, it is our hope that a full measure of justice will be accorded them even at this late date.

There is a widespread belief that wages should be fixed on a cost-of-living basis. This idea is pernicious and intolerable. It means putting progress in chains and liberty in fetters. It means fixing a standard of living and a standard of life and liberty which must remain fixed. America's workers can not accept that proposition.

They demand a progressively advancing standard of life. They have an abiding faith in a better future for all mankind. They discard and denounce a system of fixing wages solely on the basis of family budgets and bread bills. Workers are entitled not only to a living, but modern society must provide more than what is understood by the term, "a living." It must concede to all workers a fairer reward for their contribu-

tion to society, a contribution without which a progressing civilization is impossible.

* * *

No factor contributes more to industrial unrest and instability than excessive costs of necessities of life. It is a demonstrated truth that the cost of living has advanced more rapidly than have wages. The claim that increasing wages make necessary increased prices is false. It is intended to throw upon the workers the blame for a process by which all the people have been made to suffer. Labor has been compelled to struggle desperately to keep wages in some measure up to the cost of living. The demand for higher compensation to meet new price levels has made industrial readjustment necessary.

Existing high and excessive prices are due to the present inflation of money and credits, to profiteering by those who manufacture, sell and market products, and to burdens levied by middlemen and speculators. We urge:

The deflation of currency; prevention of hoarding and unfair price fixing; establishment of cooperative movements operated under the Rochdale system; making accessible all income tax returns and dividend declarations as a direct and truthful means of revealing excessive costs and profits.

The ideal of America should be the organization of industry for service and not for profit alone. The stigma of disgrace should attach to every person who profits unduly at the expense of his fellow men.

* * *

Labor is fully conscious that the world needs things for use and that standards of life can improve only as production for use and consumption increases. Labor is anxious to work out better methods for industry and demands it be assured that increased productivity will be used for service and not alone for profits.

Wage-earners aspire to be something more than numbers on the books of an industrial plant, something more than attendants of a machine, something more than cogs in an industrial system dominated by machinery owned and operated for profit alone. The workers insist upon being masters of themselves.

Labor understands fully that powerful interests today are determined to achieve reaction in industry if possible. They seek to disband or cripple the organizations of workers. They seek to reduce wages and thus lower the standard of living. They seek to keep free from restriction their power to manipulate and fix prices. They seek to destroy the democratic impulse of the workers which is bred into their movement by the democracy of the American Republic.

Labor must be and is militant in the struggle to combat these sinister influences and tendencies. Labor will not permit a reduction in the standard of living. It will not consent to reaction toward autocratic control. In this it is performing a public service.

Only in high-wage countries is productivity in industry greatest. Only in high-wage countries do the people enjoy high standards of living. Low-wage countries present the least degree of productivity and offer to their people only low standards of living and restricted liberties. Autocracy always insists upon restricting the income and the activities of workers.

Creative power lies dormant where autocratic management prevails. No employer has a vested right to the good will of his employees. That must be earned, as between men. It can be earned only when management deals with workers as human beings and not as machines. There can not be a full release of productive energy under an autocratic control of industry. There must be a spirit of cooperation and mutuality between employers and workers. We submit that production can be enhanced through the cooperation of management with the trade union agencies which make for order, discipline and productivity.

We hold that the organization of wage-earners into trade unions and the establishment of collective bargaining are the first steps toward the proper development of our industrial machinery for service.

To promote further the production of an adequate supply of the world's needs

for use and higher standards of life, we urge that there be established cooperation between the scientists of industry and the representatives of organized workers.

* * *

Credit is the life blood of modern business. At present under the control of private financiers it is administered, not primarily to serve the needs of production, but the desire of financial agencies to levy a toll upon community activity as high as "the traffic will bear."

Credit is inherently social. It should be accorded in proportion to confidence in production possibilities. Credit as now administered does not serve industry but burdens it. It increases unearned incomes at the expense of earned incomes. It is, the center of the malevolent forces that corrupt the spirit and purpose of industry.

We urge the organization and use of credit to serve production needs and not to increase the incomes and holdings of financiers. Control over credit should be taken from financiers and should be vested in a public agency, able to administer this power as a public trust in the interests of all the people.

* * *

Since the government has not worked out a constructive railroad policy, we urge for and on behalf of the railway workers and of the general public, that the railroads be retained under government administration for at least two years after January 1, 1920, in order that a thorough test may be made of governmental operation under normal conditions. The common carriers of this country are the arteries of travel, commerce and industry. Transportation service and rates are intimately bound up with industrial production in all parts of the country. It is essential that a thorough test be given to all phases of railroad control and operation before a definite peace-time policy be finally concluded.

* * *

Never has the world been confronted with a more serious situation. Millions are in want, facing starvation. The children of war-stricken Europe, half-fed, underdeveloped, appeal for help. Only with infinite pain, unnecessary loss of life and slowness of result can Europe rebuild her industries, restore her agriculture, and reestablish her commerce, without the help of America.

The treaty setting forth the terms of peace has not been ratified by the United States. Boundaries are not fixed. Peoples are uncertain as to their allegiance. Under such conditions exchange and credit have lost voltage and in turn have paralyzed industry.

As members of an organized labor movement that has for years maintained fraternal relations with the working people of Europe, we feel that our nation can not with honor and humanity maintain a policy of isolation and disinterestedness from the distress and suffering of the peoples of Europe. Even if the necessity of the peoples of Europe did not have a compelling appeal, the interrelated economic interests of the world would prevent our limiting our attention solely to this hemisphere.

The Peace Treaty includes provisions in an international agreement to prevent war among nations, with all its cruelties and sacrifices of human life, with its burden of indebtedness and taxation; for reduction in standing armies, the diminution of great navies, and the limitation of the production of arms and ammunition. If the Senate shall fail to ratify the treaty of Versailles, our nation may be isolated from other countries of the world which at some time might be pitted against us. Such isolation and possibilities would make necessary the creation and maintenance of a large standing army and a greater and more effective navy in order in some degree to protect the Republic of the United States from aggression by those countries which were our allies in the great war and which were and are now our friends.

In addition, the workers of America have a deep interest and concern in the Labor Draft Convention of the Treaty and in its purposes to raise to a higher standard the conditions of life and labor among the peoples of all countries. Its cardinal declarations and provisions are, that labor should not be regarded as a commodity; that the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week are standard; that there shall be one day of rest, preferably Sunday, in each week; that child labor shall be abolished, and continuing education for young workers assured; that men and women shall receive equal

pay for equal work; that industrial betterments shall be enforced by proper inspection, in which women as well as men shall take part; that wages shall be sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of living, as this is understood in each time and country, and that employes as well as employers have the right of association for all lawful purposes.

The United States is protected by this draft convention in two ways: (1) That the recommendations which international labor conferences under the Treaty may recommend may be accepted or rejected by our government; (2) That no recommendation that would set a lower standard for the people of the United States than already exists within our borders can be at any time presented for consideration and action by the United States.

To give the united support of our Republic and of the allied countries to effective machinery to raise the standard of the workers' condition in backward countries, to help humanize industry for the common world weal, is, we insist, a paramount duty which our Republic must perform. We insist, for the reasons herein set forth, that it is the immediate duty of the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

* * *

The American labor movement resents the attempt of reactionaries and autocrats to classify the men and women of Labor with those groups which have nothing in common with its constructive purposes and high ideals, and with the fundamental principles of our country. Those who aim to strike a blow against the legitimate aspirations of the workers in their struggle for freedom and for a higher and a better life must be met and overcome.

We call upon all those who contribute service to society in any form to unite in the furtherance of the principles and purposes and for the rectification of the grievances herein set forth. We call especial attention to the fact that there is a great community of interest between all who serve the world. All workers, whether of the city or country, mine or factory, farm or transportation, have a common path to tread and a common goal to gain.

The issues herein enumerated require the action of our people upon both the economic and political field. We urge that every practical action be taken by the American Federation of Labor, with the cooperation of all other organized bodies of workers, farmers and sympathetic, liberty-loving citizens of the United States to carry into effect the principles and purposes set forth in the declarations of this conference.

We call upon all to join with us in combating the forces of autocracy, industrial and political, and in the sublime task of ridding the world of the power of those who but debase its processes and corrupt its functions.

In all struggles for justice and human freedom, sacrifices have been made. Having made supreme sacrifices to crush militarism and political autocracy in Europe, America's workers will not surrender to political and industrial autocracy at home. In the struggle now before us, we will contest every effort made to fasten tyranny and injustice upon the people of our Republic. We are confident that freedom, justice and the opportunity for a better day and a higher life shall be achieved.

American Federation of Labor—

Samuel Gompers.
James Duncan.
Jos. F. Valentine.
Frank Duffy.
William Green.
W. D. Mahon.
T. A. Rickert.
Jacob Fischer.
Matthew Woll.
Daniel J. Tobin.
Frank Morrison.

Associated Actors and Artists of America—

James William FitzPatrick.

- International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers—
Jos. A. Mullaney.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—
A. A. Myrup.
- Journemen Barbers' International Union—
Frank X. Noschang.
Jacob Fischer.
- International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America—
P. F. Murphy.
Wm. McCarthy.
- International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers—
Fred C. Bolam.
C. N. Glover.
- International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of
America—
Louis Weyand.
Charles J. MacGowan.
- International Brotherhood of Bookbinders—
Walter N. Reddick.
- Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—
Collis Lovely.
C. L. Baine.
- International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers
of America—
John Rader.
Joseph Proebstle.
- Bricklayers, Masons and Plasters' International Union of America—
Wm. J. Bowen.
Wm. Dobson.
- The United Brick and Clay Workers of America—
Frank Butterworth.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association—
P. J. Morrin.
J. A. Johnston.
- Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America—
M. F. Ryan.
J. M. Patterson.
- United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—
Wm. L. Hutcheson.
Frank Duffy.
- Cigarmakers' International Union of America—
George W. Perkins.
Samuel Gompers.
- Brotherhood of Railway Clerks—
J. J. Forrester.
C. M. Owens.
- Retail Clerks' International Protective Association—
E. E. Baker.
H. J. Conway.
- Order of Sleeping Car Conductors—
W. S. Warfield.
M. J. O'Neill.
- Coopers' International Union of North America—
Andrew C. Hughes.

- International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects and Draftsmen's Unions—
Anthony J. Oliver.
George R. Scott.
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America—
Edward J. Evans.
J. C. Noonan.
- International Union of Elevator Constructors—
Frank Feeney.
- National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America—
Wm. S. Brown.
Geo. A. Grubb.
- International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers—
Milton Snellings.
H. M. Comerford.
- International Photo Engravers' Union of North America—
Matthew Woll.
Henry F. Schmal.
- International Steel and Copper Plate Engraver's League—
R. H. Warren.
- National Federation of Federal Employes—
Luther C. Steward.
E. J. Newmyer.
- International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen—
Timothy Healy.
Joseph W. Morton.
- International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes—
Harry J. Stahl.
- International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada—
Morris Kaufman.
- United Garment Workers of America—
T. A. Rickert.
B. A. Larger.
- International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—
Abraham Baroff.
Max D. Danish.
- Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—
John A. Voll.
Harry Jenkins.
- American Flint Glass Workers' Union—
William P. Clark.
Joseph Gillooly.
- National Window Glass Workers—
Wm. Barido.
E. F. Harbert.
- The Granite Cutters' International Association of America—
James Duncan.
- United Hatters of North America—
Martin Lawlor.
- International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America—
D. D'Alessandro.
J. B. Etchison.
- International Union of Journeymen Horse Shoers of United States and Canada—
Bernard Flarley.
Hubert S. Marshall.

- Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—
Edward Flore.
Jere L. Sullivan.
- Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers—
M. F. Tighe.
D. J. Davis.
- The Chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America—
Jonas Robinson.
- International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers—
Wm. D. McSorley.
E. N. Kelly.
- Laundry Workers' International Union—
Harry L. Morrison.
- United Leather Workers' International Union—
W. E. Bryan.
- National Association of Letter Carriers—
Edw. J. Gainor.
Ed. J. Cantwell.
- International Longshoremen's Association—
T. V. O'Connor.
Anthony J. Chlopek.
- International Association of Machinists—
Wm. H. Johnston.
E. C. Davison.
- United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers—
J. B. Malloy.
R. T. Wood.
- International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers—
Stephen C. Hogan.
Joseph McInerney.
- Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America—
John F. Hart.
Dennis Lane.
- Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance—
John J. Hynes.
Wm. J. O'Brien.
- International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—
Charles H. Moyer.
H. S. McCluskey.
- United Mine Workers of America—
John L. Lewis.
Wm. Green.
- International Molders' Union of North America—
Jos. F. Valentine.
- American Federation of Musicians—
Joseph N. Weber.
A. C. Hayden.
- Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—
R. E. Evans.
- Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America—
Geo. F. Hedrick.
J. C. Skemp.

- International Brotherhood of Paper Makers—
J. T. Carey.
- Brotherhood of Railroad Patrolmen—
Charles E. Copeland.
A. C. Berndt.
- Pattern Makers' League of North America—
James Wilson.
James L. Gernon.
- Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada—
Ed. J. McGivern.
- United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada—
John Coefield.
E. W. Leonard.
- Metal Polishers' International Union—
W. W. Britton.
Charles R. Atherton.
- National Federation of Postal Employes—
Thos. F. Flaherty.
- National Brotherhood of Operative Potters—
Edward Menge.
Frank H. Hutchins.
- International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America—
William D. Clark.
S. Edward Beach.
- International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America—
George L. Berry.
Joseph C. Orr.
- International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada—
John P. Burke.
- Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America—
W. D. Mahon.
Wm. B. Fitzgerald.
- Railway Mail Association—
E. J. Ryan.
W. M. Collins.
- International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America—
J. M. Gavlak.
- International Seamen's Union of America—
Andrew Furuseth.
- Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America—
T. A. Austin.
- Spinners' International Union—
Sam Ross.
Urban Fleming.
- International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes' of America—
L. G. Dolliver.
Wm. F. Canavan.
- Stove Mounters' International Union—
Frank Grimshaw.
W. L. Funderburk.
- Switchmen's Union of North America—
Jas. B. Connor.
S. E. Heberling.

- American Federation of Teachers—
Charles B. Stillman.
T. S. Stecker.
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America—
Daniel J. Tobin.
Thos. L. Hughes.
- Order of Railroad Telegraphers—
E. J. Manion.
C. B. Rawlins.
- International Union of Timber Workers—
C. O. Young.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union—
A. McAndrew.
E. Lewis Evans.
- The Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America—
John Prender.
- International Typographical Union—
J. W. Hays.
- American Wire Weavers' Protective Association—
John F. Curley.
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—
Warren S. Stone.
- Order of Railway Conductors of America—
L. E. Sheppard.
- Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen—
W. G. Lee.
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—
Timothy Shea.

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

In accordance with the instruction of the Atlantic City Convention, unanimously adopted, recommending "the continuance of the policies which have heretofore governed the political activities of the American Federation of Labor," the Executive Council at its meeting in Washington, December 11-18, 1919, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, A most bitter and unwarranted propaganda is in progress in Congress for the purpose of misrepresenting the trade union movement and its hopes and desires; and

WHEREAS, This propaganda is for the purpose of preparing the people for reactionary legislation that will not only enslave the workers but will endanger constitutional rights of the great masses of the people; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. realizing the danger threatening, will conduct a most vigorous campaign during the year 1920 to defeat the legislative enemies of the workers and to elect our friends; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the E. C. urge every local union affiliated directly or through national and international unions to the A. F. of L. to make contributions of money to assist the campaign. Where the means of an organization can afford it, large contributions should be made, but every union, its members and friends, are urged to contribute as much as possible. This is a crucial time in the struggle of the workers for the advancement of their industrial and social welfare and never before has it been so necessary for them to demonstrate their convictions at the ballot box and their earnestness in the matter of holding to account legislators who have no regard or are unmindful of the great fundamental principles, for the recognition of which the organized labor movement is struggling.

This action was taken by the E. C. in view of the established policy of the American labor movement, and in view of the extremely grave issues which confronted the American workers as citizens and as trade unionists. At this meeting the E. C., pursuant to the declared policy of the Federation and the previous action of the Council, instructed the President of the A. F. of L. to appoint a committee consisting of the heads of the departments affiliated to the A. F. of L. and the E. C. of the A. F. of L. to carry into effect the Non-Partisan Political policies of the A. F. of L., and to conduct a campaign as declared in the report of the conference of officials of national and international unions held in Washington, December 13, 1919.

Acting under that authority, the President appointed the following committee:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

Samuel Gompers, President, New York City.
 James Duncan, First Vice-President, Quincy, Massachusetts.
 Jos. F. Valentine, Second Vice-President, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Frank Duffy, Third Vice-President, Indianapolis, Indiana.
 William Green, Fourth Vice-President, Coshocton, Ohio.
 W. D. Mahon, Fifth Vice-President, Detroit, Michigan.
 T. A. Rickert, Sixth Vice-President, Chicago, Illinois.
 Jacob Fischer, Seventh Vice-President, Indianapolis, Indiana.
 Matthew Woll, Eighth Vice-President, Chicago, Illinois.
 Daniel J. Tobin, Treasurer, Indianapolis, Indiana.
 Frank Morrison, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

John Donlin, President, Chicago, Illinois.
 Wm. J. Spencer, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

James O'Connell, President, Washington, D. C.
 A. J. Berres, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

John W. Hays, President, Indianapolis, Indiana.
 John J. Manning, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

MINING DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

James Lord, President, Takoma Park, Maryland.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

Bert M. Jewell, Acting President, Washington, D. C.
 John Scott, Secretary, Washington, D. C.
 John P. Frey, Editor, International Molders' Journal, Norwood, Ohio.
 Sara A. Conboy, Secretary, United Textile Workers, New York City.
 Anna Fitzgerald, President, Women's International Union Label League, Chicago, Illinois.
 Melinda Scott, United Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators, New York City.
 Anna Neary, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Baltimore, Maryland.

X The National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L., held its first meeting in the E. C. Chamber of the A. F. of L. Building February 5-6. It was decided that two sub-committees should be appointed, one on declarations and the other on plans.

The Committee on Plans laid before the meeting a comprehensive plan for the conduct of the practical phases of the campaign, in accordance with which the campaign now is being conducted.

The Committee on Declarations, after a thorough consideration of the situation that confronted the nation, and having in view the declared policies and principles of the A. F. of L., presented a draft of a declaration to all organized labor, which was adopted and which

was issued to the entire labor movement under date of February 12. This declaration follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 12, 1920.

To All Organized Labor:

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: In compliance with the directions of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor and of the December 13, 1919, conference of representatives of Labor and the farmers' organizations, a three days' conference was held at the Federation headquarters in this city to consider the part which Labor should take in the coming campaign, primaries and election. The following declaration was unanimously adopted:

The inherent rights and principles of our people are threatened.

The free institutions of our country are menaced.

The ideals of democracy are in danger.

The Congress of the United States has failed to do its duty. It has failed to meet the emergency. It has given encouragement and support to autocratic and reactionary policies. Its dominating thought has been the repression of Labor.

Every effort to secure remedial and constructive legislation has been strangled. Every appeal for redress has met with subtle and open hostility. The halls of Congress have been used by Labor's enemies to foster and spread a vicious propaganda against the efforts of the toilers to exercise their normal and lawful activities for the protection and promotion of their interests and welfare. Labor has appealed for relief in vain.

The hour has arrived when those who believe in the maintenance of democratic institutions must marshal their forces in defense of their rights and ideals.

It is intolerable that a people who spared no cost to make the world safe for democracy should be forced to submit to any restriction of the glorious liberties inherited from the founders of our nation. The perpetuation of our fundamental rights and the enactment of essential constructive legislation demand the election of men, regardless of their political affiliations, who are truly representative of American ideals of liberty.

Conscious of its responsibilities, impressed by the grave problems resulting from the great war, the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention in June, 1919, adopted a reconstruction program. This program defined the essential industrial policies and legislative enactments required to establish a full measure of justice and opportunity for Labor.

Because of grave emergencies which have arisen since that convention, it became imperative that the representatives of organized labor and of farmers should assemble and confer to devise ways and means for safeguarding their rights and liberties as freemen and citizens. On December 13, 1919, a conference of representatives of labor and of farmers met in Washington, D. C. This conference expressed "Labor's Grievances, Protests and Demands."

No favorable legislative action upon the recommendations contained in the American Federation of Labor Reconstruction Program, or those expressed at the December conference, has been taken by Congress. Instead many Congressmen have endeavored to enact legislation providing for compulsory labor. Despite the patriotism and sacrifice of the masses of Labor of America during the world war, under the guise of anti-sedition laws the effort has been made to repress free association, free speech and free press.

Scorned by Congress, ridiculed and misrepresented by many members of both Houses, the American labor movement finds it necessary to apply vigorously its long and well-established non-partisan political policy.

Confronted by a succession of hostile Congresses, the American Federation of Labor, in 1906, announced its historic "Bill of Grievances." This was followed by a vigorous and successful non-partisan political campaign. In 1908, 1910, and 1912, the same program was energetically applied. As a result, many

of Labor's enemies in Congress were defeated and all of the essential legislation in "Labor's Bill of Grievances" of 1906 was enacted.

Constructive legislation has never been so necessary as at present. Never has it been so essential to secure the defeat of Labor's enemies and the election of its friends and supporters.

Sinister forces are already actively engaged in efforts to confuse and nullify Labor's political power. Their object is to divide the labor vote so that the election of reactionaries and enemies of Labor will be assured.

Unless Labor holds steadfastly to its non-partisan political policy, the enemies of Labor will be successful in their efforts.

Labor can not, Labor must not, permit its political strength to be divided in the present crisis.

Organized labor owes allegiance to no political party. It is not partisan to any political party. It is partisan to principles—the principles of freedom, of justice and of 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 interests and the rights of Labor.

Wherever candidates for re-election have been friendly to Labor's interests they should be loyally supported. Wherever candidates are hostile or indifferent to Labor's interests, they should be defeated and the nomination and election of true and tried trade unionists or of assured friends should be secured.

Complying with the instructions of the last convention and the Labor and Farmer Conference of December 13, 1919, the American Federation of Labor announces its determination to apply every legitimate means and all of the power at its command to accomplish the defeat of Labor's enemies who aspire for public office, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, for state legislatures, or for any other office.

The American Federation of Labor calls upon all affiliated and recognized national, international and brotherhood organizations, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, local unions, and Labor's friends and sympathizers to unite and give loyal support to the non-partisan political campaign now set in motion.

This political campaign must begin in the primaries. The record of every aspirant for public office must be thoroughly analyzed, stated in unmistakable language and given the widest possible publicity. Labor's enemies and friends must be definitely known. To this end the American Federation of Labor has created the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee and it now calls upon all affiliated and recognized labor organizations to create district and local committees to cooperate with the national committee and coordinate their efforts.

The future welfare, the very ability of the trade union movement to carry on its work for humanity depends upon the success of the campaign herewith inaugurated.

There can be no hesitancy.

There must be no turning aside.

The time for vigorous and determined action is here!

National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L.:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

Samuel Gompers, President, New York City.

James Duncan, First Vice-President, Quincy, Massachusetts.

Jos. F. Valentine, Second Vice-President, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Frank Duffy, Third Vice-President, Indianapolis, Indiana.

William Green, Fourth Vice-President, Coshocton, Ohio.

W. D. Mahon, Fifth Vice-President, Detroit, Michigan.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

T. A. Rickert, Sixth Vice-President, Chicago, Illinois.
 Jacob Fischer, Seventh Vice-President, Indianapolis, Indiana.
 Matthew Woll, Eighth Vice-President, Chicago, Illinois.
 Daniel J. Tobin, Treasurer, Indianapolis, Indiana.
 Frank Morrison, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:
 John Donlin, President, Chicago, Illinois.
 Wm. J. Spencer, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:
 James O'Connell, President, Washington, D. C.
 A. J. Berres, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
 John W. Hays, President, Indianapolis, Indiana.
 John J. Manning, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

MINING DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:
 James Lord, President, Takoma Park, Maryland.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:
 Bert M. Jewell, Acting President, Washington, D. C.
 John Scott, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

John P. Frey, Editor, International Molders' Journal, Norwood, Ohio.
 Sara A. Conboy, Secretary, United Textile Workers, New York City.
 Anna Fitzgerald, President, Women's International Union Label League,
 Chicago, Illinois.

Melinda Scott, United Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and
 Operators, New York City.

Anna Neary, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Baltimore,
 Maryland.

X Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and James O'Connell were selected as an Executive Committee. They were authorized and directed to secure such assistants as may be necessary in furtherance of the purpose of the campaign. X

Fraternally yours,
 [SEAL.]

SAML. GOMPERS,
 President, American Federation of Labor.

Attest:

FRANK MORRISON,
 Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

It is with a sense of satisfaction and gratification that the E. C. views the splendid enthusiasm with which the labor movement has responded to the call to action. Throughout the nation there has been a spontaneous rallying of the movement, which indicates the intense earnestness with which the working people of the country look upon the present political struggle and their profound determination to carry into effect at the polls the slogan of the A. F. of L., "stand faithfully by our friends and elect them; oppose our enemies and defeat them whether they be candidates for President, for Congress or other offices, whether executive, legislative or judicial."

The only note of dissension which has made itself manifest has come from those who have endeavored to thrust into the campaign situation an independent national political labor party. In order that there may be no question as to the correctness of our attitude toward partisan political activity, we quote from the declaration of the convention of 1919:

"As indicated in the report of the E. C. the A. F. of L. has not attempted to interfere with the attitude or inclination of any of its affiliated international unions either to encourage, limit, restrict or prohibit their membership in this field of endeavor though it has counselled and advised that procedure which

would permit of full development and uninterrupted advantages of economic trade union determinism. In that counsel and advice it has been followed by nearly all, if not all, of the international trade unions. Nearly all, if not all, have predicated membership in their organization on the guarantee of the right to political freedom. Recognizing the necessity for legislative redress in more general affairs they have designed their rules and regulations to encourage the workers in the exercise of their political suffrage so as to favor helpful legislation and promote to public office and authority aspirants who are known to be friendly and helpful to labor regardless of their political affiliations.

"The wisdom of this attitude and procedure is well-demonstrated by the many efficient and proficient economic trade union organizations which now dominate in our industrial life.

"In so far as central labor unions are concerned, equal freedom is allowed and the same counsel and advice are extended, though the activities of these federated bodies are further restricted in that they are prevented from invading the rights and prerogatives and from disregarding the guarantees to the complete autonomy accorded to all affiliated international unions."

In every case where our attention has been brought to efforts to form a national political labor party in violation of the policy laid down by the A. F. of L., we have remonstrated and made every effort to make clear the position of the Federation and to explain at length the historical reasons which form the background and the substance of the policy as laid down by the Federation in conventions. No effort has been made nor has any desire been expressed to interfere with the freedom of action guaranteed to central bodies, nor with the autonomy guaranteed to international unions in respect to political action.

Numerous pamphlets and circulars have been issued by the Executive Committee of the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign and all possible energy has been directed toward the organization of labor's forces in such a manner as to result in the greatest possible success at the polls. Among the pamphlets that have been issued are the following:

Labor, Its Grievances, Protest and Demands.
Forty Years of Action.
Real Farmers vs. Professional Farmers.
Fifty-five Questions and Answers on Campaign Issues.
Labor's Political Banner Unfurled.
The Kansas Industrial Relations Law.

In addition to the initial circular sent to all organized labor and quoted above, the committee has issued numerous circulars in relation to the work of the campaign and in relation to the organization of Labor's forces in a proper and practical manner.

On February 20, a circular was issued to all national and international organizations containing a request that each national and international union contribute a sum equal to 1 cent per member, based on its January membership, in order that immediate funds might be had.

On February 24, a circular letter was addressed by the Executive Committee to all central bodies requesting each central body to appoint five of its most able and devoted members to serve as a campaign committee. Cards were enclosed with this letter to be filled out with the names of the members of the committees so appointed. As rapidly as these cards are returned they are filed in the offices of the Campaign Committee and the committee members named become a part of the campaign machinery. It was requested in this letter that, wherever possible, central bodies hold their meetings to appoint these committees on March 22 in order that there might be as nearly as possible, simultaneous action throughout the country.

On March 29 letters were sent by the Executive Committee to secretaries of all local unions requesting each local union to appoint a committee of three to cooperate with the committee of its central body. Return cards were enclosed in this letter whereon the names of the committee member so chosen were to be written. By means of these cards

the Campaign Committee is enabled to have at headquarters a complete list of all committees authorized to participate in the campaign. It is most gratifying to report that request for the appointment of campaign committees has been enthusiastically complied with and that committees throughout the nation are working earnestly and vigorously in harmony with the policy of the A. F. of L. in the non-partisan political campaign.

Numerous requests were received by the committee from local organizations asking advice as to the best means of financing campaigns locally. A plan was devised whereby local campaign funds might be raised and wherever requests for advice of this character have been made the plan devised by the Campaign Committee has been furnished, and it is in successful operation in a large number of districts. The plan provides for the raising of local campaign funds by the issuance of contribution cards made out in triplicate and requiring the signatures of three persons.

A circular letter was sent by the President of the A. F. of L. to the 2,100 volunteer organizers of the Federation calling their attention to the principles of the campaign and urging their whole-hearted cooperation. A circular letter was sent on April 10 to the editors of the labor press of America by the Secretary of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Platform Committee asking for the cooperation of the more than 300 labor publications in the work of the campaign. A circular letter was addressed to all speakers who are engaged in the campaign or who might become engaged in the campaign offering suggestions as to the most effective method of presenting the issues involved.

On April 27 a circular letter was addressed to all central bodies asking each central body to read and discuss at the regular meeting next falling the pamphlet entitled, "Fifty-five Questions and Answers" for the purpose of conveying to the membership the information therein contained. Numerous other circular letters have been addressed to local unions and central bodies calling attention to the work of the campaign and urging the necessity of prompt and earnest compliance with the requests and instructions from the Campaign Committee. Numbers of thousands of the campaign pamphlets published by the committee have been furnished to all local unions and central bodies, national and international unions for distribution among the membership. Additional pamphlets will be prepared from time to time dealing with the issues of the campaign and circulated liberally in the same systematic manner.

Three bureaus have been established to assist in the work of the campaign, these being the Bureau of Information and Cooperation, a Speakers' Bureau, and a Bureau of Publicity, each in charge of a director responsible to the Campaign Committee. Through the Bureau of Information and Cooperation the records of Senators and Congressmen are being furnished as rapidly as possible to the various constituencies. This bureau also has in charge the work of collecting and compiling the records of committees formed for campaign work. It also undertakes the distribution of pamphlets and other campaign literature.

The Speakers' Bureau is engaged in the work of organizing a competent corps of speakers for campaign work. It also has undertaken the organization of a corps of local four-minute speakers whose work will be to address local unions, central bodies and other gatherings. It is hoped to be able to have delivered each week to every local union and central body in the country a message bearing on the work of the campaign and not to exceed four minutes in length. The four-minute speakers, of course, will interfere in no way with the work of those who deliver more lengthy addresses.

The Campaign Committee has devoted all possible time and energy to the work entrusted to it. Numerous conferences have been held with individuals and groups desirous of being of service to the labor movement in its political struggle. Frequent consultations have been held with representatives of the railroad brotherhoods in order that the work of the campaign might be conducted most effectively. We desire to say that in all these conferences there has been a spirit of the utmost harmony and a manifestation of energy and eagerness unexcelled in the history of our movement.

Copies of the circulars and pamphlets issued by the Campaign Committee will be placed at the disposal of the committee to which this subject is referred and copies will be available to all delegates to this convention.

It is with extreme satisfaction that we report a growing solidarity in support of the National Non-Partisan Political policy and a constantly diminishing desire to experiment

with political theories not in accord with that policy. There has never been a greater spirit of unity nor has there ever been a higher enthusiasm nor a greater determination to achieve results. The intolerable spirit of repression which has made itself manifest in legislation adopted in the state legislatures as well as in the national Congress and in legislation proposed in these same bodies, has aroused in the working people everywhere a feeling of deep resentment and has thoroughly awakened them to the necessity of defeating those elected officials who have proven themselves either unable or unwilling to follow in legislative matters the desires of the people and to take into consideration their needs and their welfare in the enactment of laws.

We urge upon the convention and upon the delegates individually the necessity for centering every possible energy in the campaign to the end that the liberties and freedom of the people may be safeguarded and that progress may be achieved in the future. It is vitally necessary that the moral support which has been so splendidly accorded thus far by the entire movement be supplemented by a continued financial support, for the detail work of the campaign can not be conducted without funds. We urge that the necessity for prompt and liberal contributions be laid by the convention before those national and international unions which have not yet contributed or which have not contributed to the extent of their ability, and that State Federations, Central Bodies, Local Unions and the rank and file of the membership be urged to make their just and proper contribution to the support of this vital work.

We stand at the parting of the ways. Only the determination of the working people of the United States, supporting the Non-Partisan Political policy of the A. F. of L., can save the nation from pursuing the road toward reaction.

Let there be unity. Let there be solidarity.

Let the great voice of the working people of America in their organized capacity be heard for the progress, for the welfare, for the liberty of our country.

PRESIDENTIAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCES

Two conferences summoned by President Wilson sought to find a remedy for industrial unrest and neither succeeded. The first of these conferences was convened on October 6, 1919, in the Pan-American Union Building, in the city of Washington, and continued in session for about a month. This conference was composed of delegates grouped under three headings representing Labor, the public, and employers. Members of the labor delegation were chosen by the American Federation of Labor and the four railroad brotherhoods. The A. F. of L. through its Executive Council selected the following: Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison, Daniel J. Tobin, Joseph V. Valentine, W. D. Mahon, T. A. Rickert, Jacob Fischer, Matthew Woll, Mrs. Sara Conboy, William H. Johnston, Paul Scharrenberg, John Donlin, M. F. Tighe. The four railroad brotherhoods selected the following: H. E. Wills of the Engineers; P. J. McNamara, of the Firemen; W. G. Lee, of the Trainmen, and L. E. Sheppard, of the Conductors. Mr. Bert M. Jewell, President of the Railway Employes Department of the A. F. of L., was selected by the President to be a member of the group representing the public. Mr. Jewell finding himself unable to serve, Mr. J. J. Forrester served in his place. The conference was opened by the Secretary of Labor, Hon. William B. Wilson, and the permanent chairman of the conference was Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Franklin K. Lane. Various propositions were submitted to the conference for its consideration by the various delegations and individuals. Early in the conference the labor group presented the following program as its contribution to the constructive thought of the conference:

This conference of representatives of the public, the employers and business men, and of labor, called by the President of the United States, hereby declares in favor of the following:

1. The right of wage-earners to organize in trade and labor unions for the protection and promotion of their rights, interests and welfare.
2. The right of wage-earners to bargain collectively through trade and labor unions with employers regarding wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment.
3. The right of wage-earners to be represented by representatives of their

own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment.

4. The right of freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage, all being responsible for their utterance and actions.

5. The right of employers to organize into associations or groups to bargain collectively through their chosen representatives in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment.

6. The hours of labor should not exceed eight hours per day. One day of rest in each week should be observed, preferably Sunday, half-holiday on Saturday should be encouraged.

Overtime beyond the established hours of labor should be discouraged, but when absolutely necessary should be paid for at a rate of not less than time and one-half time.

7. The right of all wage-earners, skilled and unskilled, to a living wage is hereby declared, which minimum wage shall insure the workers' and their families to live in health and comfort in accord with the concepts and standards of American life.

8. Women should receive the same pay as men for equal work performed.

Women workers should not be permitted to perform tasks disproportionate to their physical strength or which tend to impair their potential motherhood and prevent the continuation of a nation of strong, healthy, sturdy and intelligent men and women.

9. The services of children less than 16 years of age for private gain should be prohibited.

10. To secure a greater share of consideration and cooperation to the workers in all matters affecting the industry in which they are engaged to secure and assure continuously improved industrial relations between employers and workers and to safeguard the rights and principles hereinbefore declared, as well as to advance conditions generally, a method should be provided for the systematic review of industrial relations and conditions by those directly concerned in each industry.

To this end, there should be established by agreement between the organized workers and associated employers in each industry a national conference board consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers, having due regard to the various sections of the industry and the various classes of workmen engaged, to have for its object the consideration of all subjects affecting the progress and well-being of the trade, to promote efficiency of production from the viewpoint of those engaged in the industry and to protect life and limb, as well as safeguard and promote the rights of all concerned within the industry.

With a further view of providing means for carrying out this policy the federal government, through its Department of Labor, should encourage and promote the formation of national conference boards in the several industries where they do not already exist. To still further encourage the establishment of these national conference boards in each industry, these conference boards should be urged whenever required, to meet jointly to consider any proposed legislation affecting industries in order that employers and workers may voluntarily adopt and establish such conditions as are needful, and may also counsel and advise with the government in all industrial matters wherever needful legislation is required.

The federal government should also undertake to extend the functions of the Department of Labor to ascertain and provide adequate information and advice to the several national conference boards on all matters affecting the life, health and general welfare of the wage-earners within such industry.

11. The flow of immigration should at no time exceed the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize the immigrants coming to our shores, and at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an abnormal condition of employment.

By reason of existing conditions we urge that all immigration into the United States be prohibited at least until two years after peace shall have been declared.

The labor delegation also introduced the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The nation-wide strike now in progress in the steel industry of America affects not only the men and women directly concerned, but tends to disturb the relations between employers and workers throughout our industrial life; and

"WHEREAS, This conference is called for the purpose of stabilizing industries and bringing into being a better relation between employers and employes; and

"WHEREAS, Organized labor wishes to manifest its sincere and fair desire to prove helpful in immediately adjusting this pending grave industrial conflict; therefore, be it

Resolved, That each group comprising this conference select two of its number and these six so selected to constitute a committee to which shall be referred existing differences between the workers and employers in the steel industry for adjudication and settlement.

"Pending the findings of this committee this conference requests the workers involved in this strike to return to work and the employers to reinstate them in their former positions."

Almost at the outset of the conference it was recognized that collective bargaining was the first principle upon which agreement should be reached. Upon this question the conference spent the remaining period of its life and broke up unable to reach an agreement. In an effort to systematize its work the conference appointed a general committee of fifteen members, five from each group, to consider and report upon the various propositions submitted. The members of the public group in this committee of fifteen submitted the following resolution on collective bargaining with the assent of the labor delegation:

"The right of wage-earners to organize in trade and labor unions, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor and relations and conditions of employment is recognized.

"This must not be understood as limiting the right of any wage-earners to refrain from joining any organization or to deal directly with his employer if he so chooses."

The labor delegation made every possible effort to meet the wishes of the other delegations in the matter of form and construction of this resolution and it underwent as many a half-dozen changes before hope was finally abandoned.

The employers' delegation would not accept any resolution on collective bargaining unless it was so worded as to be anti-trade union in spirit and to provide encouragement and support for company unions. The position of the employers in the conference was throughout a position of anti-unionism, a position of enmity and antagonism to trade union effort and organization, a position of opposition to the one great constructive agency which offers to the working people their hope of a better future and a greater measure of industrial freedom. They sought continually to find a way to secure approval of the conference for various forms of shop and company organizations and the viewpoint which they sought constantly to inject was the viewpoint of the shop and the individual plant instead of the viewpoint of the industry as contemplated by the A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations. Clearly the solicitude of the employers for shop organizations and company unions was because they constitute a device for defeating the workers, for organizing them away from each other in small, weak groups and rendering them practically powerless before the employers.

Through debate in open session and through committee meetings lasting many

days, the employers stubbornly resisted every attempt at conciliation and it was this position of obstinacy in defense of vested rights that led finally to the dramatic disruption of the conference with the departure of the labor delegation from the hall. The defense of the labor position and the attack upon those who sought to perpetuate unfreedom and autocratic control in industry constituted a battle that will go down in history as one of the remarkable episodes of the industrial conflict. The defense of the labor position was marked frequently by passages of brilliancy that have been seldom equalled. For its revelation of the position of the employers and for its value as an expression of labor thought, the following extract from one of the addresses delivered by President Gompers, as the leader of the labor delegation on the question of relative rights of Labor and capital as the employers sought to outline them, deserves to find place in the permanent record:

"We can not prevent a reduction or check the imposition of an inferior condition upon the organized workers of America, without at the same time checking that same or worse imposition upon the unorganized. There is not a law that we can ask from the United States, there is not a law that we can ask from any of the states, or from any of our municipalities, for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of organized workers that will not apply equally to every unorganized worker. We speak in the name of Labor, organized and unorganized. We speak for labor, the inarticulate, the powerless, the timid, the dominated worker, under duress we protest that we speak in his name.

"We hear the term used, the struggle between capital and labor, and that is implied in the statement which I have just mentioned. The struggle between capital and labor. What is capital?

"Capital consists of tables—these tables and these chairs, these chandeliers, clothes, steel, clothing, boots, shoes, pork, hides and cattle, machinery, wool, sugar, oil, anything that can be brought to your mind relative to the very things that I have mentioned is encompassed in the term "capital"—dead things, inanimate things, material things, things which can be sold and bought, things which are subject to barter and sale; capital invested for the production of still more capital, more inanimate things, material things. And what is labor? Labor is the men and the women, erroneously and intentionally coined in the terminology as labor. It is laborers, workers, human beings, men and women and children, and when it comes to the question of determining what is of greater importance as to men and women and little children, and dollars and things, the soul of mankind goes out to men and women and children, rather than to capital—the regulation of capital, the material things of life, and the regulation of men and women and children. If the old concept of labor and capital had prevailed, we should still find our children of tender age, going into the mines and working underground for twelve, fourteen and sixteen hours a day. If the old concept of labor and capital still prevailed, you would find children in the textile mills of America working twelve, fourteen and sixteen hours a day. If the old concept of labor and capital still prevailed in this year of strife, you would find as of old that women would be in the coal mines giving birth to children the parentage of which they knew nothing."

The labor delegation went into the conference determined to contribute its full share of thought and effort toward the solution of the problems with which the conference was asked by the President to deal. It worked through the long and trying period with all the patience at its command, in the face of most serious difficulties. It remained in the conference until the last possible moment, departing only after the employers by their vote against genuine collective bargaining made it impossible for labor to remain.

In a final effort to secure agreement the labor delegation submitted to the conference a resolution so drafted as to insure as far as possible its acceptance. The resolution thus submitted follows:

"The right of wage-earners to organize without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustment with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor and relations and conditions of employment, is recognized."

The vote in the conference was by the group system, each group casting one vote. Under the rules no resolution could be adopted except by unanimous vote. The employers, maintaining their position of defense of the shop organization and the company union voted against the resolution providing for collective bargaining through trade unions and through representatives freely chosen by the workers. Thus, though both the labor representatives and the representatives of the public voted for the resolution, it was defeated. With the right of collective bargaining through trade unions defeated and the basis for all further conference removed by the action of the employers' representatives, labor could no longer remain a party to the conference. The labor delegation, therefore, left the conference hall as a unit. The delegates composing the public group held one more session in which a report to the President was drafted.

In an effort to retrieve the failure of the First Presidential Conference, President Wilson summoned a Second Industrial Conference on January 12, 1920. The composition of this conference was entirely different from that of the first conference. No effort was made to secure representative groups, but on the contrary only one group was selected. This was done without any reference to representation for the labor movement and there was no such representation. It remained in session for more than a month during which time it summoned many witnesses among whom was the President of the A. F. of L. It undoubtedly gave deep study to the industrial problems confronting the nation and on March 21 made public its report to the President. It can not be disputed that the commission was entirely sincere in its efforts and that it sought earnestly to produce a document that would be of value in the nation's industrial life. Regardless of that, however, the work of the commission was a failure. It proceeded without a proper knowledge of the history of the trade union movement, without a proper understanding of its needs and desires and without an adequate appreciation of its philosophy and psychology.

The conference devised a vast mass of machinery composed of a national industrial board and regional and local conference boards and boards of inquiry. The conference recommended that this machinery be made operative by law. The report of the commission is subject to two criticisms of the most serious character. The first of these is that the report seeks to lay upon the industrial world an intricate structure artificially imposed by force of law. The second is that it seeks to give encouragement and permanency to the various forms of company unions and shop organizations and various forms of so-called employe representation, whose chief merit is that they serve the purposes of the employers by organizing the workers away from each other. It would seem that the conference must to a certain extent have had in mind in drafting its plan the establishment of the Whitley Councils. In England, however, the plan under which the Whitley Councils are operated rests upon trade union organization and demands trade union organization as a prior condition. The report of the President's Second Industrial Conference lays down no such foundation and establishes no such condition. Its misunderstanding of the character and purpose of the trade union movement in this connection is amply illustrated by the following paragraph from the report:

"Employe representation organizes the relations of employer and employe so that they regularly come together to deal with their common interests. It is operating successfully under union agreements, in organized shops. It is operating in non-union shops and it is operating in shops where union and non-union men work side by side. In plants working under union agreement, it adds to collective bargaining an agency of cooperation within the plant. It is itself an agency of collective bargaining and cooperation where union agreements do not obtain."

The commission seemed to view the problems of industry from the viewpoint of the single shop instead of from the viewpoint of industries. The character of American industry in its present stage of development and the work of the American trade union movement is ample proof of the fallacy of such a viewpoint. At the time this report is drafted no effort has been made to secure action in Congress toward setting up the machinery outlined by the President's conference. Your E. C. is, however, of the firm opinion that should an effort be made, Labor must exert every influence to encompass its

defeat. Regardless of how excellent may have been the intentions of the members of the conference the principles which the report seeks to establish in the law are in many respects actually pernicious and in no respect do they serve the needs of the workers. The machinery established by the trade union movement itself out of the day to day experience of years of struggle is superior in every respect to that which it is sought to create under the report of the President's conference. The machinery now in operation is machinery created through strife and struggle in contact with life and conditions and shaped to meet the actual needs of service in the field. The machinery devised by the President's Commission is constructed in the seclusion of the secret council chamber, entirely out of contact with the life for which it was designed and entirely unfitted for the needs of that life.

CONSTRUCTIVE DEMANDS

Such emphasis has been laid by employers upon the necessity for increased production that we believe a presentation of the trade union point of view in relation to production should be placed before the nation in authoritative manner and that constructive proposals should be laid down.

While it is true that there are no great surplus stocks of essential commodities in storage at the present time, it is not true that Labor is curtailing production or that it stands in a position of opposition to capacity production.

The essential facts of the present industrial situation are these:

A large portion of the world's productive machinery was destroyed by the war. Approximately 9,000,000 men were killed and it is estimated that more than 20,000,000 people have died as a consequence of the war. The productive power of this machinery and of these men is lost beyond recall.

Large stocks of materials were consumed by the war. In the case of many basic materials war-time consumption was at a forced rate that ate into the peace-time supply to such an extent that normal conditions may not be possible for a considerable time to come.

These are definite conditions that can not be changed by thought or theory. They have had their effect upon present-day production. They are responsible for much of the shortage of commodities which we now experience.

The evidence in possession of the trade union movement is that workers are today as willing to work as ever, that they are as eager to work as ever and that their productive capacity is as great if not greater than ever.

There have been influences at work since the ending of the war which have operated to check production, but these influences are under the control of employers and not of workers.

In so far as possible employers hostile to labor have sought to reintroduce autocratic control into industry, making necessary a resistance on the part of the workers. Labor has enunciated the principle that the workers are entitled to an effective voice in the management and control of industry. To a larger degree than ever before, this principle was agreed to by employers during the war. It was found that it produced results of great value in the winning of the war. It made industry more productive.

In the 1918 convention, the American Federation of Labor laid down principles which, if followed in practice, would result in the maximum effectiveness of industry. It is a fact that where there has been the greatest fulfillment of those principles in practice there has production been at its best and there has Labor been most ardent in its efforts and most fully rewarded for its service.

Production is a cooperative undertaking. It is at its best when there is the fullest cooperation. Cooperation is voluntary. It is the negative of compulsion or coercion.

Slave labor gave way to free labor in the industrial north long before it was obliterated in the south because slave industry could not compete with free industry.

It is a curious chapter of industrial history that whereas wage labor in industry was surrounded with great freedom in the beginning of factory production, it lost freedom with the growth of factory production, necessitating a bitter struggle on the part of workers through organization. Today we face a time in which the pressure of a world hunger

for necessities brings to a head the whole struggle for the further extension of freedom, of voluntary effort, of cooperation in industry.

Workers do not shirk work where work allows the free expression of life and thought. The hated task is the slave task. The slow worker is the driven worker, the unfree worker, the unconsulted and unconsidered tool of a mechanism.

The 1918 convention laid down this principle:

Those contributing to production should have a part in its control.

It further concluded that in all large permanent shops a regular arrangement should be provided whereby:

First, a committee of the workers would regularly meet with the shop management to confer over matters of production; and whereby:

Second, such committee could carry, beyond the foreman and the superintendent, to the general manager or to the president, any important grievance which the workers may have with reference to wages, hours and conditions.

In addition to this, the convention declared that:

It is fundamental for efficiency in production that the essentials of teamwork be understood and followed by all. There must be opportunity for intercourse and exchange of viewpoints between workers and managers. It is this machinery for solving industrial problems that is fundamental.

We reaffirm those principles.

There is a widespread misconception of the meaning of the term "labor." Many employers apparently hold that labor power is something that is to be had for the expenditure of money, that it is something apart from conscious life and that it is something to be controlled and utilized by those who hire or direct labor.

Labor is the productive power of men and women. It is the exercise of the power of mankind to sustain itself. Labor is the great underlying factor in the existence of humankind. Of all living organisms mankind alone has the power to use labor effort intelligently.

The conception that some can avoid labor and retain the right to direct others who do labor is malicious and wrong.

There must be given to each individual a voice in the shaping of his life and this right must extend to the workers in their organized capacity to be exercised through their chosen representatives.

Industry today requires these remedial measures:

It requires greater democracy in order to give to the workers full voice in assisting in its direction.

It requires more intelligent management and acceptance of the principle that production is for use and not for profit alone.

It requires full and free acceptance and use of the best that invention has to offer.

It requires bold and audacious reconstruction of method and process in the conduct of basic industries.

Labor does not oppose introduction of improved methods in industry. It courts and encourages improvements in processes and in machinery. What it will always resist is the introduction of these processes and this machinery at the expense of the workers.

There is a knowledge of industry among the workers in industry of which society has not begun to avail itself. The effort has been to suppress use of that knowledge and to demean those who possess it. The workers know their work as none but the workers can know it. The shoemaker knows his last and the engineer understands the capacity of his engine.

The workers are appalled at the waste and ignorance of management, but they are too frequently denied the chance to offer their knowledge for use.

They decline to be enslaved by the use of their own knowledge and they can not give of it freely or effectively except as equals in industry, with all of the rights and privileges and with all of the stature and standing of employers.

Adoption of the principle of voluntary effort, of full cooperation in industry, will

bring to the industrial life of the nation such an impetus that production will cease forever to be a problem in American life.

Adoption of the principles we here urge will inevitably result in a rapid decrease of the number of non-producers who at present live by fastening themselves in one useless capacity or another upon the industrial life of the country. Proper absorption of non-producers into useful channels would be but a simple problem.

The welfare of the workers must be a paramount consideration. There can be no progress and no gain in production volume if there is not such consideration. But a greater mutuality in industry would insure proper safeguarding of the rights of workers.

Only by such methods and under such principles can there be an advance in production which does not penalize the worker for his own industriousness and for his own alertness and inventiveness.

Autocratic industry kills incentive. It punishes brilliancy of attainment. It warps the mind and drains the energy from the body. We have repeatedly condemned the principle of autocratic control of industry and we now declare that short of its complete removal from our industrial life there is no industrial salvation and no hope of abundance in our time.

We urge the setting up of conference boards of organized workers and employers, thoroughly voluntary in character and in thorough accord with our trade union organizations, as means of promoting the democracy of industry through development of co-operative effort. We point out to employers the fact that industry, which is the life blood of our civilization, can not be made the plaything and the pawn of a few who by chance today hold control. Industry is the thing by which all must live and it must be given the opportunity to function at its best.

Labor turn-over is but one of the evils which will disappear in proportion as the workers are given voice in management. This is proven by statistics which show the lowest turn-over in those industries where the workers exercise the most effective voice by reason of the highest degree of organization.

We propose the salvation of industry. We propose the means whereby the world may be fed and clothed and housed and given happiness. We have service to give and if permitted to give freely and on terms of manhood and equality we will give in abundance. We can not be driven as slaves, but we can give mighty service in a common effort of humankind.

KANSAS COURT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Kansas, which for many years startled the world with its liberal legislation, has turned reactionary. The legislature of that state has enacted a law providing for a Court of Industrial Relations. It could well be named, "an act to establish involuntary servitude for the workers of Kansas," or "an act to protect the financial interests of the owners of public utilities and all industries at the expense of their employes." But more harmful than all it destroys the right of collective bargaining, the gateway to industrial peace.

The law covers practically every industry in the state of Kansas. It affects every person engaged in the work of preparing foodstuffs from their original state to the finished product, every one engaged in the production of clothing or wearing apparel in any stage of the process of converting it into the marketable product, every miner and every woodchopper and every workman engaged in the production of fuel for any purpose. It affects the railroad men. If two or more persons engaged in these occupations refuse to accept an award by the Court of Industrial Relations they must either pay a fine or be sent to the penitentiary.

It is a most sweeping law and is in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. No matter from what unbearable conditions the workers are suffering they must accept them without question if the Court of Industrial Relations so decides. It is a relic of legislation in the fifteenth century establishing autocracy in industry by law.

The court is conducted under the rules and regulations of the Supreme Court of Kansas and has unlimited power to carry out the provisions of the act. The law repeals

the act creating the Public Utility Commission of the state of Kansas and gives all its power and more to the Court of Industrial Relations. This court is composed of three judges appointed by the governor. They are given, among other things, full power, authority and jurisdiction to supervise and control all public utilities and common carriers in the state and are empowered to do all that is necessary and convenient for the exercise of such power, authority and jurisdiction.

The power of the court is most extraordinary. If there is no law in existence and one is necessary to carry out the provisions of the act the three judges are empowered to make one. Being judges it is natural to assume they are fully conversant with the methods of making laws to suit every case that comes before them. This extraordinary power is provided for in section 26, as follows:

"The provisions of this act and all grants of power, authority and jurisdiction herein made to said Court of Industrial Relations shall be liberally construed and all incidental powers necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this act are hereby expressly granted to and conferred upon said Court of Industrial Relations."

When the employees of any public utility or of any industry disagree with their employers over wages and working conditions the Court of Industrial Relations is authorized to make an investigation and decision. Whatever decision is made by this court is mandatory. The employees must accept it or go to jail.

The operation of the following named employments, industries, public utilities and common carriers is declared to be affected with the public interest and therefore subject to the supervision of the court:

(1) The manufacture or preparation of food products whereby, in any stage of the process, substances are being converted, either partially or wholly, from their natural state to a condition to be used as food for human beings; (2) the manufacture of clothing and all manner of wearing apparel in common use by the people of this state whereby, in any stage of the process, natural products are being converted, either partially or wholly, from their natural state to a condition to be used as such clothing and wearing apparel; (3) the mining or production of any substance or material in common use as fuel for domestic, manufacturing, or transportation purposes; (4) the transportation of all food products and articles or substances entering into wearing apparel, or fuel as aforesaid, from the place where produced to the place of manufacture or consumption; (5) all public utilities.

According to the provisions of the law the court has full power to settle any labor or other controversy that may arise. The court has arbitrary power of fixing the "working and living conditions, hours of labor, rules and practices, and a reasonable minimum wage, or standard of wages, to conform to the findings of the court in such matters."

If either party to an industrial dispute affecting a public utility refuses to obey and be governed by the order of the court it is authorized to bring proceedings in the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas to compel compliance.

While section 17 of the law provides that it does not restrict the right of any individual employe to quit his employment, section 18 can be construed otherwise. It provides:

"Any person willfully violating the provisions of this act, or any valid order of said Court of Industrial Relations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof in any court of competent jurisdiction of this state shall be punished by a fine of not to exceed \$1,000, or by imprisonment in the county jail for a period of not to exceed one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

This section undoubtedly nullifies section 17. The only qualification in this section is the word "willfully." The courts can construe this word to any meaning. It can therefore be accepted as a fact that an individual can be punished for quitting work because he objects to an order issued by the Court of Industrial Relations.

Section 19 provides a heavy penalty for those who violate any order issued by the court. Any officer of a trade union can be fined \$5,000 or sentenced to the penitentiary at

hard labor for a term of two years, or both, if the members of his organization fail to comply with an award made by the Court of Industrial Relations. The mere fact that members of a labor organization have refused to work under an award made by the court could be used by judges in sending their officers to the penitentiary.

The law establishes involuntary servitude in Kansas. If the Court of Industrial Relations decides that an employer is not making a sufficient profit, notwithstanding that he may have taken contracts upon a cut-throat basis, it can refuse concessions to the employees and they must accept the verdict or go to jail.

Section 25 is most remarkable in its provisions. In the event of a dispute over wages it is brought before the Court of Industrial Relations and the findings of the court are retroactive. If the court decides that wages should be reduced the employers are authorized to deduct the difference between the new and the old wages from the earnings of the employees during the time hearings were in progress or from the day the investigation was determined. This may be six months or more. No legislation of the kind was ever suggested, so far as known, by any legislature in the world. If a man has been paid \$4 a day and the court says he must work for \$3.50 a day then the company can deduct 50 cents a day from the amount earned from the time the investigation began. The workers who are always near the brink of poverty, are forced to spend every cent they earn to live. Just how employers could recover wages paid under such circumstances is impossible to imagine. The workers would not give back the money they had received as wages. The result would be that men would cease work rather than restore to an employer the money that has been previously earned by hard labor.

The same mode of procedure in the disputes between public utilities and their employees will be followed in all other industrial disputes. Section 6 of the Clayton Act permits the normal activities of labor and farmer organizations. The Kansas Industrial law nullifies this act.

Already the people of Kansas have begun to see the dangers in the law. The opposition is gradually increasing and it is to be hoped that before another year has passed it will be repealed.

Any law to enforce compulsory labor upon our citizenship will be resented by the people and repealed at the behest of their indignation. The Kansas law is unjust, tyrannical and un-American. It was enacted during a time of great hysteria created through the propaganda of the governor of the state of Kansas. Bitter attacks were made on Labor. The law gives absolute protection to the public utilities owners. It is believed that they were instrumental in having it enacted in order to receive protection from the state for those utilities that are in financial difficulties.

Governor Allen made a number of addresses in favor of the Kansas law to encourage the passage of bills of similar nature by other legislatures. The legislatures of New York and New Jersey invited Mr. Gompers to deliver arguments before joint sessions giving the point of view of labor. His addresses before the legislatures of New Jersey and New York were printed and circulated and were helpful in defeating the passage of such legislation in those bodies.

Louisiana is considering a bill similar to that of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Act. An effort is being made in that state to pass it before July 1.

The Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association also has a plan for preventing strikes. It has asked for a law providing that an employer give thirty days' notice of discharge and an employe the same notice before quitting work.

HIGH COST OF LIVING

No single problem has had a greater bearing upon the welfare of the American wage-earners in their daily lives during the year just closing, than the cost of living. Recent figures covering the nation as a whole are not available for purposes of comparing increase in the cost of living with the increase in wages, but the last figures of a general nature issued by the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor statistics, showed that, while since 1913, the average advance in the wages of organized workers was 55 per cent, the average increase in the cost of living was 83.1 per cent. There is no reason to presume that this margin between wages and cost of living has decreased since these figures were

issued. There are on the contrary, statistics to show that the margin has materially increased. No statistics are needed to convince us that the increase in the cost of living has been a serious factor in the lives of the great masses of our people, and it is certain that there is no justification of any kind, either in fact or in theory, for the bulk of the burden that has been thrown upon the people in the form of increased prices.

In order that there may be something available in the way of definite figures showing the complete lack of reason and the ruthlessness which underlie a great part of the increase in prices of staple commodities, there is submitted here, for the information of the convention, a compilation made from a series of articles published in one of the most reliable daily newspapers in New York City and subsequently used as part of a speech in the United States Senate, and which, so far as the Executive Council is aware has not been questioned.

- Cluett, Peabody & Co.*—Net profits for 1919 were \$5,153,129, an increase of 175 per cent over 1918.
- International Paper Co.*—Average annual net profits for three-year period, 1916-19 increased 487 per cent over previous period, 1909-15. Aggregate common stock dividend for those three years was \$74.15.
- May Department Stores Co.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1919 over 1915, 174 per cent.
- Amoskeag Mfg. Co.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1919 over 1917, 811 per cent in spite of decrease in business handled.
- United States Rubber Co.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1918 over 1916, 43 per cent (1919 figures will show much more).
- United Drug Co.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1918 over 1916, 148 per cent.
- Tobacco Products Corp.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1918 over 1914, 1,547 per cent.
- United Fruit Co.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1919 over 1914, 547 per cent.
- Standard Milling Co.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1919 over 1913, 196 per cent.
- American Linseed Co.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1919 over 1916, 780 per cent.
- National Enameling & Stamping Co.*—Net increase in common stock earnings, 1916 to 1919, over 1909 to 1915, 1,178 per cent. Increase in average annual earnings for this three-year period 326 per cent, over previous seven-year period.
- General Cigar Co.*—Increase in net income, 1919 over 1917, 84 per cent.
- Manhattan Shirt Co.*—Increase in net income, 1919 over 1915, 275 per cent.
- American Ice Co.*—Increase in net income, 1919 over 1914, 393 per cent.
- Pacific Mills.*—Increase in net income, 1919 over 1915, 218 per cent.
- Burns Bros. Co.*—Increase in net income, 1919 over 1916, 72 per cent in spite of the fact that the company sold 75,000 fewer tons of coal in 1919.
- American Hide & Leather Co.*—Increase in net income, 1919 over 1914, 265 per cent.
- Corn Products Refining Co.*—Increase in common stock earnings, 1919 over 1915, 639 per cent.
- Endicott-Johnson Corp.*—Increase in net income, 1919 over 1915, 353 per cent.
- Central Leather Co.*—Increase in net income, 1919 over 1918, 103 per cent. Increase in accumulated surplus earnings, 1919 over 1914, 288 per cent.
- American Woolen Co.*—Increase in net income, 1918 over 1914, 316 per cent. Net increase in common stock earnings, 531 per cent.

As to what figures such as these mean in the homes of America we call attention to a compilation made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, a compilation that is backed by the authority of the United States government. In this table is shown the increase in the cost of living in fourteen principal industrial

centers from December, 1914, to December, 1919. The compilation made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics follows:

Total Increase in Cost of Living From December, 1914, to December, 1919, in Fourteen Specified Cities

<i>City.</i>	<i>Per Cent of Increase.</i>	<i>City.</i>	<i>Per Cent of Increase.</i>
Portland, Me.....	91.59	Jacksonville.....	102.14
Boston.....	92.30	Mobile.....	94.54
New York.....	103.81	Houston.....	101.70
Philadelphia.....	96.49	Chicago.....	100.61
Baltimore.....	98.40	Detroit.....	107.87
Norfolk.....	106.98	Cleveland.....	95.05
Savannah.....	98.68	Buffalo.....	102.65

The report from which the above is an extract does not deal with the increase in the cost of living which has been added since December, 1919, but that this increase has been considerable every household will testify emphatically.

The fact is that scarcely a day passes that does not bring to almost every family some item of increase in the cost of living—some addition to the accumulation of burden of conscienceless exploitation.

Neither the government nor the employers have brought the light of wisdom to this most serious and pressing problem. The employers have clamored in unison for more production, for greater effort on the part of workers who are already weighted under the double burden of operating the machinery of production and bearing the burden of profiteering placed upon them by the exploiting interests.

That increased production will not solve the problem is clear, for no amount of increase in production can of itself remove the curse of profit piled upon profit. The answer to 100 per cent profits is not increased production. The answer to robbery is not more plunder.

It is no more true to say that decreased production is responsible for high prices. Neither decreased production nor increases in wages is responsible. These charges made by employers and by the enemies of labor generally are foul aspersions on labor. They have no foundation in fact. They are libels, without cause and without truth. The working people of America, in the United States and in Canada, are contributing full service toward the sustenance of the life of our countries. Their great eagerness is to provide for all an ample supply of the necessities and of the happiness of life and they resent with all the intensity of their being the gross injustices that are practiced by those who contribute no useful service but who stand between producer and consumer, grasping in avarice and pyramiding profit upon profit to a point that actually menaces the safety and welfare of our economic and social life.

While employers have called for more production as the remedy for high prices, the U. S. government, through the Department of Justice, has conducted a campaign of stupidity, seeking here and there to pillory some trifling merchant, while permitting the great aggregations of capital upon which the enormous profits have been heaped to escape in the enjoyment of a monumental plunder. The campaign of the Department of Justice reached the heights of the ridiculous when it solemnly advised the American people to strike a fatal blow at profiteering by buying the cheaper cuts of meat. This would have constituted a voluntary reduction in standards of living. It was developed before a congressional committee that the great packing interests had cooperated in the conduct of this campaign for the purchase of cheaper cuts of meat and it was admitted by a representative of the packers that an increased demand for such cuts would speedily cause the price of them to advance.

Finally the campaign of the Department of Justice against the high cost of living was abandoned with the announcement that it was too costly. The government has tacitly admitted its inability to provide a remedy for the excessive cost of living.

Labor has from the outset foreseen the condition in which the nation finds itself today. It long since laid bare the forces that were at work. It long since set forth remedial measures which, had they been accepted and put into operation, would have saved the republic from an agony that has wrenched at its very mainsprings of life and threatened its very foundations.

We call special attention here to that section of the declaration entitled: "Labor, Its Grievances, Protests and Demands," adopted by the conference of representatives of Labor in Washington, December 13, 1919, dealing with the cost of living. The report in full appears elsewhere, but we deem it advisable to call attention to this particular section in connection with this, because of the clearness with which the thought is expressed, and the accuracy with which it points to the causes and remedies for the situation:

"No factor contributes more to industrial unrest and instability than excessive costs of necessities of life. It is a demonstrated truth that the cost of living has advanced more rapidly than have wages. The claim that increasing wages make necessary increased prices is false. It is intended to throw upon the workers the blame for a process by which all the people have been made to suffer. Labor has been compelled to struggle desperately to keep wages in some measure up to the cost of living. The demand for higher compensation to meet new price levels has made industrial readjustment necessary.

"Existing high and excessive prices are due to the present inflation of money and credits, to profiteering by those who manufacture, sell and market products, and to burdens levied by middlemen and speculators. We urge:

"The deflation of currency; prevention of hoarding and unfair price-fixing; establishment of cooperative movements operated under the Rochdale system; making accessible all income tax returns and dividend declarations as a direct and truthful means of revealing excessive costs and profits.

"The ideal of America should be the organization of industry for service and not for profit alone. The stigma of disgrace should attach to every person who profits unduly at the expense of his fellow men."

In addition to this the E. C. calls attention to the manner in which our present problem was foreseen by the convention in 1919 in its adoption of the report on reconstruction, particularly as shown in the following extract:

"The American standard of life must be maintained and improved. The value of wages is determined by the purchasing power of the dollar. There is no such thing as good wages when the cost of living in decency and comfort equals or exceeds the wages received. There must be no reduction in wages; in many instances wages must be increased."

It has been repeatedly set forth that the advancing costs of the necessities of life constitute in reality a reduction in the wages of the working people, for in very few cases have the workers been able to secure advances in wages equivalent to the advances in the cost of living.

During the war practically every large nation took steps to control in some degree the profiteering evil. It may be that measures which were proper when the lives of nations were at stake, when the very existence of society was in peril, can not with safety be brought into use in time of peace. Though this is true, we can not refrain here from pointing to the fact that profiteering established its tap roots in that hour of danger, in that sanctified hour when the finest of human life was giving itself in prodigal devotion for the maintenance and furtherance of human freedom and human safety. We point to that fact and once again we denounce and condemn those malign influences that bled the country by profiteering in the crisis of democracy.

But the day of war has passed and the nation finds itself confronted with problems that must be met in peace and by the ways of peace. We can not confess as a nation

that incapacity and futility admitted by the employers of the country and by the department of justice and the congress. No small group can thrust upon the nation an evil of which the nation can not rid itself. Profiteering can be made amenable to remedial measures and the American labor movement must and does propose those measures.

The documents and declarations of the labor movement furnish an analysis proven correct by time and events. That establishes an understanding of the basis of the evil. We propose and demand enactment of the following specific proposals as constituting a program of remedy, and the only program of remedy that has been placed before the nation:

1. We demand that the government be authorized to buy standard commodities direct from producers and that these commodities be distributed through regular retail channels at a retail price to be fixed by the government.

We demand that this power be made use of as a corrective for profiteering and we call attention to the fact that the government has established a precedent for such action in its sales of surplus war supplies.

2. We demand that the federal government through the Internal Revenue Department ascertain the amount of excessive war profits extorted from the American people during the years 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, and 1920, and that these excessive war profits be taken through its taxing power by the federal government and applied to the extinguishment of the floating debt of the government and to the partial retirement of liberty bonds at par in order that the existing inflated structure of currency and credit may be reduced and that the government may carry out its sacred obligation to the people to maintain its liberty and victory bonds at par.

3. Cooperation should be encouraged as an effective means of curbing profiteering. To stimulate rapid development of cooperatives the federal farm loan act should be extended so as to give credit to all properly organized cooperatives, just as credit is now given to individual farmers. Cooperation is no less vital and worthy of support than are the railroads, which were given hundreds of millions of dollars and an area of land equal to New England to facilitate their establishment. There should be legal enactment to protect cooperatives against discrimination by manufacturers and wholesalers.

4. Control of credit capital by those whose chief interest is the cumulation of profits results inevitably in the open door for profiteering. We repeat and emphasize the demand of organized labor that control of credit capital be taken from the hands of private financiers and placed in the hands of a public agency to be administered by voluntary and cooperative methods.

5. We urge that the U. S. Department of Labor compile and issue monthly statements of the cost of manufacture of those staple articles which form the basis of calculation in fixing the cost of living.

6. As a means of aiding these and other anti-profiteering measures the federal government should be authorized to establish permanent boards for the prompt investigation of profits and prices. All income and other tax returns should be available for inspection.

We do not demand, nor do we desire, a precipitate collapse in prices generally, for in such a collapse there would be the greatest danger of national calamity. The program we have here laid before the nation is constructive and is practical. Because it is constructive and practical, because it contains measures native to American life and American thought, we urge and demand for it the immediate and effective consideration of the people and of the authorities of our country.

The cost of living must go no higher. Wages must be advanced in every case to a point at which the American standard of living is secure. The life and the productive capacity of the great farming community, now stricken sorely, must be brought back to the richness that has marked it above the agriculture of all other nations. This will be possible only when the vicious forces that load the values of the farm with fictitious and fabulous profits have been curbed and made powerless.

Finally we call attention to the vital fact that the present non-partisan political campaign of the A. F. of L. offers to the people everywhere an opportunity to enforce remedial measures with their ballots. The enemies of the workers are upon the platforms

of the nation seeking political preferment. Defeat them. Defeat enemies everywhere. Let righteous wrath and indignation find its expression in constructive effort and in the intelligent use of that greatest of democracy's weapons, the ballot. Press upon every candidate everywhere the wisdom of Labor's constructive program. Defeat enemies. Elect friends. The national future is in the devoted keeping of the working people.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

During the year just closed the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, of which President Gompers is chairman, continued its efforts for the protection of the workers during the reconstruction period. The war emergency work of the commission of course ended with the signing of the armistice. Among the efforts vital to the protection of the workers continued by the Committee on Labor during the year, was one to aid discharged soldiers and sailors to secure employment in civil life. This work was undertaken and conducted in cooperation with the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor and the Emergency Employment Committee for Soldiers and Sailors of the Council of National Defense. Twenty-eight thousand appeals were sent to trade unions, advising them how to be of assistance in this effort. Replies outlined employment conditions in all sections of the country, including reports from localities regarding shortage of labor, surplus of labor, jobs to be given back to returning soldiers, and unreasonable fees collected for finding work for discharged soldiers and sailors.

At the solicitation of the Library War Service, the Committee on Labor undertook to send to the workers, and to the trade unions appeals calculated to be of assistance in furnishing discharged soldiers and sailors with books on vocational subjects, for which a great demand was manifested by the men leaving the ranks. The appeal issued by the committee called attention to the fact that the public libraries offer to returned soldiers and sailors, as well as to all workers, splendid opportunities for study and mental development and that, in the more than 4,000 libraries of the country, there are books to be had containing information on practically all trades, books on all of the problems of life and living, and books on all past and present phases of social relationships.

These appeals have met with a most favorable response, and from the replies received it is safe to predict that greater use will be made of these public educational facilities, which mean much for a better understanding, more intelligent citizenship and more efficient workmanship, and a higher conception of life and work.

Appeals were made to the Committee on Labor to aid in the work of explaining to the returning soldiers, sailors and marines the advisability of retaining their insurance. This insurance, provided for under the War Risk Insurance Act, and under rules formulated by the Committee on Labor in accordance with the best concepts and principles, was in many cases not fully understood or properly valued by the returning men of the army and navy. The committee exerted every effort to induce the men to continue their insurance and it is a fact that because of these efforts thousands of men continued this most beneficial and economical insurance who otherwise would have allowed it to lapse.

In response to frequent requests, material was furnished in the form of lectures and articles showing the activity of the government on questions of labor relations. The committee also was asked frequently to suggest the names of persons qualified to deliver addresses on various phases of the labor problem, and many engagements of this nature were perfected through the good offices of the committee.

By order of the Secretary of War, the Economic Mobilization Section, Historical Branch, War Plans Division of the War Department prepared "A Handbook of Economic Agencies of the War of 1917," which contains more than a dozen citations of labor's helpful activities in connection with the prosecution of the war and its loyal service to the nation's cause.

In December, 1919, the Committee on Labor ceased to function and all of its sub-committees were dissolved. The President of the American Federation of Labor, as Chairman of that committee, in dissolving the several sub-committees extended an earnest expression of thanks and obligation to all who had contributed their services patriotically without pay or hope of reward.

In turning over the records of the Committee on Labor, to the Council of National Defense, President Gompers did not relinquish membership on the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. This commission was created not merely as a war emergency body, but as a body charged with the duty of "coordinating of industries and resources for national security and welfare," and "with the creating of all relations which will render possible in time of need immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation. It is a matter of record that the Advisory Commission during the war played a most important part and contributed invaluable services to the nation. We believe it is equally true that this commission may well continue to serve in the work of readjustment now before the country and that it may well prove a permanent channel for centralizing and directing voluntary efforts to improve relations in our industrial life and to meet adequately whatever emergency the future may have in store for our Republic. To that end we urge the retention of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense.

LABOR'S SERVICE ACKNOWLEDGED

The annual report of the Secretary of the Navy for the year 1919, contained a generous acknowledgment of the service rendered by Labor to the United States during the war. It is fitting that this acknowledgment of service be made a part of the permanent record of the American Federation of Labor. It follows:

"Labor was the rock upon which our preparation and supplies depended. It was mobilized and efficient. Acting with closest accord with the Department of Labor, it was the privilege of the Navy to aid in stabilizing labor and in proving that the government is the best employer. The day of giving to skill and toil a mere living wage has passed. It is entitled, after a fair day's work, to a fair day's wage, sufficient for comforts and some luxuries as well as necessities. Navy wages have never lagged. They have generally led and for good pay it has, from its patriotic workers, received a good day's work. Without the greatly increased production due to the skill and industry and fine spirit of patriots in overalls, our men in arms could not have been furnished the required munitions and supplies."

REPORT OF LABOR LEGISLATION

Summary of Legislation Enacted Since the Report Made to the Atlantic City Convention, Including the Extra Session, Beginning May 19, 1919, and that Portion of the First Session up to April 15, 1920, of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

1. Appropriation for the rehabilitation of injured soldiers by the Vocational Education Board, \$6,000,000. (Public No. 11, 66th Congress.)
2. Appropriation of \$8,000,000 for the Vocational Education Board. (Public 21, 66th Congress.)
3. Deficiency appropriation of \$5,000,000 for the Vocational Education Board. (Public No. 73, 66th Congress.)
4. Appropriation of \$400,000 for U. S. Employment Bureau. (Public No. 21, 66th Congress.)
5. Woman suffrage amendment.
6. Increased compensation for employes of the government printing office. (Public No. 23, 66th Congress.)
7. Deficiency appropriation of \$263,072.04 for the enforcement of immigration laws. (Public No. 73, 66th Congress.)
8. Rent commission provided for District of Columbia in food control bill. (Public No. 63, 66th Congress.)
9. Postal employes granted \$150 increase. (Public Res. No. 19, 66th Congress.)
10. Increased compensation granted policemen, District of Columbia. (Public No. 94, 66th Congress.)
11. Increased compensation granted fire department employes District of Columbia. (Public No. 124, 66th Congress.)

12. For the retirement of school teachers in the District of Columbia. (Public No. 111, 66th Congress.)
13. Granting custom inspectors overtime for lading and unloading vessels at night. (Public No. 131, 66th Congress.)
14. Civil Service Retirement.

Hostile Legislation Defeated

1. Defeated effort by Senator Myers to deprive federal employes who are members of organized labor of benefits under the retirement bill.
2. Defeated effort to deprive Panama Canal employes of the war bonus given federal employes.
3. Defeated anti-strike clauses in the Cummins bill.
4. Defeated labor clauses in the Esch bill providing that unions would be financially liable for damages to railroads in the event of a strike.
5. Defeated Webster amendment to the Esch bill providing that not only the unions but the individual members should be liable for damages to railroads during a strike.
6. Defeated effort to strike from the deficiency bill clause which exempts labor and the farmers' organizations from prosecution under the anti-trust act.
7. Defeated effort in the House to strike prohibition of "Taylor System" from the Naval appropriation bill.
8. Defeated effort to eliminate the \$240 bonus for federal employes from the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill.

Railroads

Enactment of a law to turn the railroads back to their owners caused a most bitter campaign to include provisions that would prohibit employes from striking. Furthermore, when the Committee on Interstate Commerce reported a bill to the Senate it was first intended that no hearings would be held upon it. It was to be presented in the morning, a week given for its consideration, and it was to be rushed through before the people really became aware of what it contained. This policy was prevented through a most aggressive protest from the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. The House bill, however, was submitted at midnight on Saturday and no one knew what it contained until the following Monday. A week was given for its consideration and then it was jammed through in scheduled time.

S. 2906, presented by Senator Cummings in the Senate, contained an anti-strike clause. Later this bill was amended and was reported to the Senate as S. 3288. S. 2906, the original bill, contained this anti-strike clause:

"If two or more persons enter into any combination or agreement with the intent substantially to hinder, restrain or prevent the movement of commodities or persons in interstate commerce; or enter into any combination or agreement which substantially hinders, restrains or prevents the movement of commodities or persons in interstate commerce, such persons so combining and agreeing shall be deemed guilty of a conspiracy and shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$500 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment; Provided, That nothing herein shall be taken to deny to any individual the right to quit his employment for any reason."

When the bill was reported to the Senate as S. 3288 it contained the following addition to the above penalty extending punishment to everyone who might in any way give advice or aid during a strike:

"Whoever knowingly and with like intent shall aid, abet, counsel, command, induce or procure the commission or performance of any act made unlawful in the last preceding section hereof shall be held guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$500, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

An aggressive campaign against this reactionary legislation was conducted. President Gompers appeared before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate, and in an extended hearing declared that if such a law was enacted it would mean a violation of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States which forbids involuntary servitude except for those who commit a crime. He declared:

"When the government during the stress of war took over the railroads the employes were free men. Now you are preparing to turn them back to their owners with the employes handcuffed."

Senator Cummins, the author of the bill, was so determined that the normal activities of labor should be prevented, not only in the railroad industry but in many others that he made this threat on the floor of the Senate:

"Not only has there been no hesitation, so far as I am concerned, with respect to these provisions of the railroad bill, but I intend when the measure comes before the Senate to propose an extension of the principles of the bill, which are now applied only to transportation, to the basic industries of America, to the production of fuel, or iron and steel, to the production of foodstuffs and of lumber and of building material and of clothing; for I can not conceive that the people of this country are to be continuously at the mercy of any class so far as these fundamentals in American life are concerned."

Thousands of telegrams poured in to the Senate protesting against the passage of the Cummins bill, but these proved of no avail and the bill passed without amendment of the labor clauses. An effort was made by Senator Stanley to strike out the labor clauses but this was defeated by a vote of 46 nays to 25 yeas. Senator McCormick offered as an amendment the provisions of the Canadian arbitration system. This was rejected by a vote of 31 to 31. Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, offered an amendment protecting the wages and hours of railroad employes, but this was also rejected. Senator LaFollette moved to strike out the enacting clause and substitute a bill providing that the control of the railroads by the government be continued for two years. This was at the request of the American Federation of Labor and the Brotherhoods which had agreed that the people did not know whether government control was practical in peace times. It was believed necessary that the roads be retained for two years more to determine the value of government control. This was defeated by a vote of 46 to 30.

A more successful fight was made in the House against reactionary labor legislation in the railroad bill. After several months of hearings the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House presented H. R. 10453, known as the Esch bill. It contained the following drastic penalty for violation of the law:

"Any union which authorizes any member to break any term or terms of any such contract of hire, or in case such contract is modified by any decision of the adjustment board or board of labor appeals, then of such contract as so modified, or which aids, abets, counsels, commands, induces, procures, or consents to, or conspires to effect any such breach by its members shall be liable for the full damages to the carrier arising from the breach."

This would make the unions financially liable for damages to a carrier suffered during a strike. Efforts to rush this bill through with the pernicious labor provisions aroused the entire country. It united the labor group and the friends of labor in the House in a solid phalanx. Nevertheless, the enemies of labor, bolstered up by the denunciation hurled at labor, and believing that they were rising to great heights of notoriety, sought to amend the section by making it more objectionable. Representative Webster contended that the labor clauses were not drastic enough and submitted an amendment which he declared had "teeth" in it. This amendment was the most far reaching of any suggested. It provided that individual members of unions as well

as organizations themselves would be financially liable for damages. The amendment reads:

"The action shall run against the union or organization jointly and severally against it and the members thereof, or against the employes individually as the carrier or carriers may elect; satisfaction of any judgment rendered shall be made from the property of the union or organization or any member or members of the offending union or from the property of any offending employe or group of employes sued by name."

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Brotherhoods called meetings of the labor group and friendly Congressmen and considered plans for effectually defeating such drastic legislation. The Railroad Brotherhoods recommended that an effort be made to substitute an amendment to both the Webster amendment and the clause in the Esch bill. This amendment was submitted by Representative Anderson, of Minnesota, and was adopted after a most aggressive verbal battle.

Then the Senate and House bills went to conference. After eight weeks consideration by the Conference Committee of the two bills, during which all efforts to appear before it to enter protest against the reactionary clauses pertaining to labor had failed, a completed bill was reported to both Houses. The vigorous protests, coming from all parts of the United States against the labor clauses proposed in the bills caused a change in the policy of the Conference Committee. The labor clauses were submitted to Director General Walker D. Hines, of the Railroad Administration, with instructions to eliminate all of the features objectionable to labor in the Cummins and Esch bills. During a protest meeting held in the House Office Building, February 19th, by representatives of labor and friendly Congressmen, Representative Barkley, of the Conference Committee, who objected to the report, declared that the Director General had admitted to him that his work in amending the bill was imperfect and that he was not at all satisfied with it. A telegram sent to a number of railroad officials by one of their confidential attorneys was read to the meeting. It said:

"The only difference between the anti-strike clause in the Cummins bill and the one in the Conference Report is that in the former a penalty is affixed which has to be tried by a jury, while in the latter an injunction method will be followed and the penalty fixed and assessed by a court and not a jury in contempt proceedings.

"This is better for the railroads, as it is more effective, and because it would be harder to convict a union man before a jury."

The labor clause in the Conference Committee's report was condemned because of its concealed menace to the workers. It surreptitiously provided for compulsory arbitration. The workers could be proceeded against for damages in an equity court if they did not use reasonable efforts to avert trouble. A labor board with great powers could order raids on homes of individual workers for books and papers. One of the most objectionable features of the bill provided that any one hundred unorganized employes could present grievances. This would permit enemies of the trade union movement to work secretly and menace the efforts of the organization for better working conditions. Any desire of the organized workers to build up their standard of living could be defeated by the railroad officials secretly inciting small groups to make demands that would discredit legitimate unions.

Early in the agitation for a law providing for the turning over of the railroads to their owners it was decided that arguments for and against the success of government control were based on the experiences that did not give a fair test. These experiences were gained during a great war. It would be necessary therefore to extend such government control during a period in peace times so that a proper test could be made. President Compers called a meeting of the Railroad Brotherhoods and shopmen and they agreed to confine their efforts to the defeat of all labor clauses in the railroad bill and to urge the retention of the railroads for two years for the purpose of giving a fair

test to government control in peace times. The conference adopted the following:

"That it is the sense of the conference that the control of the railroads should be exercised by the government of the United States for a period of not less than two years in order that a proper test may be made as to government control.

"That such test has not been given a fair opportunity during war times or since.

"This conference is opposed to legislation making strikes of workers unlawful. It is the sense of this conference that penalty clauses in pending legislation on railroads against workers ceasing their employment should be eliminated.

"That the conference favors the enactment of beneficial features of the bills which tend to establish better relations between the employes and the carriers.

"That the beneficial clauses should be extended to the sleeping car and Pullman company employes."

After the railroad bill passed both Houses and was signed by the President, the representatives of the Brotherhoods and shopmen agreed that the only method of procedure would be to accept the provisions of the bill and proceed as quickly as possible in negotiations for sufficient wages and better working conditions.

The law provides for an Appeal Labor Board composed of an equal number of representatives of the employes, railroad officials and the public. Boards of adjustment are provided for to take up various questions and in the event they fail to agree the Appeal Board is called upon to make a decision.

The compulsory features of the law have aroused much antagonism. Furthermore, the method of procedure is such that the law will prove ineffectual so far as satisfactory adjustment of wage disputes is concerned. By the terms of the bill any increases in wages must be approved by at least one representative of the public if it is necessary in paying them to increase rates. If the three representatives of the workers and the three representatives of the railroads vote for increases in wages they are defeated unless one representative of the public votes in its favor. Although six of the nine members of the board may vote to approve the increase it is obligatory for one of the public representatives to vote for them, thus requiring seven out of the nine votes to approve.

The first conference held between the officials and labor representatives to consider increases in wages failed to take any action whatever. The railroad officials contended that the increases asked would amount to a billion dollars or more and that such a change could not be made unless higher freight rates were allowed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It was therefore contended by the railroad officials that they could not waste time in considering advancement in wages because whatever decision would be reached by the adjustment board would have to be passed upon by the appeal board. If one of the three public representatives on that board voted to approve the increases then the question could be taken up by the Interstate Commerce Commission and new rates allowed. But if none of the three representatives of the public voted to approve the increases the Interstate Commerce Commission could not grant higher rates.

The dangers hidden in the law are such that every effort should be made to have it repealed.

Child Labor

No advance was made in child labor legislation. Joint Resolutions Nos. 13 and 2251, providing for a constitutional amendment prohibiting child labor was presented in the House. One gave Congress "power to prohibit or regulate the employment of children under the age of sixteen years" and the other of "women and of persons under twenty-one years of age."

H. R. 2251, provides that employers in all mines or quarries in the United States shall pay a tax of \$2 a day for each person under sixteen years of age so employed.

The employes in any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment shall pay \$2 per day for each person under fourteen years.

The Committee on Judiciary to which these bills were referred followed the usual course of committees on remedial legislation by placing them securely in pigeon holes.

Nevertheless the ten per cent tax provided for in the Revenue Act of 1918 has been of great benefit in discouraging the evil. The tax must be paid on the net earnings of plants employing children under fourteen years of age or between fourteen and sixteen over eight hours in the production of commodities entering interstate commerce.

Reports by the Internal Revenue Department show there has been a great falling off in the employment of child labor. Eighty-five per cent of the southern cotton mills are operating without child labor. Many reductions are also reported in the mining and canning industries. This amendment to the Revenue Act was adopted after a most vigorous campaign by the American Federation of Labor. The plan was advanced after the Supreme Court had declared Public Statute No. 249 of the 64th Congress unconstitutional.

The same judge, James E. Boyd, of Greensboro, N. C., who originally had declared the child labor law unconstitutional, also held the provisions of the Revenue Act to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court has not yet given an opinion. In the meantime the Internal Revenue Department is collecting the ten per cent tax. This law, however, will expire December 10, 1920.

The present Congress shows no inclination to legislate for the benefit of the children of our land. Efforts should be made to renew the ten per cent tax when the present law expires. It is essential, however, that a constitutional amendment be adopted that will stand the scrutiny of the Supreme Court.

Sedition

No more insidious conspiracy to abolish free speech, free press and free assembly could have been conceived than that contained in what is known as the Sterling-Graham Peace Time Sedition bill. It went further. It would have made unlawful the normal activities of labor. President Gompers appeared before the Committee on Judiciary and pointed out the dangers of the bill to the people of the United States. He said:

"It can be used to kill free speech and free assembly. It strikes a deadly blow at legitimate organizations of labor or any other progressive movement for the betterment of the masses which may be opposed by the advocates of privilege and reaction.

"We yield to no man, in public office or out, in our loyalty to the Constitution and institutions of this Republic. No self-respecting man has questioned or dare question that loyalty. We are for evolution, not revolution; for ballots, not bullets; for a majority rule, not class dictatorship of bolshevism, plutocracy or of the profiteer. We oppose this bill because every purpose for which it is framed is already covered by existing laws. Its legitimate features which compose two-thirds of the draft, are utterly autocratic, imperialistic and un-American."

Section 5 of the bill could have been construed by a prejudiced federal judge to mean that a lapel button worn by any member of an organization whose purpose is to secure an amendment to the constitution of the United States or any existing federal law is sedition.

Section 6 gave the postmaster the power of censorship over any private correspondence. This he could read and destroy. If a strike should occur and the business, the private property of an employer, should be indirectly injured, the strikers would be guilty of attempting to overthrow the government. Should the members of a union strike, a federal judge could decide it unlawful and the organization would have to be expelled from the American Federation of Labor. If this was not done the A. F. of L. itself would become unlawful, and in this event any person who gave or loaned it money for strike relief for starving men and women would be guilty of sedition. Organizing colored men would be considered as an attempt to overthrow the government on the ground that it would create racial prejudice which might result in riots.

No more just arraignment of Congress has been uttered than that of President Gompers in a hearing before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House. He was protesting against the plan of compulsory arbitration proposed by a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

President Gompers declared that Congress was tying the hands of labor in fighting bolshevism and anarchy. He said:

"You are the greatest breeders of bolshevism. It is such legislation as this that encourages the growth of the I. W. W.'s and bolsheviks. That is what you are doing, gentlemen. You are giving them the means to undermine the American Federation of Labor. Already they and the bolsheviks are saying to the workers, 'that is what you get for return of your loyalty and patriotism during the war.'"

The Sterling bill passed the Senate January 10, 1920. After being sent to the House it was referred to the Committee on Judiciary. This committee took the most offensive provisions of a score or more of House bills and the Sterling bill and incorporated them into H. R. 11430, known as the Graham bill. There was an attempt made to force it through the House before the country could awaken to its dangers. Unanimous consent was asked for its immediate passage, but this was denied. Then the Rules Committee was asked for a special rule to permit its immediate consideration for only a brief period. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor demanded a hearing. The demands were so insistent that the Rules Committee refused to grant a rule and referred the bill back to the Judiciary Committee for further hearing. A number of opponents of the bill appeared, including President Gompers. The protests sent to members of the committee as well as to members of Congress proved effective. The bill has been permitted to die in committee and it is believed no further efforts will be made to bring it to life during this session of Congress. It is therefore necessary that the reactionaries in this Congress be defeated in the coming election. If not, attempts will be made and probably will be successful in enacting some drastic law having for its purpose the curtailment of the normal activities of labor.

War-Time Legislation

Efforts to repeal all acts and joint resolutions of Congress which have been passed since April 6, 1917, failed April 9, 1920. When H. J. Resolution 327, which declared the war was at an end, was before the House a motion to recommit was made with instructions that it should be amended to provide that all acts and joint resolutions of Congress, which by their terms were to be effective only for the period of the war, or for the present or existing emergency, or until a treaty of peace should be ratified, or the proclamation by the President of the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, should be repealed. This was lost by a vote of 222 to 124.

Espionage Act

Several bills to repeal the Espionage act or certain of its clauses were introduced. S. 3090 seeks the complete repeal of the act. S. 81 provides for the repeal only of Section 3 of Title I, and Title XII of Public 24 and Public 150, Sixty-fifth Congress. H. R. 4767 provides for the repeal of Section 19 of the Trading With The Enemy act, approved October 6, 1917. H. R. 238 provides for the repeal of an act entitled: "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage and the better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," and the act amendatory thereof. H. R. 1697 repeals Section 3 of Title I and Section 4 of Title XII of the Espionage act. No hearings were held on any of the bills.

Department of Labor

Since the present Congress began its session in May, 1919, there has been a constant endeavor on the part of certain members to keep whittling away at the Department of Labor.

No greater enmity to this department could be shown than the action by the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Committee in its reduction of the appropriation which was asked by the Secretary of Labor. He asked for \$1,700,000, and the committee slashed it to \$1,018,000. On another page of the same bill the appropriation for the Department of Commerce was \$8,377,600. If the present reactionary Congressmen are elected to the next Congress they will continue to reduce appropriations until the department is made impotent. This charge has been voiced by a number of members of Congress.

To more effectively destroy its usefulness appropriations were refused for certain bureaus against which members of Congress were especially bitter. Bills providing for the establishment of a federal employment service were introduced, but no action was permitted. H. R. 4305, by Representative Nolan; S. 1442 and S. 688, all for that purpose, all lie in the storage plants of the Committee on Labor of the House and the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate. Every effort of Representative Nolan and his supporters on the House Committee to have the bill reported has failed. The Steering Committee refused to permit its consideration by the House. The only appropriation Congress would give the department was in the Sundry Civil bill. This provided for \$400,000. The appropriation of \$5,000 asked for the Working Conditions Service of the department failed of passage. This service therefore passed out of existence.

Appropriations for the Bureau of Labor Statistics to conduct investigations into the high cost of living were reduced to such figures that the work has been confined to very narrow limits.

When the department asked for \$200,000 for the Division of Conciliation the Committee on Appropriations of the House cut this to \$100,000 and it was agreed to. In the Senate, Senator Phelan moved to amend by increasing it to \$150,000 and this was adopted. Senator Phelan in his argument favoring the increase said:

"Why is this work important? In the adjustment of labor troubles we have found that this agency has effected extraordinary results since its inauguration in 1915. In 1915 the number of cases before it was 42; in 1916, 227; in 1917, 378; in 1918, 1,217; and in 1919, 1,780. Of these cases there were in 1919, 1,223 adjusted; 111 which the Division of Conciliation were unable to adjust; pending, 13; unclassified, 213; and referred to the National War Labor Board, 219. So there has been a progressive growth in the work of this bureau and in the success of its methods, which are to employ conciliation. There are 27 conciliators, and there are only 6 or 7 clerks employed by the bureau in Washington. The bill itself provides a limitation in connection with the employment of clerks at headquarters of \$12,000.

"So the work is in the field. Wherever there is labor trouble, there these men have gone; and I know from my personal knowledge—and that is what has interested me—that they went into the oil fields of California and they settled, at a very critical time, a dispute which was well calculated to interfere with the production of oil; 25,000 men were involved; and they settled it how? Not necessarily by making concessions. They settled it at a time when the wage asked for by the men was \$5 a day. They settled it at \$4.50 a day, and the men accepted it. It was in war time, and there was that spirit among the men which must be praised, not to embarrass the government during war time. Now, that spirit, as we all know, has diminished, and men are seeking equitable adjustments without reference to patriotic considerations. But the mine operators, recognizing the fact that the men were entitled to their demands, subsequently and voluntarily granted them. The same is true of the textile industries, where 22,000 employes were affected. Both the employers and the employes left it to the commissioner of this department as to whether the employes should have a certain increase. The men wanted 15 per cent and the company offered them 12½ per cent. The commissioner decided on 12½ per cent and later the companies voluntarily granted the other 2½ per cent, and good feeling remained, and the workers were not disemployed, and production was not interrupted."

All appeals to those who support our contention that the Department of Labor should be made more effective instead of less are met with the answer that the determination to destroy that department is in the minds of the ruling majority of Congress. Its leaders refuse to see the great benefits that have been derived from the Conciliation division of the Department of Labor. It was only by intensive agitation and urging by the representatives of the A. F. of L. that the Senate finally increased the appropriation for the Conciliation Division.

In conference Representative Wood, of Indiana, insisted on and secured the reduction of the appropriation for the Division of Conciliation to the original \$100,000. Consequently this work will be hampered and inadequate for the coming year.

Immigration

The strongest appeal for immigration made before the House Committee on that subject was by farmers of Texas who claimed that at certain seasons of the year it was impossible for them to care for and harvest their crops without importing Mexican labor. Several influential delegations from Texas and other border states appeared before the committee and made out what seemed like an impregnable case for their contention. However, the committee voted not to recommend any legislation. Reports from the border states showed that there was plenty of labor—in fact, a surplus of it at times and the scarcity was only on account of low wages.

On April 17th Secretary Morrison appeared before the committee and presented numerous telegrams from various cities in the district showing in most instances a surplus of Mexican labor which had come in or had been brought into the country in violation of the law. On April 15th there also appeared from New York a delegation representing the Building Trades who said they were paying \$6 per day for common labor and could not secure enough of it at that price. They asked for some relief. On April 2d a Chamber of Commerce in Greely, Colo., voted for importation of Chinese coolie labor for a period of five years and attacked the American Federation of Labor for opposing immigration, claiming there is a shortage of 7,000,000 unskilled laborers at the present time in the United States. There seems to be a country-wide propaganda among the Chambers of Commerce, and also manufacturers and employers generally, to break down our immigration laws with the purpose of cheapening wages and lowering the standard of living for American labor.

Several bills were introduced in the House providing for the prohibition of immigration for a stated period. H. R. 3474 prohibits immigration for four years. H. R. 8572 provides there should be no alien immigration for two years; at the end of two years no alien shall be permitted to enter the United States without a passport unless he is a member of the family of some resident alien. While the bill was awaiting a rule to permit its consideration in the House, the Committee on Immigration eliminated the restriction period.

H. R. 9782, extending until one year after the declaration of peace the war-time restrictions on passports so that undesirable citizens should be debarred from the country, was enacted into law. President Wilson had requested the passage of the bill because of the fear that hordes of immigrants were preparing to flood this country after peace had been declared.

Owing to the failure of Congress to appropriate money to pay the patrol on the Mexican border, many Mexicans, Japanese and Chinese, as well as undesirable natives of other countries, were able to gain illegal entry into the United States. During the war 28,000 Mexicans were admitted to the country to work on farms and only 20,000 returned to their country.

S. 3206, by Senator Phelan, provides that natives of islands lying wholly between the 21st and 51st parallels of latitude north and the 119th and 157th meridians of longitude east of Greenwich, and not possessed by the United States, shall be excluded unless otherwise provided by existing treaties.

Representative Hudspeth introduced a joint resolution to continue the suspension of the law which permits the admission of Mexican aliens into the United States to harvest the crops in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. Representatives of the American

Federation of Labor made such vigorous protest that the Immigration Committee has so far refused to approve of the resolution. H. R. 12487 provides for the suspension of immigration until 1930. While there have been many meetings of the Immigration Committee and every reactionary idea that could be conceived considered, no legislation has been enacted except that which governs the issuing of passports.

Education

Bills providing for the education of illiterates in the United States met the same reactionary opposition that all other legislation in the interest of the people has suffered since the present Congress began its session.

H. R. 7 was buried in the Committee on Labor in the House, S. 1017 in the Senate. They are companion bills and provide for a Department of Education, the secretary to be a member of the Cabinet, and to encourage the states in the promotion and support of education. An appropriation was proposed of \$500,000 annually, beginning June 30, 1921.

Many hearings were held before the joint Committees on Education and Labor of the House and Senate. Every witness expressed his or her belief that a Department of Education to encourage the states in the promotion and support of education of illiterates was absolutely necessary for national progress. Education, it was pointed out, was the surest and best method of Americanizing both the foreigner and the illiterate natives.

S. 3315 to "promote Americanization by providing for the cooperation of the several states in the education of non-English-speaking persons and the assimilation of foreign-born residents," was passed by the Senate, January 26th. It now rests in the Committee on Education of the House. It provides that the Secretary of the Interior, through the Bureau of Education, shall enforce the proposed law. An appropriation of \$5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and annually thereafter \$500,000 are provided. Of this amount \$500,000 is to be deducted for the publication of periodicals devoted to Americanization problems, for aiding studies and reports through the Bureau of Education of aims and work carried on by local bodies, private individuals and organizations.

Profiteering

Notwithstanding the needs of the masses of our country Congress failed to enact a single constructive measure that would aid in checking profiteering.

Many investigations were started in the District of Columbia and other localities to find out why the cost of living was so high. Much information was gained to the detriment of the profiteers but no action followed that would bring practical results.

One measure was enacted. This was H. R. 8624, by Representative Haugen. It was an amendment to the Lever Act, and was:

"An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel."

The reasons given for the enactment of the law were that a state of war still existed and it was necessary for the "national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war and for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, to assure an adequate supply and equitable distribution, and to facilitate the movement of foods, feeds, wearing apparel, containers primarily designed or intended for containing foods, feeds, or fertilizers; fuel, including fuel oil and natural gas, and fertilizer and fertilizer ingredients, tools, utensils, implements, machinery, and equipment required for the actual production of foods, feeds, and fuel; to prevent, locally or generally, scarcity, monopolization, hoarding, injurious speculation, manipulation, and private controls affecting such supply, distribution, and movement; and to establish and maintain governmental control of such necessities during the war."

Practically the only persons proceeded against under the Lever Act were the miners who were seeking relief from the high cost of living.

Notwithstanding the Haugen amendment, hoarders of food continued their nefarious practices. Profiteers in food, wearing apparel, shoes, and other necessities of life have continued to add to the prices. In order to hide this profit making from the public attacks have been made on Labor. Nothing that would misrepresent the workers, in order that the general public might be prejudiced against them, has been left unsaid.

While the bill was in the Senate a rider providing for a rent commission to control the renting of property in the District of Columbia was placed in the bill. This provides that tenants who object to the rent they are paying, either for apartments, hotels, dwellings or rooms, can protest to the Rent Commission.

H. R. 217 directing the Federal Trade Commission to inquire into the increased prices of shoes, and ascertain the cause and necessity for the increases, was reported favorably by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. The report of the committee contained this statement:

"As there does not appear apparent reason or justification for the high prices that are now being charged the public for shoes, or for the general increase of such prices which has been and is currently reported in the press of the country, the committee believes that the Federal Trade Commission should make a thorough and immediate investigation of the subject and report to Congress. Interesting and valuable information would thereby be given to the Congress and to the public and possibly there would thereby be afforded sufficient justification for remedial legislation."

Notwithstanding this emphatic charge that there is no "justification for the high prices of shoes," the passage of the resolution was prevented by Representative Mondel and former Speaker Cannon. The same influence that has protected the profiteers in food appears to have been able to prevent action against profiteers in shoes.

Profiteering in sugar was so open and discreditable during the fall and winter of 1919, that several bills were presented for the purpose of giving relief to the people. H. R. 418, introduced December 4, directed the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the charges that "refiners and brokers had intentionally and unreasonably held sugar from the market for the purpose of forcing an enormous increase in price to the public."

H. R. 11059, introduced December 10, provides for licensing the importation, exportation, manufacture, storage or distribution of sugar by the Department of Justice.

S. 3191, providing for the continuation of the Sugar Equalization Board, passed both Houses and was signed by the President. The board's life was to have expired December 31, 1919. While the life of the board was extended for the purpose of keeping the price of sugar at a reasonable rate, it has not had that effect. Through manipulations of one kind and another the price of sugar has been almost prohibitive to many people. This is another striking incident of the refusal of Congress to jealously guard the interest of the people.

During the hearings by the committee on the prices of shoes, the manufacturers and dealers who testified admitted that they made from 30 to 50 per cent and more on their investment and from 10 to 15 per cent more on sales. Their defense for such exorbitant prices was that the Washington people demanded luxuries in shoes. It was brought out, however, that instead of luxuries the people had demanded leather instead of paper heels and soles and that the prices charged for paper shoes would be unreasonable even for leather shoes.

April 6, 1920, the Senate adopted S. R. 317, providing that the Committee on Manufactures be directed to ascertain in every practical way the reasons for the increased prices of shoes in the United States. The investigation includes the labor, material and other costs, and the profits of manufacturers, wholesalers, jobbers and retailers of shoes and of the manufacturers, wholesalers and distributors of leather, thread, shoe machinery and other articles required for the manufacture of shoes, with the view of determining who or what may be responsible for such increased prices.

April 24th, Senator McNary, Chairman of the sub-committee making the investigation, presented a "federal shoe branding bill." It provides that shoes which go into inter-

state commerce and are shipped into the District of Columbia must be branded in plain and legible letters at least one-fourth inch in height showing the price at which the manufacturers sold the shoes. This is to acquaint the public with the manufacturer's price and that of the retailer in order that profiteering can be eliminated through public protest. Heavy penalties are provided for persons or corporations who violate the law.

As the boot and shoe workers are employed by the piece the charge that the workers are limiting the output can not be sustained. It is only necessary to give one instance to show the great profiteering that is being carried on. Shoes that sold in 1913 for \$4, are now sold pretty generally for \$12. The increase in labor cost is only 40 cents. The investigation should have been made months ago but the influence of the profiteers on Congress prevented it.

Bonus For Public Employes

After the war began, and rather than institute an inquiry into the wages of employes of the Government, a general bonus was granted. This amounted at first to \$120 per year and later was increased to \$240. This year the employes asked for an increase of the bonus. When the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill was under consideration Representative Blanton made a point of order against the bonus, claiming that it was new legislation. The appropriation was therefore omitted from the bill. When the bill reached the Senate the Committee on Appropriations recommended that the bonus be reinstated for another year. This was approved. The House agreed to the amendment and the bonus was therefore retained.

Cold Storage

Owners of cold storage warehouses have had nothing to fear from Congress. Several bills have been introduced to regulate cold storage warehouses but they have gone the way of all other bills in the interest of the people, into the pigeon holes.

H. R. 9521 provides for the placing of dated labels on foods placed in cold storage and passed the House September 30. The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and later to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

H. R. 11015 provides for the licensing of cold storage warehouses and regulating the sale and distribution of cold storage foods. Licenses to conduct such storage plants are to be issued by the Secretary of Agriculture after their sanitary condition has been found satisfactory. It also provides that no article of food shall be kept in any cold storage warehouse for more than twelve months without the consent of the Secretary of Agriculture.

Manipulation of Prices

Bills presented in Congress to punish those who manipulate prices do not receive consideration. No consideration was given H. R. 10737, which provides that:

"It shall be unlawful for any person in combination with other persons to fix a price on the necessities of life usually entering into interstate or foreign commerce whereby unrestricted competition among producers or middlemen is interfered with."

Penalties for violation are a fine of not less than \$1,000, nor more than \$10,000, or by imprisonment for three years, or both.

Steel Strike Investigation

After the steel strike began, S. R. 188, providing for an investigation by the Committee on Education and Labor of that dispute, was adopted by the Senate and a number of hearings were held. President Gompers appeared before the committee and gave an extended explanation of all the efforts made by labor to avoid the controversy. He told of the appeals made by the workers in the steel industry for organization. These had covered a number of years. These facts were brought out: The St. Paul

Convention had appointed a committee to investigate conditions in the steel industry and had found, as stated, that every effort should be made to organize the workers. After their organization a committee was appointed to present their grievances to the president of the United States Steel Corporation. That official refused to meet the committee.

Appeal was made to the President of the United States to use his good offices to induce the president of the United States Steel Corporation to meet representatives of his employes, but that official refused to consider the request of the Chief Executive of our nation.

During the time these efforts were being made to maintain peace the employes of the steel industry were clamoring for justice. They were becoming more insistent daily for the right to have a voice in determining the wages and conditions of their employment. The situation became such that it was found necessary to carry out the instructions of the rank and file that if the steel corporation refused to meet their representatives they would cease work.

Although nearly 300,000 men were engaged in the strike there were only isolated cases of violence and most of these were instigated by gunmen in the employ of the steel companies.

The Senate Committee visited Pittsburgh and held hearings on the strike. After the hearings were completed the committee made a report to the Senate in which recommendations were made for laws which would avert future strikes. They were:

"1. That a board or commission somewhat similar to the War Labor Board should be established. This board should have power of compulsory investigation; to have large powers in mediation and conciliation and recommendations; not to the extent of compulsory arbitration, but before this board controversies could be heard, investigations made and decisions rendered. That pending said investigation and decision no strike should be declared provided no employes are discharged for taking part in the controversy and provided further that all opportunity for the employer to take advantage of the delay has been removed; that the principle of collective bargaining and an eight-hour day should be considered by said board and recommendations made to labor and industry in relation thereto; that the board should be in the nature of a federal industrial commission, seeking at all times not only to settle pending disputes but to help bring about a more harmonious condition between employer and employe. A just decision of said board would be indorsed by the public and public sentiment is powerful enough to enforce the findings of such a commission.

"2. That an Americanization bill be passed by the Congress which will provide for the effective education and Americanization of the illiterate foreigners and native illiterates in this country.

"3. One real antidote for unrest in this country is home ownership.

"4. Foreigners should be compelled to learn the English language and acquire some education within five years after they arrive with proper limitations on further immigration; giving to those here a certain period of time in which to become naturalized, and if this is not done then deportation should follow.

"5. An effective law should be enacted dealing with anarchists, revolutionists and all who would destroy the American Government."

Objection was immediately entered to the compulsory features of adjusting labor disputes proposed by the Committee on Education and Labor and up to date no action of any kind has been taken by the Senate on the recommendations.

Convict Labor

Legislation regarding convict labor failed again this year. We introduced a bill (H. R. 10615) which provided that the products of prison labor transported into any state or territory for use or sale shall be subject to the operation and effect of the laws

of such state or territory to the same extent and in the same manner as though such goods had been produced in such state or territory. This provision is the most important that could be adopted. Under present conditions a state may subject its own prison-made goods to such regulation as will prevent their competing with free labor and at the same time give humane conditions to the prisoners. But should such a state do that, goods made by prison labor under the worst possible conditions could come in from another state and compete with free labor in the open market. The only advantage of such legislation would accrue to the contractors who produced prison goods under bad conditions in other states, giving them the advantage of the market of that state.

H. R. 10615 went to the Committee on Judiciary, which held two hearings upon it, at which the American Federation of Labor was represented.

Strikes

Under the provisions of a bill presented by Senator Thomas (S. R. 190), strikes would be made conspiracies in restraint of trade. The union shop is declared to be tyrannous, un-American and wholly in conflict with the fundamentals of American freedom. The bill also declares that the right to organize, long exercised and enjoyed, "has been utilized oppressively, unjustly, and for the accomplishment of aims and objects wholly repugnant to free institutions and to the inalienable rights of the citizen, thus promoting riot, restraining trade and commerce, overthrowing law and destroying order, and imperiling the lives and limbs of the people of states and communities."

It was left to Senator Poindexter to go to the extreme in the effort of the reactionaries to place the blame for all strikes on officials of trade unions. His bill provides:

"That whoever with intent to obstruct, delay, hinder, impede, or prevent the movement of commodities in commerce with foreign nations or among the several states shall by word of mouth, or by the presentation, exhibition or circulation of written or printed words, or otherwise, solicit, advise, induce or persuade or attempt to induce or persuade any person or persons employed in any capacity in the production, care, maintenance, or operation of any means or agency of such commerce to quit such employment shall be guilty of a felony and punished by a fine not exceeding \$10,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding 10 years, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

If the members of a trade union vote to strike, the officials of the trade union under the method of deciding such questions in courts would be found guilty of violating this section.

Something new in anti-strike legislation was introduced by Senator Edge in S. 4210. Heretofore all legislation looking to the elimination of strikes has been either through compulsory arbitration or interfering with the transportation of articles of commerce from one state to another.

Senator Edge, however, proposes that any individual who quits his employment in combination with a substantial number of his fellow employes for the purpose of obtaining or securing terms or conditions of employment more favorable shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not less than three years, or both. His bill provides:

"That any person employed by a railroad subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, or in an industry engaged in supplying or producing any commodity essential to the continued operation of the facilities or instrumentalities of interstate commerce, who quits his employment either in combination with a substantial number of his fellow employes, or at or about the same time that a substantial number of his fellow employes quit their employment, and for the purpose of obtaining or securing terms or conditions of employment more favorable than those existing at or immediately before the time of such quitting, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than three years, or by both."

Section 2 of the bill makes it a conspiracy for two or more persons to cease work or to aid, counsel, command or induce others to quit. The penalty is a fine not exceeding \$2,000 or imprisonment for not exceeding three years, or both.

Minimum Wages

H. R. 5726, known as the Nolan Minimum Wage bill for government employes, was introduced June 13, 1919, and passed the House July 22, 1919. This bill had been before the House for seven years. It sought to change the wages of the employes of the government that had been fixed by law as long ago as 1854. A most persistent but unsuccessful effort was made to destroy the benefits of the bill by an attempt to strike out the \$240 bonus for government employes.

Representative Good secured such an amendment in committee of the whole of the House, but Representative Nolan again attacked the proposition and it was defeated. Representative Blanton moved to recommit with instructions to amend so that the \$240 bonus should not apply. This was also defeated. Blanton voted alone for his own motion, an incident which has occurred many times since Congress went into session last May. The bill was sent to the Senate and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. Representative Nolan appeared before the committee and urged in a most eloquent address a favorable report of the bill to the Senate. The bill was reported favorably to the Senate January 26, 1920.

Soldiers' Relief

The 66th Congress started off with ostensibly a brave intention of doing something for the soldiers. A variety of bills was before the Congress, the Mondell bill (H. R. 487) and the Lane project being most favorably considered. Secretary Lane's plan was to purchase dry, wet and cut-over lands in all sections of the country, to subdivide the tracts thus acquired, to build on each parcel a house and barn and put the ground into condition for use for truck gardening, farming or grazing, as the character of the soil, the climate and other factors might dictate.

The settlements were not to be scattered haphazard, but established as communities so that the homesteaders might have the advantage of churches, schools, telephones, transportation and markets. The government would allow the soldiers and sailors a maximum of forty years in which to pay for their land and homes. Money would be advanced also for the purchase of machinery, equipment and livestock. These loans would be for short periods. Interest at a rate of not more than 4 per cent would be charged by the government. The work of preparation of the soil was to be done by such soldiers as were out of employment and were willing to undertake it.

Extended hearings were held on the question, and like many other constructive measures before this Congress, it seemed sure that something tangible would come from the agitation. The whole matter, however, sagged and was not heard of further until well along in this year when the agitation for a cash bonus for the soldiers became so strong that Congress was unable to ignore it. Representatives of the soldiers came forward with four measures and a proposition that the soldiers be given their choice of these measures. They were: First, a soldiers' settlement act along lines similar to the Lane project; second, a home aid act which contemplated that the government should buy for the soldier a home in the country or a city of his own choosing, allowing him a long time to pay for the same; third, vocational training for all soldiers; and last, the cash bonus.

These proposals were all withdrawn from other committees and referred to the Ways and Means Committee, the big committee of the House. Sensational hearings were held, and the committee has taken the whole subject under advisement.

Compulsory Military Training

During this session of Congress there has been much discussion regarding the enlargement of the military establishment, compulsory training, etc. In the early part of the session the advocates were exceedingly certain of their project and were sure something would be adopted. The Military Committees of both the House and Senate considered

bills to reorganize the army and both proposed to include compulsory military training for all the young men of the country. As the session wore on, however, the enthusiasm for compulsory training receded. Before the House Military Committee the minority party had caucused upon the subject and resolved against military training by an overwhelming vote.

Therefore, the House Military Committee reported a bill with nothing in it regarding that subject. The Senate Military Committee reported a bill with a provision that 18-year-old boys be subject to military training for part of the year for three years. This provision could not stand discussion in the Senate, and on April 3d the Senate rejected it by a large vote. When H. R. 12775 reached the Senate an entirely new bill was substituted for it. This bill contained a provision that in the case of a "national emergency" labor could be conscripted for employment in industry. This meant that if there should be a strike on the railroads or in the mines the President could declare a "national emergency" and force the railroad men or the miners to continue at work no matter what their grievances might be. Those who refused to work could be designated as deserters and shot. Protests were made against the passage of the clauses conscripting labor, but it passed the Senate and then went to conference. The E. C. protested to the Conference Committee against the proposed legislation.

Conferees of the House and Senate disagreed over the clauses in the bill for the nationalization of the army and the bill was referred back to both Houses for instructions.

Neither the House nor the Senate would recede from its position and it was admitted there would be no military bill reported this session.

War Risk Insurance

H. R. 8778 provided for increases in the compensation rates. It became a law and is known as Public No. 104.

S. 3657, by Senator Smoot, provides for the abolition of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and transfers the jurisdiction of allotments and allowances of compensation for death or disability and of war risk insurance on other establishments to other departments of the government. Protests have been made against this bill by the American Federation of Labor and no report has been made upon it.

A bill by Senator Harding providing an allowance of \$60 a month for education of veterans of the war for not more than nine months has not been acted upon.

School Teachers' Retirement

H. R. 5818, providing retirement for the public school teachers of the District of Columbia, was passed by the House August 26, and the Senate January 15, and is now law. It provides for the retirement of teachers reaching the age of 62. The retirement fund is contributory, to be based on an annuity table such as the Secretary of the Treasury shall direct and vary yearly to correspond to changes in the salaries of the teachers.

Postal Wage Legislation

A Joint Commission on Postal Salaries was appointed by the 65th Congress to investigate the subject of postal wages. This commission has made an exhaustive investigation of the subject, holding hearings in eleven representative cities throughout the country. Hundreds of witnesses from all groups of postal employees were heard. The fact that postal wage standards and working conditions in general are too unattractive to enable the government to properly man the postal service was brought home to the commission by the testimony of the workers and their representatives. A substantial betterment in postal employment it was pointed out to the commission, is imperative if the service is to be saved from a complete demoralization.

While action on the needed comprehensive revision of postal wage scales is in abeyance awaiting the report of this commission, the Congress, on November 8, 1919, passed a wage bonus measure that was intended to give temporary relief to the underpaid postal workers. This temporary measure provided for increases ranging from a \$100 minimum to \$200 maximum, allotted according to existing rates of pay.

Efforts to secure a punitive rate of time and a half for postal overtime were without avail. This legislation is needed to insure a closer observance of the postal eight-hour law, which is being flagrantly violated in many post offices.

Postmaster General Burleson, in his report to the 66th Congress protested against any wage increases to postal workers, "as manifestly unjust." He renewed his request for legislation that would prohibit postal employes from affiliating with the American Federation of Labor and from exercising their fundamental right of direct petition to Congress. No heed was paid to the postmaster general's archaic recommendations.

Despite the fact that the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted a resolution (No. 191) requesting President Wilson to remove Postmaster General Burleson from office, the postal workers are still under the domination of this obviously unfit official whose administration of the high office he holds is distasteful to the American people and at variance with modern industrial methods.

Suffrage in the District of Columbia

Three bills were introduced in Congress providing for suffrage in the District of Columbia. They are H. J. R. 11, H. J. R. 32, and S. 359. Nothing further has been done.

In the meantime, however, the citizens of Washington have kept up a continual agitation for the right of citizenship. It is a question that should interest every citizen in the United States. It is evident that Congress can not be prevailed upon to take any steps whatever toward freeing the people of the District of Columbia until the whole nation demands it. It is therefore necessary that agitation among the state federations and central bodies as well as local unions of the entire country be kept up for the purpose of waking members of Congress to the great injury they are doing to nearly half a million people.

Attack on Vocational Board

During February and March certain New York newspapers made vicious attacks upon the Board for Vocational Education, which has charge of the rehabilitation of soldiers and which will have charge of the rehabilitation of cripples in industry if the bill passes.

Charges of unnecessary delay, discourtesy to the wounded soldiers, and neglect that amounted almost to brutality were made and Congress ordered an investigation of the charges which extended over several weeks, but nothing serious was proven. Representative Blanton, of Texas, was on the committee to investigate them and took occasion to make various flings. Among other things he charged that the work of the Vocational Board was stacked with union men. This was proven to be untrue.

Meat Packing Monopoly

The fight against this monopoly was started early in this session of the legislature by introduction of bills by Senators Kenyon and Kendrick. During the year, however, the Department of Justice reached an agreement with the meat packers to the effect that they should divest themselves of ownership in the stockyards within a specified time and refrain from dealing in unrelated food products. This agreement took the force out of the demand for legislation. To the Kendrick and Kenyon bills were added others by Senator Gronna, Representative Anderson and Representative Baer. The latter bill was prepared and introduced at the request of the American Federation of Labor. Extended hearings were held on these bills.

At the end of the long hearings by the House Committee on Agriculture on the various meat packers' bills, the committee was divided on the question whether or not any legislation should be recommended. This is the situation of affairs at the date of writing. The future will show whether the committee is more favorable to the meat packing monopoly or to the people.

Rehabilitation of Cripples

S. 18 providing for the vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment, passed the Senate, June 21, 1919, with an objectionable amendment. This provided that such rehabilitation should be enjoyed only by those "who are without sufficient means to provide for their own rehabilitation."

H. R. 4438 providing for the vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industrial pursuits, including agricultural, trade, commerce, manufacturing, mining transportation and all the mechanical arts, passed the House, October 17, 1919. It contained the objectionable amendment which was placed in the Senate bill on motion of Senator Sterling. Protests were made by the representative of the American Federation of Labor and the clause was stricken out in committee of the whole on motion of Representative Carss. When the bill was reported out by the committee of the whole, a vote was demanded by Congressman Blanton on the amendment and it was defeated. The bill was sent to the Senate where it was passed and sent to the House with a request for a conference.

Women's Bureau

H. R. 13229, for the establishment of a Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, is being considered by the Committee on Education of the Senate and the Committee on Labor of the House sitting jointly. It provides for the enlargement of the "Women in Industry" Bureau of the Department of Labor and giving it a permanent standing in law.

The service has been useful in pointing out special evils suffered by wage working women. The proposed bureau will formulate standards and policies to help women by improving working conditions, increasing their efficiency and advancing their opportunities for profitable employment. It will investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of women in industry. Reports of the bureau are to be published from time to time to such an extent as the Secretary of Labor shall prescribe.

If the bill becomes a law it will establish a most important bureau to protect wage earning women from the evils met in their employment. The bill has been reported favorably to the House but no action has been taken.

Housing

Shortly after the close of our report on better social and industrial conditions of last year, the Congress seemed to lose interest in all questions of housing. Out of eighty or more housing projects begun during the war, a few of them were continued and some finished without any special legislation being needed. In this year's Congress a bill was introduced by Congressman Tinkham, of Massachusetts (H. R. 7014), to create a permanent Bureau of Housing in the Labor Department, giving it power to investigate, collect information and assist by advising, etc., various housing projects that might be begun in the future; another bill by Senator Calder, of New York (S. 1469), proposing to make loans to building associations to assist in the work of construction; a third bill by Senator Kenyon, of Iowa (S. 168), proposing a commission to investigate and report, recommending legislation on the subject. Hearings were held on the Tinkham and Calder bills and there was great hope at one time that something constructive would be done. However it appeared to be beyond the powers of the present Congress to pass constructive legislation of any kind whatsoever, and these bills all died in committee. If nothing else had been done it would have been wise to institute the committee on inquiry and get definite recommendations for the next session of Congress.

Seamen

The usual attempt to destroy the effectiveness of the Seamen's Law has not been missing in the present Congress. H. R. 481, by Representative Gould, seeks to nullify the Seamen's Act.

H. R. 9692 was submitted to the United States Shipping Board for an opinion by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Representatives of the vessel

owners, seamen and the Shipping Board were appointed on a commission to inquire into the proposed changes, but the commission failed to agree. Notwithstanding this and while the commission was still in session the bill was presented to the House and passed. It is now before the Senate. The bill reduces the number of able seamen on a vessel from 65 to 40 per cent, and the training period from three years to nine months. Vigorous protests have been made to the Committee on Fisheries of the Senate.

Reclassification of Salaries

In 1919, Congress created a commission to reclassify salaries and positions of government employes. The study of the wages and conditions of public employes reiterated the charge so often made that large numbers of them are greatly underpaid. Men and women were found working for wages fixed by law in the early part of the last century. The only change was the addition of the war bonus of, first, \$120 a year and then \$240 a year.

The commission recommended increases in salaries aggregating \$33,000,000 per annum. About 100,000 persons are affected. The commission provided for equal pay for men and women and promotion by merit. The employes are divided into 1,700 classes. While most of them will receive an increase a few will have their wages reduced.

By what method of reasoning anyone, in this day and time of high cost of living could figure out why a person working for the government should receive a decrease in wages it is impossible to conceive. This is especially true where it is notoriously known that no government employe ever received sufficient wages.

Compulsory Arbitration

Representative Wood presented a bill providing for the investigation of all disputes and controversies "threatening the operation of the government," "intercourse between states," or the "distribution of the necessaries of life." Fines and imprisonment are the penalties for calling a strike or lockout while the commission is making an investigation of all labor disputes. The commission is to be named by the President and is empowered to adopt rules of procedure similar to those of the federal courts. After making its investigation the commission shall report what will end the dispute or whether a legislative remedy is required.

The bill does not speak of the railroads or interstate commerce as applied to the transportation lines. It applies to any "operation of the government." The construction of ships, buildings, hauling of mail by teamsters; in fact, any employe of the government or of a contractor or subcontractor would come under its provisions in times of controversy. It could be construed by unjust judges as applying to any trade or calling. It is so drastic that even the committee to which it was referred has not held a hearing.

Anti-Trust Legislation

Every so often an attempt is made either in the Senate or House to eliminate the provision prohibiting the use of any of the appropriation for the Department of Justice in prosecuting labor or farmer organizations under the anti-trust act.

September 19, Representative Fess, in committee of the whole, moved to strike out the exemption clause and it was adopted. The following day Representative Nolan asked for a separate vote on the Fess amendment. The amendment was then rejected by a vote of 30 yeas to 201 nays.

Senator Edge introduced S. 3378, repealing the clause in the deficiency bill exempting farmers and labor organizations from prosecution by the Department of Justice. This has not been reported by the Judiciary Committee.

Railroad Training Act

Senator Thomas, of Colorado, has been unusually active in developing ideas which he believes if enacted into law will hamper the normal activities of the trade union movement. He has been particularly persistent in hammering away at organized wage-earners and their officials.

He presented a bill making strikes a conspiracy in restraint of trade and also evolved a plan whereby a trained army of railroad men could be established to be used as strike-breakers in times of strikes on the transportation systems. S. 3450, of which he is the author, provides for the organization and training of a railroad army reserve force to aid in the operation of the railroads in times of emergency and for other purposes. Among the "other purposes" it is evident that this army reserve force could be used to break strikes. It provides that the reserve force will constitute members of the military forces of the United States under the direction of the Secretary of War. Men between the ages of 18 and 30 would be recruited as reservists from time to time, all of whom shall be citizens possessing at least complete grade or grammar school education. Preference would be given those of railroad experience, the term of enlistment to be 10 years. Each reservist is to receive \$1 a day, rations and living quarters. No reservist shall join any trade or labor union or brotherhood composed of railroad operatives or work on a railroad except at the call of the Secretary of War. It is proposed that the colleges for teaching strike-breaking be conducted by the states, which will be compensated by the government. The object of the bill is to furnish strike-breakers to private employers at government expense.

Collective Bargaining

A bill (H. R. 10738) to punish employers who refused to bargain collectively with their employes was introduced but no hearings held. Representatives of the A. F. of L. have taken no interest in the bill because it is known that such a principle can only be established through the economic power of the trade unions.

In the demand for collective bargaining labor has never asked that it be gained by law. It must come through the evolution in the minds of the employers, who will be induced to accept it because of its advantages. While there are many employers who are still fighting the growing sentiment in favor of collective bargaining the great mass has accepted the principle and industrial peace is being maintained through its operation.

Kentucky's Syndicalism—Sedition Law

Kentucky has a Syndicalism-Sedition law, owing to the lack of necessary courage by Governor Edwin P. Morrow of that state. Although he signed the bill making its provisions law, he attacked most viciously two sections. While these sections took away the inherent rights of the people of Kentucky he refused to veto the bill.

Since the law was signed by him the governor has attempted to defend himself by saying that "the good in this bill is more than enough to offset whatever might be harmful."

The facts are that the sections objected to by the governor constitute the real kernel in the bill. The enemies of labor desired to reach labor while engaged in its normal activities through some law that would force employes to remain at work no matter what the conditions.

These sections were carefully prepared and then several other sections containing high-sounding phrases against the overthrow of the government by force were written into the bill. The latter sections were for the purpose of hiding the real intent of the proposed law.

No stronger argument against the two sections mentioned could be made than that by the governor himself. Two of the sections to which he objected are sections 6 and 10. Section 10 provides:

"It shall be unlawful for any person or persons, by speech, writing or otherwise, to arouse, incite or fix enmity, discord or strife or ill-feeling between classes of persons for the purpose of inducing tumult or disorder."

Of this the Governor says:

"This is a clear attempt to fix and prescribe the limits of speech and in my mind is a denial of the right of free speech or at least it presents a means

by which that right may be seriously hampered. Speech arousing ill-feeling between classes of persons is a far different thing than advocating violent resistance to law or overthrow of the government by force. Speech which may arouse ill-feeling between classes may frequently induce public disorder and yet be in a cause as holy as the rights of man, or as sacred as the right of womanhood or childhood. Under the provisions of section 10, every Abolitionist, including Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Parker could, and doubtless would have been convicted as felons because they gave utterance to speech calculated to arouse discord and ill-feeling between classes of persons. Every advocate of slavery in the northern state tried before a jury of the vicinage, would, under this law, have been found guilty. The terms 'public tumult' or 'disorder' are vague and uncertain. There is no limit placed upon them. Under the ordinary rule of law, that one intends the natural consequence of his act, a speech on a great moral issue against a class committing a great moral wrong might produce discord, ill-feeling and strife and tumult among the class denounced or among those who, holding a wrongful position or a wrongful privilege were determined to maintain same regardless of consequences. With section 10 as a law in their hands and entrenched by the power of a subservient court it would be no difficult matter for those rightfully denounced and rightfully excoriated to have a judgment of the court that their denouncer had a purpose when he made his denunciation of arousing discord and public tumult. A speech delivered in a community controlled by those who believe in child labor in mill and factory, which denounced such a practice and condemned it as inhuman and monstrous would doubtless create disorder and might cause tumult, and therefore though delivered in a holy cause might be declared to be a speech calculated to arouse ill-feeling between classes for the purpose of promoting disorder. It is essential to the progress of humanity that wrong shall be denounced, and that the lips of truth shall not be sealed by the law of silence, and that a people may have the right to determine what is the truth from free discussion and through the agencies of free speech. Free speech is the guarantor of liberty—the avatar of progress. It is light, progress, hope—it is the dearest bought right of the sons of freedom.

"I believe that section 10 of this act, presents a means and a possibility of stifling free speech; of preventing open discussion and that it may be so warped in its application as to produce injurious and tyrannical consequences. I do not believe that Kentucky needs such a law. I do not believe that there is necessity for it. I further believe that it violates the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Kentucky and that it will be so declared by the courts of the land."

Of section 6 he says:

"This act gives any peace officer (including constables, deputy sheriffs, police officers, etc.) the right upon mere notice to disperse any meeting of citizens, who, in their opinion are meeting for any of the purposes denounced in the bill. This provision makes of every constable in Kentucky, judge, court and jury, with the right to take persons and seize papers without a hearing of any sort upon his part, but who under this law can act upon mere notice. It gives to every peace officer a power greater than that of any court in the land and this power to be exercised without investigation and without any hearings. It would enable a constable or deputy sheriff, the creature of any group of men, to act in the most arbitrary way upon the mere statement of those who owned him, of those who had made him and of those to whom he gave ready obedience, and so acting would clothe him with the power of determining whether or not a meeting of persons being addressed by a public speaker was a meeting for the purpose of creating ill-feeling between classes for the purpose of promoting a breach of the peace by public disorder and forthwith to disperse the meeting; drive every one from the place of meeting

and close the doors, seize papers, etc. I can not believe that such a section is anything but arbitrary, and I am conscientiously of the opinion that such a power should not exist in a government of free people."

It does not seem possible that a man who can be chosen governor of a great commonwealth like Kentucky would lack the courage to veto such a pernicious bill. He can not defend himself by saying the sections to which he objects will be declared unconstitutional. He can not speak for the judges. Besides, labor has heard too often that certain measures it is proposed to enact into law will not prohibit labor's normal activities. But the judges always decide otherwise.

It is to the shame of Kentucky that it has a governor who would not veto a bill he so bitterly denounced. The bill affects the farmers as well as labor and they will join in making vigorous demands for the repeal of the act.

Colorado Industrial Commission Law

The Twentieth General Assembly of the Colorado State Legislature in 1915 enacted the Industrial Commission Law, popularly known as the "can't strike law," through the influence of the Rockefeller interests, directed through Mackenzie King, their representative. It was modeled after the famous Lemieux Act of Canada, though much more drastic, as the Lemieux Act only applies to public utilities, whereas the Colorado law applies to all industries. It provides that no strike can be called for thirty days and until the Industrial Commission has investigated the dispute and has rendered a decision which can be delayed and which in some cases has taken five months.

Among its provisions are:

Sec. 29. "Employers and employes shall give *at least thirty days'* notice of intended change affecting conditions of employment with respect to wages or hours; and, in every case where a dispute has been made the subject of an investigation, hearing, or arbitration by the commission, or the board, *until the dispute has been finally dealt with by such commission, or board*, neither of the parties nor the employes affected shall alter the conditions of employment with respect to wages or hours, or on account of the dispute, do, or be concerned in doing, directly or indirectly, anything in the nature of a lockout or strike, or a suspension or discontinuance of work or employment; but the relationship of employer and employe shall continue uninterrupted by the dispute, or anything arising out of the dispute.

Sec. 30. "It shall be unlawful for any employer to declare or cause a lockout, or for any employe to go on strike, on account of any strike *prior to or during an investigation, hearing, or arbitration, of such dispute by the commission, or board, under the provisions of this act.*"

Sec. 32. "Any employe, who goes on strike contrary to the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars (\$10.00) nor more than fifty dollars (\$50.00) for each day or part of a day that such employe is on strike."

Sec. 33. "Any person who incites, encourages, or aids in any manner any employer to declare or continue a lockout, *or any employe to go or continue on strike, contrary to the provisions of this act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars (\$50.00), nor more than one thousand dollars (\$1,000.00) or by imprisonment in the county jail for a term of not more than six months, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.*"

The wage workers of Colorado, realizing the drastic provisions of the law, as it greatly conflicts with the bill of rights of the Colorado State Constitution and with the Constitution of the United States, decided to ignore its provisions with a view of testing its constitutionality. In this they were unsuccessful. The law enforcement powers of the state were undoubtedly fearful that it would be declared unconstitutional by the

Supreme Court, and prevented the carrying of the case up to that tribunal. They preferred to use it as a club over the workers and always stopped short of testing the law.

The workers in a number of cases complied with the provisions of the law when ordered before the commission. Nearly all awards were adverse to the workers. Efforts were made to secure its repeal in 1917 and again in 1919. Bills were introduced to repeal sections 29, 30, 32, and 33, or what are commonly known as "involuntary servitude" sections. But these all failed.

Teachers' Unions

A committee of five Senators has been appointed to investigate the schools of the District of Columbia. Among the subjects to be investigated are the policy and influence of the teachers' unions in the conduct and management of the schools, and the extent to which said unions control teachers, members of the school board, and the selection of the teachers.

Printing Office Employees

Government Printing Office employees were granted an increase in wages. The bill passed the House July 28 and was passed by the Senate August 1. The increase was not sufficient and the employees are still pressing for a better wage.

Custom Inspectors

S. 3418, providing that the Secretary of the Treasury shall fix a reasonable rate of compensation for overtime work for inspectors, storekeepers, weighers, and other employes who may be required to remain on duty between the hours of 5 p. m. and 8 a. m., to perform services in connection with the loading or unloading of cargo, or the loading of cargo or merchandise for transportation in bond, or for exportation in bond, or for exportation with benefit of drawback, became a law February 7.

The rates are to be fixed on the basis of one-half day's additional pay for each two hours or major fraction thereof that the overtime extends beyond 5 p. m., but not to exceed two and one-half days pay for the full period from 5 o'clock p. m. to 8 o'clock a. m. There will be two additional days' pay for Sunday or holiday duty. The extra compensation shall be paid by the master, owner, agent or consignee of such vessel or other conveyance whenever such special license or permit for immediate loading or unloading or for loading or unloading on Sundays or holidays shall be granted to the collector of customs, who shall pay the employes according to the rates fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury. The custom inspectors made a splendid fight for the law and they are to be commended for securing it from such a hostile Congress.

Industrial Commissions

Several bills presented in Congress provided for industrial commissions or conferences between "capital and labor." One of them went so far as to select the names of the participants to be appointed by the President. Objection to this was filed in Congress by President Gompers in a telegram sent by the American Federation of Labor while in convention at Atlantic City. This bill and a number of others, which provided for conferences of employers and employes to consider what should be done to eliminate unrest and all other matters of benefit to the country, were refused consideration by the Senate and House. The Senate adopted a resolution concurring in the call issued by President Wilson for such a conference and this was finally approved by the House.

Mine Workers Are Thanked

While the services of the wage workers of our country during the war have been forgotten, it should not be overlooked that Representative Goodykoontz presented a resolution in Congress (H. J. R. 265) thanking the mine workers of America for their distinguished services rendered to the government during that great trial. The bill declares that the American coal miners by unremitting toil and patriotic devotion

rendered a fundamental service to the country, but the committee to which it was referred did not consider it as it was thought inadvisable to applaud the workers for any great service rendered in the war.

Market System

H. R. 8539, providing for facilitating the distribution of farm products is buried in committee.

Revenue

The only change attempted in the Revenue law was through H. R. 2837, which repealed the tax on soda water. This passed the House July 28. After repealing this tax, to offset the deficiency, a tax was tacked on to pearl buttons. The bill was sent to the Senate where it is safely stored away in committee.

Taylor Stop-Watch System

The Naval Appropriation bill for 1921 was reported by the committee with the clause prohibiting the use of the funds appropriated for the conducting of stop-watch and other time measuring devices omitted. An amendment to restore the clause was offered by Representative Hull, of Iowa, and it was adopted by a vote of 221 to 70.

Rifles for American Legion

H. R. 912, providing for the loaning of not to exceed ten obsolete or condemned rifles to each post of the American Legion for use by them in connection with the funeral ceremonies of deceased soldiers, sailors and marines, passed both Houses and was signed by the President. Blank cartridges are to be sold the American Legion posts at cost price plus expense of packing and transportation.

Virgin Islands

S. J. R. 68, providing for an investigation of conditions in the Virgin Islands to determine whether the present government should be changed to a civil government, was passed by both Houses. A committee of three members of each House were appointed to make the investigation.

Woman Suffrage

H. J. R. No. 1, by Representative Mann, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting franchise to women passed the House May 21, 1919, and the Senate June 4, 1919, and was submitted to the various states for ratification.

Since then these states have ratified the amendment:

Wisconsin	Iowa	South Dakota	Nevada
Michigan	Missouri	North Dakota	Idaho
Illinois	Arkansas	Colorado	Arizona
Kansas	Montana	Rhode Island	West Virginia
New York	Nebraska	Kentucky	Washington
Ohio	Minnesota	Oregon	New Mexico
Pennsylvania	New Hampshire	Indiana	Oklahoma
Massachusetts	California	Wyoming	Utah
Texas	Maine	New Jersey	

Daylight Saving

H. R. 3854, by Representative Esch, to repeal the Daylight Saving law, passed the House June 19, 1919, and the Senate August 1, 1919. The President vetoed the bill August 15th, but both Houses passed it over his veto on August 20, 1919, and it is Public No. 40.

Several bills have been presented in the House and Senate since providing for the same provisions as those of the Daylight Saving law, and also to advance the clock forward in certain zones. No action has been taken on any of them.

Cooperative Stores

A bill, known as S. 3066, providing for the incorporation of the cooperative associations of the District of Columbia, one of which has been organized on the Rochdale System, has not been reported to the Senate, although hearings have been held.

Conservatory of Music

The proposal of the National Federation of Musicians for a National Conservatory of Music has made little headway in Congress. Only one hearing was held, on December 18, 1919. The bills introduced are known as S. 561, and H. R. 1244.

Newspaper Mailing Privileges

S. 3718, introduced January 14, 1920, is an amendment to the Act of August 24, 1912. It provides that all publications given second-class mailing privileges must be printed in the English language if printed in the continental United States and must be originated and published for the dissemination of information of a public character, and have a legitimate list of subscribers. Trade union publications must be printed in the English language. The mailing rates proposed are: first and second zones, two cents a pound; third zone, three cents; fourth zone, four cents; fifth zone, five cents; sixth zone, six cents; seventh zone, seven cents and eighth zone, eight cents.

The bill is still in committee.

Retirement

Two bills with nearly identical wording on this subject were introduced in the Senate and the House, H. R. 3144, by Representative Lehbach, and S. 1699, by Senator Sterling. Extended hearings were held before the committees of the two houses and both committees reported favorably.

The bills remained for months upon the calendars, it being impossible to bring them to a vote. In the Senate the Sterling bill was reported favorably July 19, 1919. After months of manouevering and bitter opposition by Senators Smoot, King, Pomere and others it was brought to a vote on April 2, the pending question being an amendment offered by Senator Myers, of Montana, to exclude from its benefits any person who belongs to a labor union. After much debate this amendment was defeated by a vote of 35 to 3, and on the following day the bill was passed by the Senate without a record vote.

An amendment offered by Senator Smoot was accepted by Senator Sterling which would set the age of retirement at 70 years. In the bill the ages were 60, 62 and 65. The bill was referred to the House Committee which later reported it with an amendment restoring the ages as they were in the House bill.

The bill went to the House, which voted in favor of the ages as in the original bill, 60, 62 and 65 years. In conference the retirement age was fixed at 70, but optional retirement was fixed at 62 for railway clerks and 65 for others. For the first ten years of its operation all clerks are allowed to continue at work if their immediate chief certifies that they are capable of performing their duties in a satisfactory way, but after the ten years, retirement is immediate upon reaching the age provided for. The conference report was accepted and sent to the President.

News Print Paper

The shortage of news print caused the introduction in Congress of a number of bills to govern the size of newspapers and to prevent the exportation of print paper from the United States.

These bills were considered in extensive hearings before committees. The newspaper publishers agreed to take the matter in their own hands and conserve news print

paper. This was done by reducing the size of the newspapers and periodicals by agreement. The plan, however, did not relieve the shortage and Congress passed a bill providing that news print paper under 8 cents a pound would be admitted free of duty for two years. This was signed by the President April 24th. The only feasible plan to relieve the shortage is for Canada to permit the importation of pulp wood.

Water Power

Congress, after ten years of consideration, has enacted a law that gives over the development and utilization of the water power on navigable streams almost entirely to private corporations. The bill (H. R. 3184) provides everything necessary to give a great public utility to private ownership. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor protested against the measure but the influence of the promoters, who would obtain hundreds of millions, if not billions, of dollars of profit was sufficient to carry the measure through Congress.

Metric System

Investigation among members of Congress as to the introduction of the metric system in the United States discloses much opposition.

Budget Legislation

In the latter part of last year the House passed a budget bill which provided for the appointment of a director and assistant director to whom all departments, bureaus, boards or other establishments of the government, except the legislative branch and the Supreme Court, should furnish information in regard to the powers, duties, activities, organizations and financial transactions and objects of their respective offices. An annual estimate of expenses of all departments was to be submitted by the President to this board, which would pass such sum as seemed to the director to be necessary.

This bill was held by the Senate for five months. It was substituted in the Senate by a Senate bill, which provided for a commissioner with two assistants and provided them any attorneys, professional experts, etc. It required the heads of departments to study, analyze and revise their estimates and submit them directly to the commissioner of the budget. All the expenses of the government should be contained in this one bill and each item thereof should be approved by the commission before its submission to Congress.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The Executive Council, unable to attend the second Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference as delegates, selected Samuel Gompers, Matthew Woll, Frank Morrison, Hugh Frayne, and James E. Roach to represent the A. F. of L. They attended the conference and made report of which the following is the substance:

Pan-American Federation of Labor

The Second Pan-American Labor Congress was held in New York City, July 7, 8, 9 and 10, 1919. The labor movements of the United States, Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Peru were represented by a total of twenty-five delegates. Because of a lack of steamship facilities from Panama, the Chilean Delegation, which consisted of three members, failed to arrive in time to participate in the deliberations of the congress.

The delegation representing the A. F. of L. introduced two resolutions, numbered 1 and 3, respectively. Resolution Number 1, which was adopted by the congress as introduced, reads as follows:

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

"WHEREAS, The practical side of finance is its application to concrete

industrial and commercial enterprises, which are of extraordinary importance in this period of realignment of commercial relations and development of world markets; and

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

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

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

"Resolved, That this Pan-American labor conference urge upon the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury that no financial, industrial or commercial plans can be wisely determined without due consideration to the interests of human agents necessary to carry out all projects, and that in order for the Pan-American financial conference to develop most effective plans there must be provided in that conference representation for the wage-earners of those countries concerned, as well as for the managements of industry and commerce; and, be it further

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

The Committee on Resolutions, of which Delegate Matthew Woll was chairman, recommended the adoption of the above resolution, and the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution Number 3 reads as follows:

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

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

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

"That we welcome with satisfaction and heartily endorse the labor draft convention and the labor charter in the covenant of the League of Nations of the Peace Treaty and earnestly express the hope that the time may soon be reached when under the covenant of the League of Nations and the labor

draft convention, all the workers and representatives of the countries of the world may be leagued in a common heritage of internationality, fraternity, justice, freedom, and democracy."

This resolution was unanimously adopted after the following amendment was added:

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

Other resolutions were adopted recommending the issuance by the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor of a manifesto setting forth the objects and principles of the organization; declaring for the autonomy of all the affiliated labor movements within their own country; recommending a closer touch with the European labor movements; calling upon the workers of all the American countries to organize in trade unions, these to create a central or national labor federation; declaring for the establishment of the eight-hour working day where not yet established; for the cultivation of uncultivated lands as a means of increasing production and reducing the high cost of living; favoring a larger distribution of free scholarships in colleges and universities for the sons and daughters of workmen, and the building of hygienic homes for the workers by government enterprise on easy payments and low rates of interests; approval of the proposition to organize an International Federation of Trade Unions, representative of the workers all over the world; favoring the establishment of cooperative societies and stores; holding inviolate the right of the workers to use the strike as the last resort in their efforts to improve their conditions; recommending the passage of workmen's compensation laws, and an increase in educational institutions for workers and their children.

The Resolutions Committee's report on the high cost of living and cooperative stores and societies reads in part as follows:

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

The Dominican delegate presented a lengthy statement of conditions in the Dominican Republic, which has been under the direct control of the United States Government since November, 1916, and after a careful consideration of its contents, the Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

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

The New York Pan-American Congress also declared in favor of a peaceful solution of the territorial dispute of long standing between the South American Republics of Chile and Peru, which has assumed alarming proportions during the last two years and recom-

mended to the workers of both countries that they put forth their best efforts to prevent any serious friction and to maintain the best friendly relations between their peoples as a means of helping to a peaceful solution of their problem.

Other resolutions asked for an investigation of the abnormal situation in the Central American Republic of Nicaragua where it is claimed the United States has exercised a certain form of control in its domestic affairs during the last eight or ten years, declared its determination to maintain and improve the relations between Mexico and the United States, and denounced the selfish interests which are seeking to have the United States intervene by armed force or otherwise, in the affairs of our sister republic.

The officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor were re-elected as follows: Samuel Gompers, President; John Murray (now deceased), English language Secretary; C. A. Vargas, Spanish language Secretary. James Lord was elected Treasurer.

After the subject of finances for the support and maintenance of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was amply discussed, both in the meetings of the Ways and Means Committee, of which James Lord was chairman, and on the floor of the convention, the following plan of yearly contributions by the affiliated labor movements was unanimously adopted:

	<i>Yearly</i>
The American Federation of Labor.....	\$5,000
The Mexican Federation of Labor.....	1,250
The Peruvian labor movement.....	625
The labor movement of Ecuador.....	375
The labor movement of El Salvador.....	250
The labor movement of Nicaragua.....	250
The labor movement of Honduras.....	250
The labor movement of the Dominican Republic.....	250
Total.....	\$8,250

The call for the Third Pan-American Labor Congress, to be held in the city of Mexico, July 12, 1920, was issued by the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor on February 26, 1920, and it was decided that each country was entitled to send not more than five delegates, all of whom must be bona fide labor men. We recommend that the A. F. of L. send its full quota of delegates to the Third Congress.

During the past year the movement for Pan-Americanism suffered a severe loss in the death of John Murray, who though unable to attend the New York Congress on account of illness, was unanimously re-elected as English-speaking Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in the hope that he would once more recover sufficient strength to carry on the work to which he was devoted. The loss of Mr. Murray came at a time when his services were most needed.

The memory of his character and his self-sacrificing service will ever be an inspiration to the men engaged in the movement and the cause of Pan-Americanism.

Prior to the revolution by which President Carranza was overthrown, Secretary Vargas of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and a representative of the labor movement of Mexico, held a conference on the border line at which full information regarding the possibility of a revolution in Mexico was furnished. This information was in part to the effect that President Carranza intended by the use of force, coercion and corruption to prevent General Alvaro Obregon from being a candidate for the presidency of Mexico and to perpetuate either himself or some one of his selection in the office of president because of a "then existing revolution."

It was reported that as a possible alternative plan, President Carranza might for the reasons stated decree the postponement of the national election. It was his aim by either one plan or the other, to continue in control of the office of president. The antipathy of the Carranza followers to General Obregon has been said to be that General Obregon began life as a peon. He was one of the great soldiers and great commanders in the revolutions which overthrew Diaz and Huerta and has represented and does now represent the labor and social reform ideals of the Mexican people.

Relations with the Latin-Americans, Mexico in particular, have been constantly

made more difficult and complicated by reason of the propaganda emanating from those who have selfish interests to serve and by reason of the utterances of those whose thought is chiefly or entirely of the employers and exploiters.

It is an established fact that American interests with large holdings in Mexico maintain an organized propaganda, the object of which is to discredit the people and the government of that country. We condemn this propaganda as vicious and as a danger to our national welfare. By this propaganda our national good will is brought into question in all Latin-American countries and suspicion is fastened upon our people, unjustly but not without reason.

In addition to the organized, purposeful propaganda, there has been in recent months a sub-committee of the foreign relations committee of the United States Senate, under the chairmanship of Senator Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico, engaged in the work of gathering testimony relative to conditions in Mexico. Senator Fall's committee has done much to destroy Latin-American faith in the American government. Its work has been colored by an evident prejudice and its report is discredited in advance with all thinking people. From the authentic information we have upon which we base our report we are firmly persuaded that it is the duty of this convention to condemn such biased and partisan operations, the more so when they are cloaked with senatorial authority and we call upon the Senate to repudiate the report of Senator Fall's Committee as unworthy of America, for whatever the report may recommend is made valueless by the prejudiced methods followed by the committee in conducting its hearings.

MEXICO

We have observed during the year just closed a recurrence of the propaganda for intervention in Mexico, which had remained quiescent during the period of the war. It is an established fact that propaganda for intervention in the affairs of our neighboring republic has been of a well-organized and generously financed character. This propaganda has had the assistance of a number of Americans formerly in the service of our government, and it has been energetically fostered by certain of our newspapers. The existence of this propaganda has made it difficult at times for the reading public to understand the exact status of internal events. The propaganda has so interfered with the free flow of accurate news as to become a menace to our international relations with Latin-America.

While for the moment the acute danger of intervention in the affairs of Mexico seems to have passed, the danger will never be removed entirely so long as the organized exploiters of the oil, mineral, timber and land values in Mexico continue to conduct a propaganda devised to serve their interests, regardless of its effects upon international peace. We declare our condemnation of propaganda of this character, in the most emphatic terms, and we call upon the people of our country to be at all times warned of its existence and apprehensive of news sources and newspapers known to be colored by its activities. We declare our firm belief in, and unflinching support of, the principle long since enunciated by the American labor movement and the policies enforced by President Wilson, to the end that the Mexican people must work out their destiny in freedom and without menace from the more powerful and aggressive forces seeking to advance selfish aims. We see no justification for interference in the affairs of a neighboring republic and we call attention to the harmonious relations which exist between the organized workers of Mexico and the organized workers of the United States, as exemplified in the report of our delegates to the Pan-American Federation of Labor, submitted to this convention.

We call upon our people to be of all possible assistance to the people of Mexico in working out most serious problems under most distressing circumstances. We conceive it to be our province to be of service to the people of Mexico, to make every effort to understand their difficulties and their problems and to work with them in harmony in the solution of problems common to both peoples.

We are unalterably opposed to any exercise of force by the United States to satisfy the desires of those Americans whose sole interest in Mexico is the exploitation of its workers, its boundless wealth of oil and minerals. We can conceive of no greater disservice to America, or to the cause of America, than the effort to embroil two peaceful,

democratic nations in international difficulties. It may be pointed out that the people of Mexico have not always in their internal affairs been able to express themselves freely and in democratic manner, and it is true that there have been grave interferences with democratic thought and expression in our neighboring republic. The greater and more important truth is, however, that in spite of tremendous obstacles and in spite of difficulties of long standing, the Mexican people have continually striven toward the establishment of democracy, toward the elevation of their standards of living and of their standards of education, and have never willingly consented to the imposition of autocratic power. We conceive it to be the high office of our free and liberty-loving nation to be of assistance to a people who have struggled so valiantly to achieve the liberties and the standards which we enjoy. We commend the course of President Wilson in his conduct of policies toward Mexico, and declare our approval and support of that policy of non-intervention and non-interference, not only in the past, but for the future.

CONDITIONS IN PORTO RICO—SAN DOMINGO

The 1919 convention directed the president of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a committee of three to visit the island of Porto Rico for the purpose of investigating labor conditions. This action was the result of frequent complaints against labor conditions existing in Porto Rico which had culminated in the filing of charges against Arthur Yager, governor of the island.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor meeting in New York City in July, 1919, adopted a resolution requesting the A. F. of L. to investigate complaints and grievances in relation to the condition of the workers of Santo Domingo, and urged the Federation to do whatever might be possible "to secure to the workers of San Domingo the full opportunity of freedom of expression, freedom of action, the right of voluntary association and the right of collective bargaining to the same degree that those rights are recognized to the wage-earners of the United States and all other governments of free peoples."

Having before it both the instructions of the 1919 convention of the A. F. of L. and the request of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the council deemed it advisable that a committee be authorized to investigate conditions in both places.

Accordingly, Peter J. Brady, of the Photo-Engravers' Union, and Anthony McAndrew, President of the Tobacco Workers' Union, were appointed to undertake that mission.

Prior to authorizing the commission to visit Porto Rico and San Domingo the Executive Council had exhausted every means of securing relief from oppressive conditions. In a letter to President Wilson, dated November 29, the president of the A. F. of L. called attention in detail to the grievances of the San Domingo working people and summarizing the three principle grievances as follows:

"First. Non-enforcement of the immigration laws of the Republic.

"Second. Too severe censorship established.

"Third. The manifest unfairness of the provost marshals in the administration of justice."

This letter to President Wilson was referred by the President's secretary to the Secretary of State for his consideration. On December 31st a reply was received from Secretary of State Lansing in which he said:

December 31, 1919.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Esquire, *President,*
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: By reference from the White House I have received your letter of November 29, 1919, to the President, in which you bring up the complaints made by Mr. J. E. Kunhardt against the Military Government of Santo Domingo. You state that the complaints and grievances of the people of the Dominican Republic which have been brought to your attention are, namely, three: (1) Non-enforcement of the immigration laws of the republic,

(2) Severe censorship established. (3) Manifest unfairness of the provost marshals in the administration of justice.

In regard to the censorship, I have to inform you that the American Minister in Santo Domingo informs me by telegram dated December 25, 5 P. M., that several days ago regulations were put into effect which resulted in the practical abolishment of the censorship. The American Minister further informs me that he hopes to be in Washington about the 10th of January at which time I will take up with him the other matters referred to in your letter. I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant, (Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

It is interesting and amusing to note that on January 31, 1920, another letter in answer to the same communication was received from the Secretary of State. The letter of December 31st and the letter of January 31st are almost identical in language and are identical in subject-matter. Secretary Lansing's letter of January 31st follows:

January 31, 1920.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Esquire, *President,*
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: By reference from the White House, I have to acknowledge your letter of November 29, 1919, in which you bring up certain complaints and grievances presented by Mr. J. E. Kunhardt to the Second Pan-American Labor Congress, relative to the conditions under which the people of the Dominican Republic are said to be laboring since the American Military Government was established there.

You state that the complaints and grievances which have been brought to your attention are mainly three: First, non-enforcement of the immigration laws of the Republic; Second, the severe censorship established, and Third, the manifest unfairness of the provost marshals in the administration of justice.

I have to inform you that for some time past the matter of censorship has been receiving the attention of this Department and by telegram dated January 16, last, the Legation in Santo Domingo informed the Department that the Military Government has issued an executive order abolishing the censorship. In regard to the other two matters, the Department will give careful study to the present conditions and will be assisted in its investigation of these matters by Mr. William W. Russell, American Minister to the Dominican Republic, who is in Washington for the purpose of conferring on Dominican affairs. I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant, (Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

In view of the conditions and in view of the urgent necessity of having a report from its own commissioners relative to conditions in Porto Rico and Santo Domingo, the action of the E. C. in authorizing the investigation was complied with and on January 3, 1920, Mr. Brady and Mr. McAndrew sailed for the Islands.

Upon the return of the A. F. of L. commissioners to the United States, it was deemed advisable to lay before the Secretary of the Navy information relating to the administration of affairs in San Domingo by Rear-Admiral Thomas Snowden, Military Governor. Accordingly a conference with Secretary Daniels was had on April 8, 1920. There were present with Secretary Daniels the president of the A. F. of L., Peter J. Brady, one of the commissioners to the Dominican Republic and Porto Rico; C. A. Vargas, Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and Mr. T. M. Cestero, of San Domingo. Secretary Daniels stated in this conference that he as Secretary of the Navy could not change the policy but that he could ameliorate conditions and that he would lend all his assistance to that end. He expressed a desire to visit San Domingo accompanied, if possible, by a representative of the State Department.

The grievances of the working people of San Domingo were laid before Secretary Daniels in detail by the representatives of the A. F. of L. and the Pan-American

Federation of Labor. The commissioners appointed to visit Porto Rico and San Domingo have rendered detailed reports of their findings in these Islands to the E. C. Both reports are transmitted herewith to the convention in the appendix to this report.

SECOND PAN-AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONGRESS

Upon the convening of the first financial congress in 1915, protest was filed with the Hon. Wm. G. McAdoo, then Secretary of the Treasury, because of failure to appoint among the delegates representing the United States any representative standing conspicuously for human rights and human welfare. In this protest by the President of the American Federation of Labor, it was set forth that the men appointed represented "great business and financial interests of our country. They are interested primarily in the material affairs of business, industry and commerce—the natural resources of countries."

The letter of protest continues: "As a representative of the organization which stands primarily for human rights and human welfare, I desire to bring to your consideration the advisability of appointing on some of these commissions that have to do with things that will so affect the future development of America, men who represent directly the great masses of the citizens of our nation—the wage-earners."

In its report to the San Francisco Convention in that year, the Executive Council discussed the matter at length. The following paragraph conveys the viewpoint which the E. C. had at that time:

"It requires no great imagination or discernment to understand that these able representatives of the interests would so plan and manipulate conditions and events, that the great corporate interest of the various countries would be in a position to control, not only the industries and commerce within their own countries, but international regulations for commerce and industry. In other words, this conference plainly would enable the corporate interests to entrench themselves in a powerful position that would require years of struggle to enable the people of the nations, the masses of the wage-earners, to secure for themselves protection and a right to opportunities in accord with their importance. This conference would determine the tone of international relations, the standards and ideals that would dictate policies and would thus establish a whole line of intangible powerful influence that would make doubly difficult the age-long struggle for freedom that the workers everywhere have waged."

Because of the failure to name a representative of the wage-earners to attend the Pan-American Congress, the E. C. recommended that the convention authorize the council "to consider this matter during the coming year and to enter into correspondence with representatives of organized labor movements of those various countries, for the purpose of promoting a better understanding and closer relationship, to the end that all workers of the various countries may be prepared to act concertedly for mutual advancement and protection." This protest of 1915 gave impetus to the movement to establish the Pan-American Federation of Labor and had its effect when the second Pan-American Financial Conference was organized in January of this year. By appointment from Hon. Carter Glass, Secretary of the Treasury, President Gompers was made a member of one of the group committee of the Second Pan-American Financial Congress, held in Washington, January 19-24, 1920. The congress was held under authority conferred upon the President in Public Act 379, of the Sixty-fourth Congress, and was composed of ministers of finance representing the Pan-American nations, together with representative financiers trade experts and exporters. President Gompers was assigned to the Guatemalan Group Committee.

In the sessions of the group to which he was assigned, President Gompers suggested the advisability of consideration by future conferences of the questions having to do with the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people. The matter was not placed before the group in the form of a motion or resolution, but was laid before them as a suggestion. The Guatemalan delegates stated that their instructions limited their freedom of action, and they expressed a disinclination to exceed their instructions. The following letter, addressed to the Inter-American High Commission subsequent to the hold-

ing of the Pan-American Congress, makes clear the developments in the congress in relation to this subject, and covers further the subsequent steps taken by President Gompers to insure discussion in future congresses of questions relating to human welfare and standards of life and labor in the Pan-American countries:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 10, 1920.

INTER-AMERICAN HIGH COMMISSION,
Pan-American Union, Pan-American Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: On January 9, 1920, Mr. L. S. Rowe, Secretary General of the Pan-American Conference, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, notified me that the secretary had designated me member of one of the group committees during the second Pan-American Conference, which was to be held in this city January 19-24, 1920. I accepted the appointment and was later notified by the Secretary of the Treasury that I had been appointed as a member of the Group Committee for Guatemala.

At the first session of this committee I addressed it in an endeavor to impress upon its members the importance of including in the agenda for future conferences the consideration of the subject of material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people upon which foundation all other questions rest. Mr. Kemmerer, Professor of Economics, Princeton University, offered a motion that a committee be appointed to consider a resolution to that effect and report back to the group committee. In deference to the hesitancy of the Guatemalan delegates to support a motion dealing with a matter upon which they had not been instructed by their government, Mr. Kemmerer withdrew his motion, rather than embarrass the visiting delegates, although it was apparent at the time that a majority of the committee was in favor of its adoption. In withdrawing the motion, however, Professor Kemmerer expressed the hope that I would take the matter up with the Resolutions Committee and volunteered to sign such a motion with me. Thereupon, the following motion was drawn up and submitted to the Secretary-General:

"Resolved, That this conference recommends to the government of the Pan-American Republics the consideration of enlarging the scope of future conferences so as to include, by voluntary cooperation, the subject of improving the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries."

Not having been approved by any group, however, I was informed that it would probably be better to submit the question to the Inter-American High Commission for consideration at the time that the agenda for the next meeting was being prepared.

I therefore earnestly request that the subject-matter dealt with may be placed among the subjects to be considered at the next Pan-American Financial Conference.

Very truly yours,

(Sgd.) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

In response to this letter, the following reply was received from the Secretary-General:

SEGUNDO CONGRESO FINANCIERO PANAMERICANO
1920
Washington, D. C.

Room 182,
Treasury Building,
February 21, 1920.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT GOMPERS: I am requested by the secretary to thank you for your letter of the 10th of February. Your resolution was undoubtedly sound in purpose and practical in every sense of the word. As you know, the meeting of the commission at Buenos Aires in 1916 incorporated a study of

legislation protecting the interest of labor in the program of the commission; it did not, however, undertake to treat social questions or the labor question in the financial conference then expected to be held or in future financial conferences. It was for that reason that the Secretary of the Treasury did not undertake the important task of providing for a thoroughgoing study of the subject of your resolution in the conference which recently closed. The commission, however, has ample authority and it is probable that it will have, in due course, the means to undertake at least the initial steps in such a study. You may be certain, however, that no effort will be relaxed to lay before the various sections of the commission a thorough and concrete statement on this matter.

The secretary deeply appreciates your interest and will count upon your cooperation as well as upon that of the great organization over which you so worthily preside, in the further consideration of this matter.

Very sincerely and cordially yours,
(Signed)

L. S. ROWE,
Secretary-General.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Esq.,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

In relation to the resolution quoted in the foregoing correspondence, it should be understood that Professor Kemmerer joined with the President of the A. F. of L. in suggesting it. When the question was brought before the representatives of Guatemala, who formed the group to which President Gompers and Professor Kemmerer were attached, the Guatemalan representatives stated that under the limitations of their authority, they could not remain in a session in which such a resolution was discussed. Seeing the hopelessness of the situation at this congress, the resolution was withdrawn by Professor Kemmerer and President Gompers.

It will be noted that the above letter clearly sets forth that ample authority exists for pursuing the course indicated by the President of the A. F. of L. The Executive Council is of the opinion that it is of the utmost importance that the work begun in the Second Pan-American Financial Congress be continued, and recommends that the E. C. be authorized to pursue the course indicated in the work already done by means of participation in the next Pan-American Financial Congress, and by utilizing whatever opportunities may present themselves prior to the holding of the next congress.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The last convention elected William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and John J. Hynes, President of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, to represent the American Federation of Labor at the British Trades Union Congress to be held at Glasgow, September, 1919.

Shortly before the time of their departure, conditions arose in Mr. Hutcheson's organization which made it imperative that he remain in the United States. At that time President Gompers and Treasurer Tobin were in Paris on their return from Amsterdam as delegates from the A. F. of L. to the International Federation of Trade Unions. Secretary Morrison endeavored to reach them by cable so that President Gompers might arrange for either himself or Treasurer Tobin to attend the Congress with Mr. Hynes. The cables were delayed in delivery and they did not learn until their arrival home that Mr. Hutcheson was unable to fulfill the duties imposed upon him by the convention. Therefore there was but one delegate from the A. F. of L. to the British Trades Union Congress, Mr. Hynes.

WAGE-WORKERS' ORGANIZATION IN INDIA

The Executive Council is in receipt of resolutions adopted by the Bombay Mill Hands' first conference, held December 14, 1919. The resolutions contain twenty-seven specifications. In these there is a complete reflection of the condition of the workers

in the textile industry in Bombay, and a portrayal of the birth of a new labor movement. The communication from Bombay was published in full in the April, 1920, issue of the *American Federationist*, and for its historical value it is hoped that the delegates to this convention and the officers of the trade union movement will read it.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

International labor relations have continued to increase in complexity and in their demand upon the time and thought of the American labor movement. Since our 1919 convention, the International Federation of Trade Unions has been reconstituted and two meetings have been held at which delegates representing the American Federation of Labor have participated. In addition to these, a delegate during the year attended the British Trade Union Congress and a delegate attended the annual meeting of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. A delegate attended the International Labor Congress, held under the covenant of the League of Nations in Washington as the representative of American Labor. The Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention also was attended by delegates representing the A. F. of L. In each of these meetings, problems of world importance developed as a result of the war, demanded consideration. The trade union movement may be proud of the manner in which it has met the great issues that have arisen and it may point with lasting pride to the integrity that has characterized every action having to do with the welfare of world humanity in connection with these various conventions and congresses. However much the high idealism of the democratic peoples of the world may be abused or dissipated in some of the world's political and business circles it has held its place in the labor movement. There can not be during the coming year nor probably ever again in our future, a restriction of our interest and activity in relation to the work and the welfare of the rest of the world. Whatever may be our desires, the fact is that the course of events, and the needs of people have woven our destinies into such a relation with the peoples of the world that our attention can not be withdrawn from what is happening in other countries and on other continents. Nearly two years have elapsed since the signing of the armistice which ended the world war. It is a regrettable truth that this period has brought but small degree of settlement of the tremendous problems brought into being by the war. The accident of circumstance has been left to deal with matters that should long since have been brought under control of conscious direction. The scope of labor's participation in international affairs will be brought out in separate reports covering the various events in detail. We here submit under proper headings the following:

AMSTERDAM MEETING.

Report of the American Federation of Labor Delegates to the International Federation of Trade Unions Congress at Amsterdam—Made Through the Executive Council to the Officers and Members of the Organized Labor Movement Represented in the American Federation of Labor

On Board United States Steamship George Washington, en Route for the United States, August 17th to 26th, 1919

The undersigned delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the conference of both the old and the new International Federation of Trade Unions held at Amsterdam, Holland, July and August, 1919, submit the following report:

Desirous of submitting this report of our activities at the meetings of the old International Federation of Labor and the new International Federation of Trade Unions while all matters in connection therewith are still fresh in our minds and the documents ready at hand, and for the purpose of giving exact information to our fellow-workers in America and to correct misinformation which has already been spread abroad from European sources, we concluded to prepare the following and submit it to the rank and file of labor through the Executive Council which is to meet within two days after our arrival at the Port of New York.

For a full understanding, we give a brief historical review of the old international as follows:

The Old International

In our 1908 convention directions were given to President Gompers to attend the International Secretariat which was to hold its biennial session at Paris, in August, 1909. Upon his recommendation the American Federation of Labor affiliated to the International Secretariat. Vice-President James Duncan was elected as delegate to the 1911 meeting at Budapest. In 1913, President Perkins of the Cigarmakers' International Union was selected as the delegate to attend the Zurich meeting of the Secretariat.

An invitation was extended to the Secretariat to hold its next meeting (1915) at San Francisco, where the convention of the American Federation of Labor would meet in connection with the international exposition, which was then in the course of construction. The war began in August, 1914, and continuing through the next year made it impossible to hold the proposed meeting of the 1915 Secretariat in the United States. Indeed, by reason of the war, in our effort to maintain absolute neutrality our Federation deemed that it would be wholly inconsistent and improper to send the financial per capita tax to Berlin, Germany, the headquarters of the Secretariat. And thus began the first disintegration of the International Federation of Trade Unions, formerly known as the International Secretariat.

Mr. Carl Legien, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, thereupon delegated Mr. J. Oudegeest, of Amsterdam, Holland, as the temporary secretary of that body. Unsatisfied as were the representatives of the British, French and American national trade union centers, the labor movements of these three nations concluded:

1. That at any time hereafter when a war should occur in which a country was involved where the office of the International Federation of Trade Unions was located, automatically the office should be transferred to a neutral nation.

2. That during the existing war the Confederation Generale du Travail (French Federation of Labor) through its national Secretary, L. Jouhaux, should be the center of correspondence for the labor movements of the entente countries.

The correspondence published in the official reports of the Executive Council to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and that published in the *American Federationist*, December, 1915, January, May, November, 1917, and April, 1918, clearly show the straightforward policy pursued by the American labor movement in connection with international labor union affairs.

During the period of the war before the United States entered the struggle it was impossible for us to hold a conference with the representatives of the German labor movement. When the United States entered into the war we declined to meet with them. We pursued that policy thereafter, at least until after peace had been practically effected. How justified was that attitude of the American Federation of Labor we shall endeavor to show clearly as the result of our experience at Amsterdam, Holland. We desire, however, at this point to call attention to the reports to the 1918 and 1919 conventions of the American Federation of Labor submitted by the three delegations which visited Europe during 1918 and 1919.

The Atlantic City Convention (June, 1919) decided to send a delegation to the proposed International Trade Union Conference to be held in Amsterdam, Holland, July, 1919. President Gompers was selected as one of the delegates: The Executive Council was authorized to select another delegate. The Executive Council selected Treasurer Daniel J. Tobin. Later, in view of the fact that President Wm. L. Hutcheson of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and President J. J. Hynes of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance were elected by the convention as fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress and as each national trade union center was entitled to send ten delegates to the Amsterdam Conference, President Hynes accepted appointment by the Executive Council as a delegate to that conference. Because of matters of the most vital importance to the Brotherhood, President Hutcheson, when invited to serve as a member of the delegation, found it impossible to leave the United States for so long a period before the meeting of the British Trade Union Congress in September. Hence, the delegation from the American Federation of

Labor to the conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions was: Samuel Gompers, Daniel J. Tobin, and John J. Hynes. We selected Guy H. Oyster as the secretary of the delegation.

We sailed from New York on the Steamship *Mauretania*, July 11, landing at Southampton, England, July 17, and immediately proceeded to London. We arrived in that city late in the evening of the same day. We remained in London six days, during which time we had several conferences. We met with the Parliamentary Committee (Executive Council) of the British Trade Union Congress. A general discussion ensued regarding events which occurred during the past four years in connection with the labor movements of the respective countries, particularly as to their international aspect and influence. We also took under joint consideration the most effective service we could render the international labor movements at the Amsterdam meeting. There were good feeling and understanding. One thing was fully determined; that is, that the office of the old international should necessarily be removed from Germany.

Conferences were also held with Secretary W. A. Appleton of the British Federation of Trade Unions, at which the exchange of views was mutually satisfactory. A luncheon was tendered in our honor in the House of Commons cafe by the Right Honorable George N. Barnes, member of the British War Cabinet, at which we met with many of the labor members of the House of Commons, a number of the members of the Parliamentary Committee, and members of the House.

It will be recalled that the British Federation of Trade Unions was the organized body of England which maintained the international labor relations but that at the September, 1918, British Trade Union Congress the latter body determined that it, with its four million members, would assume the international representation and responsibility. It is of more than passing interest to be able to relate that since then agreement has been reached between the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive of the British Federation of Trade Unions, to act jointly in all international labor matters; that as a consequence the delegation of ten to which each national body was entitled, was equally divided between them and the ten delegates thus selected acted jointly and harmoniously at the Amsterdam meeting. It should be stated, of course, that the members of the Federation are also the members of the Congress.

On July 23 we left London for Folkestone by train, and after many vexatious delays and inconveniences we boarded the ship *Orange Nasseau* for Vlissingen (Flushing), Holland.

Reservations had been made for fairly good state rooms, but, owing to the lateness of the hour and the red tape of passports, visas, etc., when we got on board the boat we found that our reservations had been given to others and we were crammed into a narrow room with four bunks, below the water line, in which either sleep or rest was impossible. Under the regulations the ship was not to leave until daylight because of German floating mines, of which there were and are a considerable number playing havoc with ocean travel, particularly in the North Sea, through which we had to pass. The trip from Folkestone to Vlissingen was otherwise uneventful. We reached the latter place about noon, where after a delay of an hour we boarded a train for Amsterdam, via The Hague and Rotterdam. At Rotterdam, the British delegation which came by boat from London, boarded the train but in a different car, so we did not see them en route.

We reached our destination about 6 p. m. July 24, and proceeded to the Hotel d'Europe where we lodged until our departure Monday, August 4.

It had been arranged that there should be meetings of the old international Friday and Saturday, July 25 and 26, for the purpose of winding up its affairs and adjourning sine die before the conference to form the new international should meet the following Monday, July 28. About noon July 25 we proceeded to the Concertgebouw (Concert Building) where the following countries were represented by the delegates named below:

- America, Samuel Gompers and Daniel J. Tobin.
- Austria, A. Hueber and Franz Domes.
- Belgium, Cor. Mertens and G. Solau.
- France, L. Jouhaux and J. Dumoulin.

Germany, C. Legien and Joh. Sassenbach.
Great Britain, W. A. Appleton and Ben Tillet.
Holland, J. Oudegeest and Edo Fimmen.
Norway, Ole O. Lian and Jens Teigen.
Spain, F. L. Caballero and J. Basteiro.
Sweden, Arvid Thorberg and Chr. Sjostrom.
Switzerland, K. Durr and Charles Schurch.

Mr. Oudegeest, on behalf of the Dutch Federation of Labor, delivered an address of welcome and outlined what he thought should be the course of procedure and the subjects with which the conference should deal. He then moved that we proceed to the election of officers and nominated Mr. Legien for chairman of the conference. Mr. Legien, however, stated that it was the rule of the old international that the president of the national center of the country where the conference was being held should preside. He therefore declined the nomination, "not only for formal reason but also for reasons of tactics." Whereupon, J. Oudegeest and Edo Fimmen, president and secretary respectively of the Dutch Federation of Labor, were elected chairman and secretary of the preliminary conferences of the old international.

Mr. Legien, of Germany, submitted in printed form a report of his activities since the previous meeting in Zurich in 1913, including the financial statement of receipts and expenditures. Mr. Oudegeest submitted a report, also in printed form, from the time of his assumption of the functions as temporary secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Mr. Jouhaux laid before the conference a report of his activities as the corresponding center for the labor movements of the entente countries. These reports were referred to a committee which reported that the financial statements were evidently correct. All of the reports without further ado were later made part of the official proceedings.

The chairman then proposed that we proceed to liquidate the affairs of the old international. At this point Mr. Mertens, of Belgium, demanded as a "formal and rational proposition" that the meetings should be open to the press and not private as had been previously arranged by the bureau. He declared that he was opposed to any discussion at that session because his delegation had explicit instructions from the Belgian labor movement to present publicly their complaints and grievances against the leaders of the German labor movement, many of whom were officials of the old international. It was only after they had emphatically made this demand a condition precedent to their further participation in the conferences and the American delegation had added their strenuous support and insistence that the meeting was adjourned until the following morning in order that the press might have representatives present.

Both Chairman Oudegeest and Secretary Fimmen strongly pleaded for a continuation of the executive session to discuss "merely formal questions, as for instance the financial report of the old international and to arrange certain matters for the new international, such as the voting representation, the agenda and the rules." The American delegates were of the opinion that the old international had no jurisdiction or right to make rules or to determine the procedure of the new international. The session then adjourned until the following morning, after the following motion by Mr. Gompers had been carried:

The business of this conference shall be open to the representatives of the press of all shades of opinion.

Saturday morning the old international resumed its conference. The chairman proposed that the voting representation for the new international be discussed and decided. While not acknowledging the right of the old international to decide this question for the new international, Mr. Tobin moved:

Each national trade union center which will be admitted to the International Trade Union Conference at Amsterdam July, 1919, shall have in that conference one vote for every 250,000 members or fraction thereof.

The delegation from Sweden moved:

Every federation admitted to the International Trade Union Conference at Amsterdam, July, 1919, shall have in that conference one vote for every 1,000,000 members or fraction thereof.

The motions were voted upon jointly. The Swedish motion was adopted by the following vote: Swedish motion, 8 votes; Tobin motion (Great Britain and America), 2 votes.

In this first vote, it will be noted, Germany voted with the small nations, apparently against her own interests, for having the largest membership she would of course have had the largest vote under the motion which she helped to defeat.

■ In the meantime Mr. Mertens, of Belgium, had insisted upon and obtained the right to place orally before the convention the complaints and grievances which the Belgian people in general and the workers in particular had suffered, and which the Belgian delegation had been instructed to lodge against the leaders of the labor movement of Germany. He was granted the floor Saturday afternoon and presented an indictment which was burning in its intensity. He called particular attention to the acts of omission and commission of Mr. Legien and his associates—their failure to take into consideration the obligations which they owed to the other labor movements of the world; their failure to exercise every effort to prevent the declaration of war by Germany; their support of the imperial German government, by voting for the war budget without which war could not have been begun or maintained; their failure to protest against the invasion of Belgium, the deportation of Belgian workers into Germany and the enforcement of compulsory labor upon them, the cruelties and atrocities which were committed by the Germans upon the Belgian civil population, and the taking out of Belgium of machinery, raw materials and all essentials to industry and employment. A general discussion ensued.

At this point it is necessary to state a peculiar parliamentary procedure which prevailed and which it was later stated generally prevails in continental Europe. Under the rules the chairman receives and places on a list the names of those who ask the right to the floor. With that list before Chairman Oudegeest, on which the name of President Gompers appeared, someone handed to Mr. Oudegeest without the knowledge of the other delegations, yours included, a paper upon which was contained a proposition that the subject-matter under discussion, i. e., the grievances against the leaders of the German labor movement, be referred to a committee for consideration and report. The chairman undertook to place the motion which had been privately handed to him in writing, before the body for a vote and he proposed that the conference come to a vote on it. Mr. Gompers protested against such a procedure and insisted that the delegates whose names were upon the list as speakers had the right to be heard first; before the motion which had been presented after the names had been inserted upon the list, should be considered by the conference. There was no charge of unfairness against the chairman but simply against the method of procedure. We insisted that the written proposal should only be presented in turn when the proposer might have his name inserted upon the list; that when that name should be reached the proposal could then be placed before the conference, but that it could not take precedence over those whose names were already on the list. The discussion was heated and insistent, but finally our arguments prevailed, and the speakers were granted the floor in accordance with the list of the chairman.

Another peculiar feature of parliamentary practice is that the chairman of a conference, whenever he so desires, makes a motion from the chair for a vote by the conference. Even a delegate may offer a motion and if it does not suit the chairman's point of view he may place his own motion before the conference, disregarding the motion made from the floor.

After the discussion brought about by the complaints and grievances presented by the Belgian delegation and upon which the attempt was made to prevent further discussion, President Gompers was finally accorded the floor. He minutely and in detail called attention to the negligence, failure and inefficiency of the officers of the international trade union movement in Germany and their refusal to take definite and effective action to prevent the United States from being dragged into the war. The

correspondence between Mr. Legien and Mr. Gompers was read, including the appeal made to Mr. Legien to try to prevail upon his government to disavow the intention to continue the murder of innocent men, women and children, such as was caused by the sinking of the Lusitania, the Sussex and numerous other unarmed vessels. Despite the fact that it has been definitely, officially and documentarily proven that these ships were unarmed and had no arms or munitions on board, Mr. Legien insisted upon repeating the charge that these vessels were armed. Even when assurance was given that the charge was not true, Mr. Legien insisted upon repeating it.

Attention was also called to Mr. Legien's refusal to support the "Naval Holiday," whereby it was proposed that the construction of battleships and the manufacture of arms and ammunitions should be curtailed by all the civilized nations of the world; to his failure to take any action on the resolution declaring that the labor movements of all countries should send delegates to a world labor conference to be held at the same time and place as the official peace conference; to the action of the German delegates to the Coal Miners' International Conference at Karlsbad, in 1912, when they threatened to leave the conference if the American proposal to stop mining coal in case any country should break the peace of the world, was not withdrawn. Mr. Tobin supplemented and confirmed the statements made by President Gompers.

Late on Saturday evening Mr. Sassenbach submitted a statement for himself and Mr. Legien which, with the entire subject-matter of the complaints and grievances made by the Belgian and American delegations, was referred to a committee consisting of one delegate from each country represented. Mr. Gompers was made a member of that committee. The Sassenbach-Legien statement is as follows:

(Transcribed by Mr. Oyster from his stenographic notes of the oral interpretation of the official interpreter.)

The German trade unions have always recognized that Germany has acted wrong with regard to Belgium and they have always condemned the atrocities of the war which were committed during the occupation of Belgium. The deportation of Belgian workers did not have the consent of the German laborers and as far as was possible during the war, we fought against it. The attitude of the German laboring class at the outbreak of the war and during the war was dictated by the position of Germany. It was our conviction that Germany was fighting a defensive war and that this was the general opinion in Germany is proved by the facts that the leaders of the so-called independent socialists movement took the same position at the beginning of the war. The German laboring class has always been the opponent of the war and of armaments and has never sustained the imperialistic tendencies of the government. If, at the beginning of the war, all had been known, which is known now, if it had not been misled and betrayed by our government, the attitude of the German laboring class and of its representatives would have been another one. If the German labor movement could have had the suspicion and known that Germany was the aggressor, then without any doubt they would have tried to prevent the war with all means in their power. We must recognize that the workers of other countries can not appreciate or understand several of our acts during the war, but these acts were dictated to us by the heavy struggle the German people and nation were waging for its very existence. But the truth has come nearer to us of many a thing which we did in the full conviction; it must be clear now that we can not accept it as we have accepted it before, but all that has been done has been done in the conviction that the right interests of the German people were at stake and that we tried to do our duty without wronging the laboring class of other countries and without violating our own national obligations.

The committee met Monday morning when Mr. Sassenbach stated that Saturday night he met the eight delegates who had just arrived in Amsterdam to represent Germany together with Mr. Legien and Mr. Sassenbach in the new international. He told them of the declaration presented and they wanted to see it, but as the official

interpreter had it for translation, he was unable at that time to show it to them. They had then requested to see it at twelve o'clock that day (Monday). It was, therefore, decided to adjourn to meet at 6 P. M.

The redrafted statement, as presented by Mr. Sassenbach at that time, read as follows:

The German trade unions have always admitted that great injustices have been done to the Belgians; they have also continually condemned the cruelties practiced during the occupation of Belgium. The deportation of Belgian workers has never had the approval of the German working classes; on the contrary, as far as war conditions permitted, they have always been opposed to the deportations.

The attitude of the German trade unions at the outbreak of and during the war was determined by the conditions prevailing in Germany. It is the firm conviction of the German organized workers that Germany had to fight a war of defense. The German workers have always been opponents of all wars and armaments and never supported imperialism and annexionism in any form. Should the German trade unions have realized that Germany was the attacking party, they and their representatives would have taken another attitude. We know that the workers of the allied countries consider many of our actions performed during the course of the war as wrong, which to us only appeared as being quite natural in the hard struggle the German people had to fight. We, on the other hand, could not grasp much of what the workers of the allied countries have done. Everything the German trade unions did during the course of the war was done under the impression that they were serving the vital interests of the German people without thereby committing an injustice against their fellow workers in the other countries and without thereby violating their international obligations.

Mr. Gompers contended that Mr. Legien and Mr. Sassenbach represented the German trade union movement in the old international and that their statement presented to the conference Saturday evening was the statement before the committee, and not the statement as altered by the eight German delegates to the new international. After considerable discussion, Mr. Gompers offered the following motion:

That the Legien-Sassenbach declaration made Saturday evening, together with the altered declaration as presented at this session, be reported to the old international when we meet tomorrow, without comment or observation of any kind.

The motion was lost by the following vote: for, 4; against, 5; abstentions, 3. Mr. Gompers then offered the following resolution:

We have heard with satisfaction the declaration of the representatives of the German workers in so far as they acknowledge that grave injustice and wrong were inflicted upon the workers and the people generally of Belgium, but we hold that grave injustices and wrongs have also been committed by the Germans against the allied and associated people, workers and governments. We hold that, while the representatives of labor in Germany may have been misinformed and deceived by their government, yet that the aggression of the German government was a factor of common knowledge in Germany as well as in the other countries of the world and that it was the duty and obligation of the representatives of labor in Germany to have publicly protested in the most effective manner against the declaration of war as well as the acts of war.

We, therefore, hold that the conduct of the representatives of labor in Germany has been reprehensible for their failure to perform the duties devolving upon them in their responsible official as well as fraternal position.

After this resolution was read in the committee, Mr. Sassenbach said:

If this resolution is adopted by the conference it will simply mean that the German delegation will have to withdraw. It will be impossible for us to longer remain. I do not care to discuss it.

Mr. Gompers defended the resolution by calling attention to the unrepentant defiant attitude of the German delegation; to their refusal to present a declaration condemning kaiserism, militarism and imperialism; to their declaration in which they had the temerity to accuse the labor movements of England, France, Belgium and the United States. If they wished to take a position excusing the imperial government of Germany and defending their acts before and during the war, then that they would have to stand reprimanded by the heart and conscience of the labor movements of the world.

So far as the representatives of the United States were concerned, your delegation was not satisfied with either of the Legien-Sassenbach declarations and in view of the fact that the German delegate on the committee, Mr. Sassenbach, had cast the deciding vote against Mr. Gompers' first resolution to report both German declarations to the conference without comment, there was no alternative course to pursue.

Mr. Jouhaux then stated that it was his opinion that the committee should not accept the second Legien-Sassenbach declaration and should only recognize the first declaration, and offered the following resolution:

The committee having taken cognizance of the grievances formulated by the Belgian trade unions, the discussions following thereon and the statements of the German delegation, considering that the main object of the International Trade Union Congress of Amsterdam is the reconstruction of the trade union international in such a way that a repetition of acts like those which occurred in the period immediately preceding and also during the war will be impossible, registers the statements made in the name of the German delegation at the close of the discussions on Saturday, July 26, notes the sentiments of regret expressed therein and passes to the order of the day.

Mr. Finmen, the chairman of the committee, then spoke in part as follows:

Now, I wish to say this; that as delegate from the Dutch Federation of Labor I regret very much the attitude of the German delegation and I can not understand it. Mr. Gompers says that if there had been a loyal and free declaration that the German labor movement blames kaiserism, blames all the acts which have been done in the name of the kaiser, then there would be a feeling of conciliation, and I can not understand why the German delegation can not give this declaration from their hearts. The fact is that they sent to the devil the kaiser, they have been betrayed and misled, and I can not understand it. I appeal to Sassenbach. You have been the man who brought in the first declaration which, while it may not completely satisfy all delegates, all delegations, while it was not conciliation, it was the beginning of it—it opened the way to get together. Press upon your fellow delegates to accept it and let them make the declaration—let them say that we German delegates, we declare to this congress that we blame kaiserism and then I hope it will be all right, but do not give us the declaration we have been given now. When the German delegates won't do that I am afraid to say that it will be the Germans who make the reconciliation impossible' at this conference. I appeal also to Mr. Gompers and to all the other delegates on the other side of the table in the name of humanity, in the name of all that is pure and holy to the labor movement, do not take away your hands; make it possible that we come to an understanding; make it possible that we come to the building of the international and, therefore, I press upon Mr. Gompers to withdraw his motion and accept the proposition of Jouhaux and express the hope that if we agree upon the resolution of Jouhaux, that the Germans from themselves and by themselves form a good resolution which will satisfy by its frankness all who are present at this conference.

Mr. Oudegeest made a further appeal to Mr. Gompers to withdraw his resolution under the following conditions: that a vote be taken upon Mr. Jouhaux's motion but that when it should come before the conference the next morning every delegate and every delegation should be free in their attitude to do what they like, and added, "but it all depends upon the attitude the Germans take tomorrow morning."

Mr. Gompers then made the following statement:

With the understanding that each delegation reserves to itself to take any course which it deems proper, I temporarily withdraw my resolution, depending upon the attitude taken by the German delegation. Of course, it is understood that there will be a declaration made by the German delegation. I further request that my resolution be made a part of the record of this committee.

Mr. Jouhaux's resolution was then carried, Sassenbach abstaining from voting.

Report of Subcommittee

A subcommittee consisting of Mr. Fimmen, Mr. Gompers and Mr. Jouhaux was thereupon appointed by the chairman to prepare the report of the committee, to meet Tuesday morning, at 9 A. M.

A draft report was prepared by Mr. Gompers and presented to the subcommittee the following morning. It read as follows:

At the meeting of the International Federation of Labor on Saturday, July 26, 1919, at Amsterdam, the delegates from Belgium bitterly complained of the course pursued by the officials of the labor movement of Germany—some of whom were officials of the International Federation of Labor—during the war, and the wrongs, injustice and cruelties perpetrated upon the working people and the people generally of Belgium.

A general discussion ensued in which complaints of a similar character were expressed by delegates from the labor movements of countries other than Belgium whereupon, late in the evening, Delegate Sassenbach for himself and for his colleague, Delegate Legien, representing the German Federation of Labor, read a prepared statement of the position of Germany's organized workers during the war.

A further discussion then ensued and the conference decided to refer the statement and the entire subject-matter to a committee consisting of one delegate from each of the delegations represented at the conference.

The committee has held several and extended sessions and has passed the following resolutions:

1. That the statement read by Delegate Sassenbach be incorporated in full and as read by him at the meeting on Saturday evening, July 26, 1919.
2. That the regrets expressed in the statement be registered.
3. That the delegation from the German labor movement make a frank avowal of their course during the war.
4. That if the avowal be frank and open and satisfactory, the conference proceed to the order of the day.
5. That if the avowal is unsatisfactory to the members of this committee or to any of the other delegates to this conference, freedom of action is reserved.

The committee, realizing that the paramount purpose of our conference is to protect and promote the rights, interests and welfare of the working people and the masses of the people of all the countries of the world and that this can be best accomplished by an international labor movement, and that it is essential that every action be taken to prevent a recurrence of all that has occurred prior to and during the war, recommends:

The adoption of this report and that we proceed to the accomplishment of the purpose for which this conference was called.

Mr. Jouhaux immediately offered an amendment so as to make Resolution No. 3 read as follows:

That the delegation from the German labor movement confirms loyally the spirit of the declaration.

This amendment was based on the understanding that the German delegation was not to be called upon to make a further statement, but simply to "confirm loyally" the first Sassenbach-Legien declaration. The record sustained Mr. Gompers that this was contrary to the conditions under which he withdrew his resolution and to the action of the committee, and he would not agree to it. Mr. Fimmen supported Mr. Jouhaux's contention and stated:

I did not say yesterday that if the Germans did not make a frank and open statement that they would be responsible for the failure to form a new international.

The subcommittee failing to agree, the full committee was requested to reassemble. Mr. Jouhaux stated that he was satisfied with the first Sassenbach-Legien declaration.

Mr. Gompers then spoke as follows:

How the chairman can take the position this morning he has on the question is more than I can understand, for I think I have some memory, and some of the other delegates making up this committee I think will understand that Mr. Fimmen last night said to Mr. Sassenbach words to this effect: "Why don't you German delegates stand up like men and make the declaration. You have driven the kaiser out of your country. You have no excuses to make. Why don't you satisfy this whole situation and clear it up." Now, if my memory does not fail me, that is the declaration made by the chairman and backed up by the delegates, at any rate from the neutral nations. When this discussion was at its height, I made a motion that the Sassenbach-Legien statement which was made last Saturday night and the statement made yesterday should both be reported to the conference without comment, and that was defeated. When that was defeated I offered another motion and Mr. Sassenbach declared that if that motion was adopted the German delegates would leave the conference. The chairman made an appeal to all, first to Sassenbach for the German delegation and then to the American delegate to withdraw his motion. It was emphasized by the chairman that if the statement made by the German delegation in the conference today was not satisfactory, each delegate reserved the right to express his views. That is not a new question. It is the action of the committee and the declaration of the chair at the meeting last night. I think I shall say nothing more on this subject at this conference. I propose that the draft as prepared by me be the report of the committee to the conference.

The committee, evidently worn out by two days and evenings of wrangling and manoeuvring, finally accepted the Jouhaux amendment, and as thus agreed upon the report was submitted to the next meeting of the old international.

On behalf of the German delegation, Mr. Sassenbach made a statement to the effect that the entire delegation from the German labor movement to the Amsterdam conference loyally confirmed the spirit of the first Sassenbach-Legien declaration.

We expected that there would be a long and heated discussion upon the committee's report, but to our surprise it was accepted by a unanimous vote.

Thus the old international passed into history. The German contention that their declaration dealing with their moral responsibility for and during the war was as complete as the internal conditions in Germany would allow, was heard by those who had insisted upon a frank, open statement in an effort to establish such internationalism as was possible under the circumstances. As a matter of fact, on the day the new international adjourned, Mr. Sassenbach stated on the floor of the conference that the Sassen-

bach-Legien statement had been bitterly attacked by the German press, and that the majority of the German delegation now felt that the statement was more than they should have been forced to make. When questioned by Delegate Tobin, however, he stated that it was not the intention to withdraw or reconsider it.

The New International

The conference to form a new International Federation of Trade Unions convened at the Concertgebouw, Amsterdam, Holland, July 28, 1919. Mr. Oudegeest, President of the Dutch Federation of Labor, delivered an address of welcome. Unfortunately, however, he early struck a discordant note when, in dealing with responsibility for the war, he declared it to have been a capitalistic war, prepared for and caused by the capitalistic class. Whereupon Mr. Tobin of the American Delegation replied as follows:

The address of welcome just delivered again refers to the question of the responsibility for the war. The statement of the chairman that all the suffering, all of the trouble, all of the deaths resulting from the war was caused by the capitalistic class endeavors to place the responsibility for the war on another element besides the element that we American delegates believe responsible for it.

I am not going to defend the unjust capitalists, but I, as one of the American delegates, propose to object to any such statement. We contend and we believe that the war was absolutely caused by the monarchial, militaristic system of Germany and Austria and will not subscribe to any other declaration made by the chairman of this convention. The United States forces, the British forces and the allies all combined have forever destroyed the systems that were responsible for that awful destruction of life and property and happiness.

The secretary read a list showing fourteen countries with ninety-two delegates representing 17,740,000 members, as follows:

List of Delegates

Countries	Name of the Organization and Members	No.	Names of the Delegates
America.....	American Federation of Labor, 3,600,000....	3	Samuel Gompers Daniel J. Tobin John J. Hynes
Belgium.....	Commission Syndicale du Parti Ouvrier et des Syndicats Independants, 450,000.....	4	Guillaum Solau Corneille Mertens Ernest Martels Louis Uyteoever
Bohemia.....	Odborove Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenske, 230,000	2	Rud Taylerle Val. Skursky
Denmark.....	De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark, 255,000.....	6	Carl F. Madsen Villiam P. Krup I. A. Hansen J. P. Nielsen Rudolf Poulsen Karl Kiefer

List of Delegates—Continued

Countries	Name of the Organization and Members	No.	Names of the Delegates
Germany	Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, 5,400,000.....	9	C. Legien J. Sassenbach O. Schumann Jos. Seitz Carl Hubsch Theodore Leipart H. Sachse F. Paepflow August Brey
England	Geschäftskommission der Freien Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften, 60,000..... (a) General Federation of Trade Unions, 1,250,000; (b) Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, 3,500,000.....	1 8	Fritz Kater Ben Tillett J. Asquith James Crinion W. A. Appleton Will Thorne G. H. Stuart Bunning Jos. B. Williams J. Hill
France	Confédération Générale du Travail, 1,500,000.....	14	Million Bidegaray A. Luquet L. Jouhaux C. Dumoulin P. Chauvin A. Savoie P. Dumas A. Doumeno A. Rivelli C. Bartuel A. Bourderon F. Mammale A. Merrheim
Holland	Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakverenigingen, 220,000.....	10	J. Oudegeest Edo Fimmen H. J. Burns J. Brautigam P. Moltmaker R. Stenhuis H. J. J. Eichelsheim P. Heimstra P. Danz Henri Polak

List of Delegates—Continued

Countries	Name of the Organization and Members	No.	Names of the Delegates
	National Arbeids Secretariat, 45,000.....	10	B. Lansink, Jr. B. Lansink, Sr. S. van den Berg E. Bouwman H. Sneevliet L. Kelder G. J. A. Wesselingh C. Wolf Th. J. Dissel C. de Soet
Luxemburg...	Commission Syndicale de Luxembourg (G.-D.) 21,000.....	3	Adolf Krieps Peter Krier Michael Schettle
Norway.....	Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganization i Norge, 122,000.....	3	Ole O. Lien Jens Teigen Rich. Hansen
Austria.....	Gewerkschaftskommission Deutsch-Oesterreichs, 500,000.....	8	A. Hueber Stefan Ruppert Franz Domes Karl Pick J. Gruenwald A. Boschek J. Paulik Gottl. Loria
Spain.....	Union Generale de Trabajadores, 150,000....	2	Julian Besteiro Francisco L. Caballero
Sweden.....	Landsorganisationen a Sverige, 235,000.....	5	Arvid Thorberg C. E. Tholin Anders Sjostedt Janne Jonsson Chr. Sjostrom
Switzerland..	Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund, 200,000	3	A. GrosPierre Ch. Schurch Karl Durr

Mr. Gompers requested the secretary to make a note of the fact that the American Federation of Labor had authorized him to represent them at this conference but without the right to vote. The agenda for the conference was also distributed, a copy of which follows:

Agenda

1. Opening.
2. Election of Bureau.
3. Examination of credentials.
4. Report of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, including the temporary bureaux at Amsterdam and Paris.
5. New Constitution and Rules.
6. Temporary suspension of the decision of the old international, that from every country only one center may be affiliated.

7. Designation of the town where the International Federation of Trade Unions shall be situated.

8. Election of the Executive Committee.

9. Fixing of contributions.

10. The Berne program of 1919, comprising the Leeds program (1916) and the Berne program (1917).

11. The international situation.

12. The program of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

13. The Berne resolution 1919 re the League of Nations.

14. The attitude of the International Federation of Trade Unions in respect of the Washington conference, to be held in October, 1919.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the conference adjourned, the delegates having accepted an invitation from the mayor and the common council of the city of Amsterdam to a reception at the City Hall. Upon our arrival in the ancient and beautiful hall we were greeted by the common council and the acting mayor. The mayor was absent on an important mission. The acting mayor delivered an address of welcome in English, repeating it in French and again in German. Responses were made on behalf of the conference by Mr. Legien in German and by Mr. Gompers in English. For an hour the delegates and the Amsterdam officials intermingled and engaged in conversation while refreshments were being served.

At the Tuesday session the conference proceeded to the appointment of committees to deal with the various subjects on the agenda, as follows:

Committee No. 1. (American Delegate—Mr. Tobin.)

Agenda No. 5. New Constitution and Rules.

No. 6. Temporary suspension of the old international, that from every country only one center may be affiliated.

No. 9. Fixing of contributions.

Committee No. 2. (American Delegate—Mr. Hynes.)

Agenda No. 10. The Berne program of 1919, comprising the Leeds program, 1916, and Berne program, 1917.

No. 14. The attitude of the International Federation of Trade Unions in respect of the Washington Conference, to be held in October, 1919.

Committee No. 3. (American Delegate—Mr. Gompers.)

Agenda No. 11. The international situation.

No. 12. The program of the International Federation.

No. 13. The Berne Resolution, 1919, re the League of Nations.

It should be stated here that the fact that we had but three delegates at Amsterdam was a great disadvantage. There were times when all of us were engaged in committee work and were therefore unable to participate in some of the proceedings.

As several countries were represented by more than one delegation, Mr. Tillet of England moved that each country instead of each delegation have one representative on each committee. The motion was lost and therefore those countries represented by two delegations had the advantage of two votes in the committee.

The report of Committee No. 1 (Committee on Rules) is made an appendix to this report.

By reference thereto it will be noted that the name of the organization is **The International Federation of Trade Unions**. This is important, as the words "Trade Unions" appear in the title.

Of even greater importance is the fact that the committee recommended that the headquarters of the international be located at Amsterdam, Holland, thereby accomplishing one of the most important objects of our mission—the removal of the International Secretariat from Berlin, Germany.

It will be further noted that the committee recommended to the conference that the new international federation should be composed of the legitimate, bona fide trade union organization in each country; that only one national trade union movement from each country should be admitted to membership in the future, and that division in the trade

union movement, wherever it exists, shall be brought together before the next international meeting.

To the grouping under the heading management, the Spanish delegates objected on the ground that they believed that the Central and South American countries should be grouped with Spain because they speak the Spanish language. The American delegates protested against any change, both in the committee and on the floor of the convention. After considerable discussion the grouping remained as recommended by the committee.

The question of representation proved to be most difficult of solution. There was entire agreement between the British and American delegations that some form of proportional representation should be adopted. It will be remembered that in the old international each national trade union center was entitled to send two delegates, each being accorded one vote, which made it possible for a group of delegates coming from different small countries with about 100,000 organized workers to have a greater voting power than the large industrial countries, as, for instance, Great Britain, United States, France and Germany. As a consequence, we were determined that a fair representation, with voting power approximately according to the membership, should be adopted by the new international. In the committee there was a great contest over this subject. After strenuous efforts on the part of Mr. Tobin of the United States and Mr. Appleton of England, the committee agreed to recommend to the conference that the voting power should be upon the following basis:

One vote for each 250,000 members or less represented.

One vote for each 250,000 members, or fraction thereof, in addition.

This proposition was adopted by the committee at its morning session by a unanimous vote. When the committee reconvened in the afternoon the Swedish delegation made a statement to the chairman that they did not fully understand the meaning of the voting question in the morning session; that if they had so understood it they would not have voted for the proposition on the ground that the smaller nations would be controlled by the larger ones. The chairman allowed the discussion and the question to be reopened, to all of which delegate Tobin objected. He held that the proceeding was illegal, unlawful and contrary to parliamentary practice; that if the action of the committee at the morning session was not satisfactory to the Swedish delegation they had the right to fight the proposition on the floor of the conference, to all of which the chairman agreed but allowed the discussion to go on. The question was finally put to another vote, when the committee changed the action of the morning session and agreed to recommend but one vote for each 1,000,000 members or fraction thereof for each country affiliated. Whereupon delegate Tobin stated that if the action of the committee at its morning session was changed that he could not continue in the sessions of the committee. Upon the vote being taken setting aside the action of the committee at its morning session he left the committee room and proceeded to consult with Delegates Gompers and Hynes as to the proper course to be pursued. Immediately, however, he was followed by the chairman and secretary of the committee and implored to return with the promise that a favorable report would be made to the convention along the lines of the action of the committee at its morning session.

The committee proceeded then with its other work and took up the question of the contribution (per capita tax). It was decided by the committee to recommend that the amount be equivalent to one cent in American money per member per annum. To this delegate Tobin objected because we believed that that amount was not necessary to carry on the work of the new organization. The committee, however, by a majority vote decided to make such a recommendation to the conference.

When the report of the committee came before the conference and the subjects were taken up separately, the question of the voting power of the national trade union centers was perhaps the most bitterly contested. After a lengthy and heated debate the following basis was adopted:

Each national trade union center is entitled to one vote for 250,000 members or less.

Two votes from 250,000 to 500,000.

Three votes from 500,000 to 1,000,000.

And one vote for every 500,000, or fraction thereof, over and above 1,000,000.

When that was adopted we proposed and insisted that the above voting power be applied immediately to the present conference, which motion was also adopted. The voting strength of the conference was therefore as follows:

Country	Membership	Votes
America.....	3,600,000	9
Great Britain.....	4,750,000	11
France.....	1,500,000	4
Belgium.....	450,000	2
Luxemburg.....	21,000	1
Germany.....	5,400,000	12
	60,000	1
Austria.....	500,000	2
Holland.....	223,000	1
	45,000	1
Switzerland.....	200,000	1
Sweden.....	235,000	1
Norway.....	122,000	1
Denmark.....	255,000	2
Spain.....	150,000	1
Czecho-Slovacks.....	230,000	1
Total.....		51 Votes.

A considerable discussion then ensued upon the per capita tax, which was finally fixed at one-half of 1 cent per member per annum. This would make our contribution, basing our per capita tax on 4,000,000 members, \$20,000 per annum.

Report by Committee No. 2

Committee No. 2, of which Delegate Hynes was a member, made the following report, which Mr. Hynes opposed on the floor of the conference:

The International Trade Union Congress at Amsterdam declares that it can not accept as the full expression of the demands of the working classes of all countries the clauses of the "Charter of Labor" as contained in the Versailles Peace Treaty (Title XIII, Section II).

Only a simple comparison of the clauses of the official Peace Treaty with the program adopted at Berne (February, 1919) by the international trade unions shows distinctly the insufficiency of this charter.

1. Child Labor and Labor Juveniles

We made the demand at Berne (Art. 1) for compulsory elementary education in all countries, for free higher education open to every one, the prohibition to perform labor by children under the age of 15 and (Art. 2) the limitation to six hours per day for juveniles from 15 to 18 and compulsory supplementary education. The official text (Par. 6) is silent about general education. This text is not at all clear about the abolition of child labor and does not mention anything about the age limit.

2. Women Labor

We demanded (Arts. 3 and 4) that women should not be permitted to perform work on Saturday after 12 o'clock and should not exceed four hours.

The official text is silent on that point. It does not mention anything either about regulating home industry, or about the prohibition of night work, or about dangerous work for women, or about the employment of women before and after confinement.

The fact that these questions have to be submitted to the International

Conference at Washington clearly demonstrates that the demands we made have not been complied with. No mention whatever is made, either, about maternal insurance. The only concession to our demands is that women shall receive the same pay as men for equal work.

3. *Eight-Hour Day*

Paragraph 4 of the Peace Treaty states that the eight-hour day or the forty-eight-hour week is the object to be obtained wherever it has not been achieved.

We demanded (Art. 4 of Berne) the guarantee of a reduced number of working hours; we also demanded the English-week about which the treaty is silent.

It does not allude either to non-complete restriction of the labor hours in the unhealthy industries, or to the suppression of the use of poisons, where that is possible.

4. *Sunday Rest*

We demanded (Art. 5) the uninterrupted Sunday rest during thirty-six hours. Paragraph 5 only fixes this rest time on twenty-four hours.

5. *Home Industry*

Here no allusion whatsoever about regulation or prohibition of home industry demanded in our Article 7, nor about sanitary inspection of home industry.

6. *Right of Combination*

We demanded the recognition of the right of combination for the working classes in all countries, the abrogation of all laws and decrees contrary to the principles.

Paragraph 2 of the treaty only recognizes "the right of combination in respect of all objects which are not contrary to law," a text so badly formulated that it would enable any government by declaration to make the right of striking illegal and to make the right of combination a dead letter.

7. *Foreign Labor*

In the same Article 8 we demanded to grant immigrants all rights granted to the workers of the country—the right of combination included.

Paragraph 8 of the Peace Treaty only makes mention of "the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident there." This restriction can not be accepted. It can only refer to wages, but does insure equality. We also asked the abrogation of the laws prohibiting immigration with some attenuations. The Treaty is silent on this point.

8. *Minimum Wages*

The treaty does, it is true, guarantee (Clause 3) a fair living wage, but it does not make any provision as to the realization of such living wage (Par. 10, Berne).

9. *Sundry Demands*

The Charter of Labor does not mention anything about the struggle of our organizations against unemployment (Art. 11) and about our demands as to various forms of labor insurance.

The organization of industrial inspection is insufficient as laid down in paragraph 9.

For those essential reasons, and considering that the clauses in the Peace Treaty dealing with labor questions do not take account of the radical changes

which have taken place in the world and do not fully apply the principles of justice to labor without which a league of nations will not be efficacious and peace will not be sufficiently established. Further, considering that the working classes should remain quite independent in formulating and setting into effect their own policies, the Amsterdam Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions ratifies the minimum program of Berne and instructs every national labor movement to strive for its complete and early realization.

Resolutions Regarding Washington Congress

The International Trade Union Congress, comprising the delegations of the following national centers—United States of America, Germany, Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Spain, Holland, Luxemburg, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia—very much regrets that the Charter of Labor responds to hardly any point of the program of demands drawn up at Berne (February, 1919) by the trade unions of the principal countries.

The congress admits, however, that this charter may become the basis of a league which will not merely be a league of governments but a league of peoples. For that reason the congress declares that it is willing to lend its cooperation to the Washington conference, with the reservation that:

1. The representatives of the trade union movement of all countries shall be invited and admitted without any exception.

2. The delegates appointed by the national centers affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions shall be recognized as the representatives of the labor movement.

Should these conditions not be accepted the national centers represented at this present conference would have to abstain from participating in the Washington conference.

The international congress of Amsterdam further declares that when the trade union movement does participate in the Washington conference, they will have to make most strenuous efforts in order:

That in the delegations of every country there shall be only one government representative just as there is only one representative for the workers and one for the employers.

That the decisions taken by the conference shall be valid when they are passed by a majority, i. e., one-half plus one and not by two-thirds of the number of votes cast, as stipulated in the relative paragraph of the Peace Treaty.

COMMITTEE NO. 2:

EDO FIMMEN, *President.*

L. JOUHAUX, *Secretary.*

The report was discussed from every angle and at great length. Mr. Gompers, in attacking the report, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Before speaking upon the report of the committee, I shall offer the following as a substitute and address myself to the question at issue:

The International Federation of Trade Union Conference at Amsterdam declares that the labor charter as contained in the Peace Treaty does not give expression to the full demands of the working classes, and urges all the national centers to strive for the complete and early realization of the program of the newly formed international.

It is very disappointing to my associates, as well as it is to myself, that the report is made as submitted. May I call attention to the fact that as the representative of labor of the United States to the Commission on International Labor Legislation at Paris I presented a number of propositions more far-reaching than the representatives of labor, not only of other countries but of France, would accept. I proposed, among other things, that the labor

of a human being should not be regarded as an article of commerce or as a commodity. I proposed that the delegation from each country, as provided by the draft convention, should not be two from the government, one from the employers and one from the workers, but equal representation: one from the workers, one from the employers and one from the government. I proposed that the seamen of the world should be made free with the right to leave their vessels when in safe harbor. That was rejected by the votes of all the other countries represented at the Commission on International Labor Legislation.

I proposed that the freedom of assembly, speech and the press should not be denied or abridged; I proposed the full and free right of association; I proposed that involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the offender had been adjudged guilty, should be abolished. These were defeated by the votes of the labor representatives of the other countries.

I might state that before that draft convention was reported to the commission, Mr. Barnes, representing Great Britain, stated that he had consulted with the representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress and with the executive of the British Labor Party and they approved the draft convention.

Let me call attention to this further fact, that the Berne conference was held on February 5-8 of this year and that the Peace Conference did not conclude the Treaty of Peace with Germany and did not adopt the Covenant of the League of Nations until the middle of March, that is almost two months later. The draft convention and the labor charter were adopted two months after the Berne conference declared it improper and unsound.

May I remind you of the fact that in the treaty there is stated this definite declaration: That the commissioners do not regard the Covenant of the League of Nations or the draft convention of the labor charter as complete and entirely satisfactory, but they adopt the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, they adopt the draft convention, they adopt the labor charter as the beginning of a continual improvement of all conditions, recognizing the fact that it is not a perfect instrument but that it is an earnest effort to try to prevent a repetition of the bloody war that was thrust upon us. They recognize that the draft convention is only the beginning of the improvement of the conditions of the working people of the world. Shall we now condemn all the efforts that have been made in this direction?

Without the League of Nations and without the labor provisions of the Peace Treaty and the labor charter, what have the working people of the world obtained after all their sacrifices and suffering? How can we reject the thing that gives us promise for international peace? Shall we reject and condemn the labor charter because it does not contain all that we desire? Where, and from whom, and how, I ask you, are we going to obtain at any one time all the ideals and aspirations of the laboring class?

The covenant provides for improvement in the condition of the workers; a wonderful advance in labor's struggle for the new concept between man and man and nation and nation; the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded as a commodity or article of commerce; the right of association; an adequate living wage; the eight-hour day; weekly rest of 24 hours; abolition of child labor; equal pay for men and women for equal work performed; a system of inspection in which women shall take part. Surely, I can not understand how this wonderful stride can be sincerely attacked.

May I remind you also of the statement made by the spokesman of the allied and associated powers in answer to the proposal made by the representatives from Germany at Versailles when he said that it was recognized that it is not a perfect instrument for labor and neither is it perfect in all other things, but he pointed out very clearly and definitely that the labor provisions of the Peace Treaty provide better and higher and broader terms and higher ideals than were contained in the counter proposition from Germany.

It is not my desire at this time to criticize the course of the German

representatives of the German workers in their organized capacity, but I want to call attention again to the fact that it was definitely and convincingly pointed out that the labor provisions in the Peace Treaty were superior by far and went further than the official governmental proposals by the German representatives at the Peace Conference, which proposals were admitted to be the same as those acted upon by the Berne conference which the American Federation of Labor refused to attend.

Gentlemen, my concept, the American concept, at least, is this: We can not believe that the world was created in a day, and we certainly can not believe that it can be made perfect in a day. We believe in a gradual, progressive, onward and upward movement of labor, to work continually in the direction of justice, freedom and democracy and for universal brotherhood. We do not believe that the world can be remade perfect by a declaration or an international conference. We believe that we have got to strive and strive and continue to strive, day after day, year after year, until the higher ideals have been reached, and when we reach that goal we still believe and are convinced that there will still be problems with which the workers and the people of the future will have to deal.

You can not declare for a finality in this or any other conference in our time. Today we should deal with the fundamental facts as they are continuously presented to us day after day, to work out the problems that shall bring light into the life and work of the toiling masses, rather than to dream in the clouds.

In the interest of common justice, in the interest of the working people we represent, in the interest of the countries of the whole world, in the interest of progress, let us deal with the things with which we are confronted. I appeal to this conference to adopt the motion I have substituted, that we shall work for the better and higher things, rather than the hypercritical report of the committee.

In spite of the above appeal, the report of the committee was adopted by the conference by 31 votes to 20, the English and American delegations voting for the Gompers substitute resolution.

Attention is called to the last paragraph of the report of the committee dealing with the Washington conference. Against such a proposition we insistently and emphatically protested. We held that while in ordinary affairs the labor movement, like every other democratic organization, should yield to the majority, yet when a matter of internationality is concerned, when national vital interests are at stake and fundamental principles presented, a nation or nations, though being in the minority in an international conference, can not yield their national independence of thought and action. It was during the discussion of this part of the report of the committee that Mr. Legien had the temerity and audacity to declare that any delegate who would vote against the proposals of the committee was in the pay of the capitalistic class. It was in response to that declaration that President Gompers obtained the floor and repudiated with intense emphasis the imputation which was sought to be cast upon any of the delegates to the convention, and because at that time we were alone in opposing the report of the committee, the insinuation seemed to be lodged directly against us.

Mr. Gompers took up the proposals of the committee item by item and refuted the alleged statements of fact. He denounced the attack of Mr. Legien as unjustified and unwarranted. He asserted that the statement made by Mr. Legien, so far as concerned the unfaithfulness of the representatives of the American labor movement and their being in the pay of any element outside of the labor movement, was a mean, contemptible lie and the man who uttered it an unmitigated liar; that this statement of Mr. Legien was evidently intended to cover up the negligence and inefficiency of the leaders of the labor movement of Germany and of the old International Federation of Trade Unions located in Berlin, and that this outburst of Mr. Legien was another evidence of how utterly unrepentent they are as to the cause of the war and how

arrogant and domineering they are even now. Mr. Legien was told that that attitude illly became the representatives of labor of Germany and that they, and evidently a large part of the German people, have not yet understood the meaning of the result of the war; that the time had gone by forever when "Deutschland uber alles" (Germany over all) could be regarded as the triumphant acclaim of the German people; that the peoples of the democratic countries of the world, and the labor movements of those countries, had determined that for themselves and for all nations, large and small, the opportunity to live their own lives shall prevail and will be maintained at all hazards.

This incident occurred Saturday evening. The British delegates found it necessary to leave on the steamer at 5 o'clock that afternoon or they would have been unable to secure passage until the following Wednesday. They stated that it was impossible for them to remain. They informed us that they were opposed to the proposition and to other propositions and that though they would not be present to vote they asked us to cast their votes upon the propositions mentioned. Upon voting, the report of the committee was adopted, your delegation voting in opposition. When the name of the English delegation was called we declared we did not know the rules, whether the votes of the British delegation could be cast by us or not, and recorded in opposition. We were informed that we could not, which we believe was perfectly justified as otherwise proxy voting would have been introduced. At any rate, a memorandum was directed to be placed in the record that the delegation from Great Britain would have voted in the negative had they been present.

President Gompers was selected by us as a member of Committee No. 3. He was elected chairman. A most peculiar situation presented itself there. A Mr. Sneevliet represented the so-called Syndicalists (Bolsheviki) organization, very small in numbers, known as the National Arbeids Secretariat (Dutch National Trade Union Secretariat). Mr. Stenhuis represented the Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakverenigingen (Dutch Federation of Labor). Thus were there two delegates from Holland on the committee. Both organizations also had representation in the conference. This situation was also true in regard to the Germans. Mr. Kater represented the so-called syndicalists (Bolsheviki) of Germany, and Mr. Brey represented the German Federation of Labor. Mr. Sneevliet proposed and Kater seconded this proposition:

The International Congress, responding to the appeal of the labor classes of the soviet countries to support their struggle by means of demonstrations and strikes with a view to force the imperialist governments to raise their blockade and stop their military intervention, expresses its satisfaction on the joint efforts undertaken by the proletarian class of several countries on the 21st of July,

Resolves to promote and undertake a renewed joint international action for that purpose.

We observed that the proposal was for demonstrations and general strikes and expressed satisfaction concerning the strikes of July 21. The fact is that every one with whom we have come in contact other than the two men mentioned regarded the proposed strikes and demonstrations on July 21 as utter fizzles. It was further seen that the motion also urged a renewal of international action such as general strikes, etc.

When the motion was put to a vote only the proposer and seconder supported it. It was hopelessly defeated.

We report this proposal, not because of the thing itself, but to show how a small, insignificant and wholly irresponsible group of men may propose a most foolhardy and far-reaching action. It may not be amiss to record our opinion here, that in this instance "fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

We have no limits to the action of American workers or the workers of the whole world to secure the rights and interests and the welfare of the working people. We shall urge that every action be taken in order to protect and promote the well-being of the working masses of our country and all other countries. So long as the results of trade union activity prove successful to bring light into the lives and the work of the toiling masses, we hold that it is our plain duty not to disregard experience and results, not to fly in the face of dangers of which little can be known. Our trade union movement,

our federation, is not destructive either in character or in action; ours is a constructive movement to build up and to make life the better worth living, and to help usher in a better day for all the toilers of the world.

The report of the committee is as follows:

Report of Committee No. 3

The committee was formed of the following delegates: S. Gompers (America), Brey (Germany), Kater (Syndicalists, Germany), Hansen (Denmark), Williams (England), Stenhuis (Federation of Trade Unions, Holland), Sneevliet (N. A. S., Holland), Martels (Belgium), Krier (Luxemburg), Janson (Sweden), R. Hansen (Norway), Besteiro (Spain), GrosPierre (Switzerland), Heuber (Austria), Merrheim (France), R. Tayerle (Czecho-Slovacks).

Questions Submitted for Deliberation

The committee had to deal with items 11, 12 and 13 of the agenda.

11. The International Situation.

12. The program of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

13. The Berne Resolution, 1919, In re the League of Nations.

Mr. Gompers was elected President; Mr. Merrheim, Secretary.

The first item discussed by the committee was a resolution submitted by the Dutch Syndicalists asking that the congress protest against the blockade and calling upon the workers of all countries to declare a general strike to secure the removal of the blockade against Russia and Hungary.

The committee defeated the resolution submitted by twelve votes to two, those of the Dutch and German Syndicalists; one abstention (Luxemburg).

Further discussions were held in reference to a resolution submitted by Martel (Belgium), GrosPierre (Switzerland), Besteiro (Spain), Merrheim (France), asking the congress to protest against the blockade and to empower the bureau to institute an inquiry into the trade union position in Russia.

The committee rejected an amendment asking for the extension of the resolution to Germany and Austria on the grounds that the blockade against these countries was automatically raised by the signing of peace, but the spirit in which the discussions upon this subject were held showed that every restriction of economic freedom at whatever country it should be aimed, should be condemned. However, according to the opinion of the committee these countries were in no worse position as far as the provision with foodstuffs was concerned than were Belgium, Italy, Serbia and all the countries devastated by the war and who had the same claim to consideration as Germany and Austria. Further, the American delegate remarked that it should not be forgotten that the rationing of food still existed in America in order to supply foodstuffs to Europe and that it would not be just to make an exception for this or that country.

The motion was divided, at the request of the American and English delegates. The first part reading:

The committee asks the congress to condemn the blockade by the allied governments against Russia and Hungary, declaring that it is the duty of the national centers to take action in their respective countries to secure the early termination of the blockade.

The first part was adopted by 11 votes to 2 (America and England); 2 countries were absent (Austria and Denmark).

The second part of the motion submitted read:

The committee further considers that one of the first tasks of the bureau of the international trade union movement is to make an investigation into the trade union position in Russia so that the national centers will be fully informed and may decide with full knowledge of the facts the best way to help the Russian trade union movement.

The second part was adopted by 12 votes to 1 (Syndicalists, Germany); 2 absent (Austria and Denmark).

After this vote the president said that as the representative of America he reserved his right to speak at the congress on the first part.

12. *Program of the International Federation of Trade Unions*

The committee fully discussed several propositions submitted by the representatives of (Secretarial) Switzerland and (Syndicalists) Germany.

The first proposition by Kater and Sneevliet was rejected by eleven votes to three on the grounds that the same views, but more clearly expressed, were contained in a proposition by France, Switzerland and Spain, and further that it asked the workers to concentrate all their efforts on socialization.

The second proposition was submitted by Stenhuis and rejected by 9 votes to 6 (2 absent) because it was not as precise as that submitted by France, Spain and Switzerland.

The third proposition was signed by Merrheim, Grosperre and Besteiro. After a long discussion the proposition was divided and voted on paragraph by paragraph. The first paragraph read:

The committee requests the congress to declare that the economic disorganization accentuated by the war has been caused by the impotence of capitalism to reorganize production in such a way as to insure the well-being of the masses of the people.

The paragraph was adopted unanimously.

The second paragraph read:

Acknowledging the great work accomplished by the trade unions on behalf of the working classes in general and of the organized workers in particular, the congress declares that it is imperative that the efforts and the activities of the working classes of all countries should be directed to obtaining complete trade union organization as the necessary basis for the realization of the socialization of the means of production.

Adopted by 12 votes to 1 (America); 3 absent.

The third paragraph read:

With this aim in view the congress instructs the bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to collect all documents, and to keep this collection up to date, which will give full information as to the results obtained by the socialization of the means of production of any branch of industry in the countries where such experiment has been made and to then communicate the result obtained to the national centers affiliated.

Adopted unanimously.

The fourth paragraph declared:

The committee requests the congress, however, to remind all that even when the means of production are socialized that it is only by a normal production scientifically and continually developed that general and individual well-being can be obtained and guaranteed for all everywhere. The committee is of the opinion that only then socialization will be efficacious and feasible.

Adopted by 7 votes to 6.

After voting on the resolution in detail the resolution was submitted a whole and was adopted by 11 votes to 1.

13. *The Berne Resolution In Re the League of Nations*

A resolution expressing regret that the League of Nations did not completely realize the aspirations and views of the workers but admitting that it was the first time that in an international treaty arbitration and reason were substituted for brute force was submitted by Mr. Gompers.

After profound discussion of the resolution adopted at Berne, Mr. Gompers withdrew his resolution for the meantime and the committee adopted the following resolution:

The first International Trade Union Congress of Amsterdam, held July 28 to August 2, 1919, declares that the League of Nations should be founded on the will and the cooperation of all peoples. The nations may no longer judge their own cases by force. On the other side, the League of Nations must become a judicial community freed from the oppression of the several governments, to intensify the international sense of justice among the nations.

The transition to the order of peace should be led along the lines of general disarmament and the freedom of the nations should be exclusively protected with the help of an international court of justice.

The League of Nations should have legislative as well as judicial power which must be kept apart.

The International Congress expresses the firm conviction that the legislative body of the League of Nations should be elected by the nations themselves.

The proceedings of the League of Nations should not be confined to the political sphere, but should also further the economic connections among the nations.

The economic task of the League of Nations should be: Strengthening the working faculty and elevating the education of the laborers, promotion of labor protection, a rational and scientific organization of labor, international distribution of the necessary raw materials, as well as international regulation of the financial and transport traffic.

The International Trade Union Congress declares, however, that if the labor classes would prevent the League of Nations from becoming the center of reaction and oppression, they will have to organize internationally and attain in this way a power that they become an effective controlling organ of the League of Nations.

The resolution was adopted by 12 votes to 2 (Syndicalists, Germany and Holland); 1 abstention, Mr. Gompers (America), who declared his intention to explain to the congress if he deemed it necessary the reason for this abstention.

The secretary having read his report, it was adopted unanimously.

S. GOMPERS, *Chairman.*

A. MERRHEIM, *Secretary.*

The election of officers then ensued with the following results: President, W. A. Appleton, of England; First Vice-President, L. Jouhau, France; Second Vice-President, Corneille Mertens, Belgium; Treasurer, L. Oudegeest, Holland; Secretary-Editor, Edo Fimmen, Holland.

In the election of officers Mr. Appleton was nominated by Mr. Gompers for the presidency, and then Mr. Oudegeest was nominated. The interpretation placed upon Mr. Oudegeest's nomination was that he was the choice of the German delegation. Mr. Oudegeest was defeated and there is now an English-speaking president of the international.

It was the consensus of opinion that to Germany should be accorded one of the vice-presidents. For the first vice-presidency Mr. Jouhau of France and Mr. Legien of Germany were nominated. Mr. Legien was defeated. For the second vice-presidency Mr. Legien was again nominated, but he declined, expressing his chagrin at being

defeated for the office of first vice-president, and stating that the German delegation could take no further part in the formation of the bureau.

It was quite evident throughout the last few days of the convention that the philosophy of internationality was still being propagated by the German delegation with beneficial results to themselves while nationality and Germanism were the keynote of their practical action. Perhaps one of the most audacious and outrageous remarks was that made by Mr. Legien. The Belgian delegates, with a great depth of feeling and intensity of emotion, had charged the leaders of the German labor movement with treachery to the cause of justice and humanity and the internationality of labor through their failure to protest against the deportation of Belgian workmen to Germany, the enforcement of compulsory labor upon them, and the brutality and starvation imposed upon them.

Mr. Legien, in response, remarked rather feebly that protest had been made and he then stated that the German authorities desired to take the deported Belgian workers under the beneficent care of the social insurance laws of Germany. The Belgian workers had refused, but that if they had accepted the social insurance features it would have been much better for them.

To realize the full significance of this utterance it is but necessary to remember that the Belgian workers were forcibly taken from the factories and workshops in which they were employed, dragged from their homes, families and their country, carried as captives under armed guards, to Germany and forced to work for a mere pittance while being underfed and undernourished. The temerity and the audacity of Mr. Legien's attempt to blame the Belgian workers, who, though physically and mentally suffering, still had sufficient spirit of character to refuse to surrender their manhood for a pittance of social insurance under German autocracy and militarism, is marked.

On behalf of our delegation Mr. Gompers made an address of a conciliatory character. He stated that in his judgment the American Federation of Labor and our trade union movement would go as far as possible in aiding the work of international labor and its best ideals; that America's workers were not in such a position as would, under ordinary circumstances, require the aid of the workers of other countries, the situation and standards being so different, that we were willing to help to the fullest of our ability, but that one thing must be reserved to us and that is the right of our own national expression and action, and that being accorded, there would probably be no difficulty in securing the affiliation of the American Federation of Labor and the maintenance of that affiliation with the best results for the toilers for all time to come.

It may be interesting to know that in the closing hours of the conference Mr. Stenhuis on behalf of the delegation from the Dutch Federation of Labor expressed the great appreciation and obligation which the Dutch Federation of Labor were under for the financial and other support which Mr. Legien and the General Commission of the German Federation of Trade Unions had extended. Then the spokesman for the Scandinavian delegations, i. e., Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, arose and in the same manner declared the obligations under which they were to Mr. Legien and the General Commission of the German Federation of Labor, both financially and otherwise. How these expressions fell upon the attention of the French and Belgian delegations, of course, we do not know, but to us it sounded not only as a discordant note but as another evidence of that which we have often felt and suspected—that the munificence of money which the leaders of German labor generally bestowed upon the countries named had its deepest significance.

It was our intention and we had engagements to meet with the members of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and with Mr. Barnes, of the British War Cabinet. President Gompers had an invitation to an official luncheon with Madame and Mr. Pinchon, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was also our intention to have a conference with Mr. Jouhaux and other representatives of the French trade unions, but Mr. Gompers received at Paris cable dispatches from Washington that made it necessary to return to the United States immediately. All engagements had to be canceled and every effort made to secure passage on the first available steamship, which proved to be the U. S. S. Transport George Washington, leaving Brest Sunday, August 17, 1919.

We should state that through the courtesy of General Headquarters, U. S. A., at Paris, and the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, automobiles to take us to the battle fields of Belleau Wood, Chateau Thierry, Soissons, Rheims, and other places were provided us. We visited the cemeteries where a large number of our fallen American boys were interred.

Mr. Tobin left the delegation at Paris and proceeded to Ireland to investigate at first hand through personal contact the economic and political situation in that country, joining the delegation again at Brest, immediately before sailing. Mr. Hynes also proceeded to England and Ireland before attending the British Trade Union Congress at Glasgow, September 8.

We had uneventful voyages on the ocean from New York to Southampton, and from Brest to New York, which we reached Tuesday, August 26, 1919. We say uneventful. The Mauretania is a commercial ship. The George Washington is a transport. Our accommodations were good on both.

We returned to the United States with the fullest satisfaction and feeling a greater pride in our country, its standards, its progress and its future, than at any previous time. We express our appreciation and gratitude for the opportunity offered us to represent the American labor movement and beg to give assurance that we have endeavored to the fullest of our ability and opportunity to serve our cause.

Fraternally submitted.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.
DANIEL J. TOBIN.
JOHN J. HYNES.

APPENDIX

Report of Committee on Rules and Regulations of the International Federation of Trade Unions

Name

1. The national centres of the trade unions of the various countries shall combine in an International Federation of Trade Unions, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being guaranteed.
2. The headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall be determined by the international conference.

Constitution

The International Federation shall consist of the national and general trade union centres of those countries which are organized on a trade union basis.

Only one national centre of trade unions from each country shall be admitted to the International Federation.

(N. B.) The management committee shall be authorized to permit exceptions to this rule up to the first biennial conference.

All controversies as to membership shall be examined by the bureau and management committee, and submitted for final decision to the biennial conference of the International Federation.

Objects of the Federation

The objects of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall be:

1. The promotion of the interests and endeavours of the organizations affiliated on a national and international basis.
2. The promotion of the trade union movement, both national and international, in the countries not affiliated.

3. The promotion of combined action on all questions of mutual trade union interest.
4. The prevention of international blacklegging.
5. The provision of funds for the promotion and furtherance of the foregoing objects, and such other trade union objects as may from time to time be incorporated in the rules.

Management

The management of the International Federation shall consist of the bureau, the management committee, and the biennial conference.

1. The bureau shall consist of the president, two senior vice-presidents, the treasurer, and the secretary-editor, to be selected, as far as possible, from different nations.

2. One additional vice-president for every group of nations shall be appointed and be added to the bureau for the purpose of forming the management committee.

The bureau and the management committee shall be appointed at the biennial conference of the International Federation, and shall remain in office (apart from death or misconduct) until the next biennial meeting.

Any delegate to the first or the biennial conference shall be eligible for nomination to any position on the bureau or the management committee, or for any special tasks which the biennial conference shall decide upon, but regard shall be had to the just claims of affiliated nationalities as these are grouped in (1) the United States of America; (2) Central and South America; (3) Britain and the British Colonies; (4) Belgium, France and Luxemburg; (5) Italy, Spain and Portugal; (6) Germany, German Austria and Switzerland; (7) Russia and Baltic Provinces; (8) Bohemia, Poland and Jugo-Slav; (9) Hungary, Greece and Balkan States; (10) Denmark, Finland, The Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.

Where any member of the bureau of the management committee is unable to attend any meeting of the bureau or the general committee, the national center of which he is a member, may nominate a substitute, but such substitute shall not occupy the position of president, treasurer, or secretary, except by the unanimous vote of the other members of the committee. In the event of a substitute not being elected to any of the foregoing positions, the committee itself shall proceed to nominate and elect from those who have been properly delegated temporary occupants of the presidency, the treasury, and the secretaryship.

The Conference (Its Convention)

The regular conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall be held every two years and, if possible, in the autumn.

The bureau shall decide upon the date and place of the conference, should these not have been decided at the previous conference.

Notification of the date, place and draft-agenda of the biennial conference shall be sent by the secretary to each of the national centers at least six months before the conference is to take place. All proposals to be submitted to the conference shall be sent to the secretary not less than three months before the conference meets, together with any explanations of these proposals.

A division shall be called if one-third of the members of the conference propose it. All propositions shall, as far as these rules do not provide otherwise, be decided by simple majority. An equal number of votes shall be taken as a rejection of any proposition.

Amendments handed in after the conference has assembled or during discussions can only be considered by the consent of a two-thirds majority of members represented. Special conferences may be convened on the decision of the bureau, supported by a two-thirds' majority of the management committee

and confirmed by not less than half of the national centers affiliated. The votes of the national centers in respect of the holding of such conferences to be obtained by telegram.

The Conference (Its Composition)

The conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall consist of the management committee and the representatives of the affiliated national centers.

All representatives of the national centers must be resident and organized in the country which is represented by them.

Every affiliated national organization has the right to send one representative to the conference at the expense of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Any affiliated national center may, at its own expense, send additional representatives.

The Conference (Representation)

Each national center represented at the conference shall have one vote for every 250,000 or fraction of 250,000 members for which it pays contributions to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The credentials of all the delegates attending the conference shall be examined by the executive before the conference opens, and the results reported to the conference before the agenda is proceeded with.

The Conference (Its Duties)

The conference shall elect all officers of the Federation. Such elections shall be decided by secret and written ballot. The candidate obtaining a majority of the votes cast shall be declared elected. Should no candidate at the first ballot receive a clear majority, a second ballot shall be taken as between the three candidates receiving the highest number of votes. If still no candidate has obtained a clear majority, a third ballot shall be taken as between the two candidates who at the second ballot received the highest number of votes.

The conference shall examine all reports of the management committee which have been issued between the biennial conferences, and it shall consider the financial position after the accounts have been submitted and reported upon by the auditors.

The conference shall elect a commission of auditors (3) for the regular examination of the books and accounts of the Federation.

The conference shall attend to:

The consideration of all proposals submitted.

The election of the bureau and management committee.

The fixing of the rate of contributions for the ensuing financial period, which shall be from one biennial conference to the next.

The congress alone shall have authority to decide all questions of principle or tactics of a trade union nature, apart from exceptional cases.

The Bureau and the Management Committee

The president of the Federation shall preside over all meetings of the executive, the management committee, and the conference. He shall in co-operation with the bureau, direct the affairs of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and be responsible to the conference for the efficient fulfilment of the duties both of officials, delegates, and employees of the Federation. The president shall have the casting vote at the meetings of the bureau and the management committee, in case he took part in the vote.

The first vice-president shall be the representative and substitute of the president. He shall attend, moreover—

(a) To the propaganda for the extension of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

(b) To the propaganda for advancement of the national and international trade union movement in non-affiliated countries.

The second vice-president shall be the representative and substitute for the first vice-president. He shall attend moreover—

(a) To the drafting and preparation of the social and economic demands of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

(b) The preliminary work in connection with the settlement of differences within the movement.

The Treasurer

The treasurer shall have charge of all matters concerning income and expenditure. He shall sign all cheques or orders for the disbursement of money, and shall keep and be responsible for all the accounts of the Federation. He shall prepare all statistics required by the Federation, and shall have charge of all appeals for monetary help, and superintend the issue of such appeals.

The Secretary-Editor.

The secretary-editor shall attend to the business management of the office of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and be responsible for the management of the translation bureau.

He shall write the minutes of all meetings and conferences and submit these minutes to the management committee and the national centers. The president, or his authority, shall sign these minutes.

He shall attend to the publication of a periodical as well as to the other publications of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The bureau shall meet once a month at the registered office of the International Federation of Trade Unions. At this meeting reports shall be considered concerning the activities and intended actions of the affiliated centers.

A copy of the minutes of the meetings, the reports submitted by the members of the bureau included, shall be forwarded to the management committee as soon as possible.

The bureau may appoint delegates to the trade union functions of the various countries, or entrust them with the promoting of trade union aims in affiliated or non-affiliated countries.

The bureau, at the request of a national center, shall place one of its members at the disposal of the center if the latter requires such member in the interests of the trade union movement and is willing to reimburse the bureau the amount of expenses incurred.

The management committee shall meet twice a year. The bureau shall fix the date, place and draft agenda of such meeting, having due regard to the traveling and other conveniences of the members of the committee.

The invitations to the meetings of the management committee shall be sent to the members at least one month before the meeting is held.

The bureau and the management committee shall receive payment of traveling and other expenses.

Special Duties of the Management Committee

It shall be the duty of the management committee:

a. To promote the objects of the International Federation of Trade Unions, especially in their own and the neighboring countries.

b. To represent the International Federation of Trade Unions in connection with individual actions in their own and neighboring countries.

c. To assist the bureau in its collection of material for the purposes of the

International Federation of Trade Unions, in connection with trade union appeals for monetary help required for purposes of propaganda in non-organized or badly organized countries.

d. To assist in the examination of the funds, as well as of the activities of the bureau since the last meeting, and the program of action for the ensuing six months.

e. To attend to all proposals put aside by the bureau and the settlement of all differences still to be adjusted.

f. To attend to all complaints and new proposals.

g. To arrange the agenda for the regular conference.

h. To decide questions of admission or nonadmission of national centers pending confirmation by the next conference.

i. To take decisions regarding special appeals for monetary help, in accordance with the proposal of the bureau.

j. To arrange the financial program for the ensuing six months.

At least one copy of the minutes of the meeting are to be forwarded as soon as possible to all national centers.

All the activities and decisions of the bureau and the management committee shall be reported to the national centers and receive the approval and endorsement of the biennial conference.

Admission, Withdrawal, and Expulsion

Only one national centre of trade unions from each country shall be admitted to the International Federation.

The conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall be the final authority on all questions of membership.

Withdrawal from the International Federation of Trade Unions can only take place at the close of a period under review after six months' notice has been given to the bureau.

National centres which are more than two years' contribution in arrears may be suspended from membership by the bureau until the next conference.

Any national centre may be expelled from the International Federation of Trade Unions for arrears or gross breaches of rules or for continued hostility towards any other national centre. The expelling authority shall be the biennial conference.

Program

The means towards achieving the objects of the International Federation shall be:

a. An exchange of all information and experiences of importance to the movement by means of official publications and conferences.

b. The preparing of statistics on uniform lines.

c. The issue of an appeal for combined assistance in case of need.

d. The promoting of trade union propaganda in the countries affiliated when proposed by the respective national centre.

e. Actions effecting a settlement of differences within the movement.

f. The promoting of trade unionist objects in the countries non-affiliated as far as this appears possible.

g. The collection of material concerning social and economic legislation in all countries.

h. The encouragement of endeavours to promote and carry out social and economic legislation in all countries.

i. Regulation of immigration and emigration in the interests of trade unions.

j. Reciprocal contracts promoting independence of movement on the part of members affiliated, by means of regulating the conditions of transfer from one union to another.

k. The publication of an international review.

Members of the bureau may, on account of continuous gross neglect of duty, be suspended until the next congress from their office by a meeting of the managing committee, specially convened for discussing the matter.

In the event of salaried members of the managing committee not being reelected at the regular conferences, they are entitled to their salary for another year. The managing committee may demand, however, that during this time, they perform such work for the International Federation of Trade Unions as corresponds with their former duties, and with which they are charged by the managing committee.

Further Propositions of the Committee on Rules

1. That Amsterdam be the headquarters of the I. F. of T. U.
2. That the contribution be one halfpenny or one-half of one American cent per member per annum.
3. That the formation of the I. F. of T. U. and the payment of contributions date from the first of July, 1919.

You will observe in the report of our delegates to the Amsterdam Congress that in addition to the question of per capita tax, attention is called to the character of some of the resolutions and policies adopted the trend of which is toward a theory for which the American labor movement has persistently declined to accept.

Considerable correspondence has been had between President Appleton, Secretary Oudegeest and Secretary Fimmen and President Gompers and it was repeatedly pointed out by the latter that our movement could not be expected to conform to and give its approval to theory and propaganda with which it is at variance.

It is a most interesting contribution and illuminating to hear a letter from the president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. W. A. Appleton:

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
HAMILTON HOUSE, BIDBOROUGH STREET,
LONDON, 15th April, 1920.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.,
Federation Building, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

MY DEAR GOMPERS: The meeting of the full Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions has refused to make any alteration in the scale of contributions. It has, in addition emphasized fundamental differences between what I conceive to be the American point of view and that of my colleagues on the committee.

In the matter of the contributions, there is unanimity as to the binding character of the rules. Each member declared that the power to vary the contribution lay with the Congress only, and that amendments must be delayed until the conference in Paris in 1921. This decision was not unexpected. The attitude adopted when the bureau met you and Mr. Morrison and Mr. Woll in Washington had prepared me for the result, but nothing diminishes my regret. An international federation without America is very like Hamlet without the titular prince.

The A. F. of L. might, at its next convention, decide to make some sacrifice of its own activities and meet the full contribution if this marked the whole point of difference. Unhappily, there are other points which the Federation may regard more seriously. The fight you and Tobin and Hynes made in Amsterdam against socialism was absolutely uncompromising. As far as my recollection goes, you and your colleagues conceded nothing beyond an instruction to the Bureau to inquire:

1st. Into the facts concerning socialism or nationalization.

2d. To prepare a report—presumably for the conference in 1921.

In America and Britain, when a question has been decided by a majority of votes, the subject can not be revived again until a definite period has passed.

Usually, the decision stands from one regularly convened congress to another and in this instance you would be justified in assuming that nothing beyond inquiry and report would be attempted before the whole membership had been given the opportunity of studying the data obtained. Unhappily, this course has not been pursued. Instead of launching an inquiry, the bureau has launched a manifesto.

In the early part of March, I was shown a draft manifesto, in French, which had been originally prepared by Oudegeest. As I understood, the manifesto was Oudegeest's creation and would, in any case, come before the full committee prior to publication. I did not, at the time, give much attention, and was profoundly astonished to find, not only that the manifesto had been embellished and printed, but that it had actually been issued to the world's press.

J. B. Williams, who at this meeting represented the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, asked when the printed copies were submitted:

"Is this manifesto drafted with the express intention of driving the A. F. of L. out of the international?"

This question epitomizes the other questions and suspicions which have occupied my own mind since the bureau met the representatives of the A. F. of L. in Washington, in November last, when Oudegeest frankly expressed an opinion, which in effect was that he preferred the affiliation of Europe with a full contribution, to Europe and America with a half contribution.

The answer to the question put by Williams was formally in the negative, but the ensuing discussion strengthened the impression that some of the European delegates would regard with satisfaction these cession of the A. F. of L.

Arising out of the discussion, was the suggestion that the European countries, including Britain, should combine to compel America to distribute raw materials! If America is to be *compelled* by moral force, then the morality of the world will be bankrupted. If she is to be compelled by physical force, my imagination fails to conceive either the size of the armies necessary or the methods by which they would be transported across the seas, or the explanations the promoters of belligerency would give to the League of Nations.

Enclosed you will find copies of the manifesto. As translated into English, it represents ill-digested theory very badly expressed. I am troubled about its publication and should be much more troubled did I not know that no one who has read my writings or heard me speak, would dream of placing upon my shoulders responsibility for the crude flamboyancy or the atrocious English of the manifesto. I at once repudiated responsibility for its compilation and its publication! While I do not speak with the demonstrativeness of the Latin races, I did my best to express the seriousness of my opposition to the matter and the language of the manifesto.

The difficulties in doing this were increased by the fact that at various times the Trade Union Congress has passed general resolutions in favor of nationalizing the mines and railways and the means and instruments of production. It was held that the Parliamentary Committee was committed to the policy of socialism.

The following extract from the manifesto of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions places blame for existing industrial and financial evils upon the *Entente capitalists only*, and proposed socialism as the only remedy:

"Led by its capitalistic interests the *ruling class in the Entente countries* pursues towards Germany, Austria and Russia, a policy which can not but result in a considerable decrease of the world's production and a continuance of scarcity.

"It rests with the International Labor Movement to oppose this policy with the utmost vigor. It denies that the capitalistic class, which applies this policy, has the moral right to appeal to the working class for an increase of production by heavier toil."

A third point of difference in the bureau is the relationship of the Interna-

tional Federation to the International Labor Council over which Monsieur Albert Thomas presides. I have declared that while the International Federation may cooperate it can not become a mere adjunct, or subordinate itself to a body upon which employers and government officials have a majority. In theory, my colleagues agree, but in practice, only Fimmen seems to accept fully my contention. The result is that Albert Thomas has attended our last two meetings.

This is in conformity with the continental practice of inviting guests and permitting them to speak and to influence decisions.

For Albert Thomas I have the greatest respect. He is able and enterprising, but I doubt the wisdom of the too obvious association between the two bodies.

For me, the situation assumed very serious proportions when it was proposed that, in order to give moral support to the official inquiry into the economic and social condition of Russia, the International Federation of Trade Unions should appoint two delegates to accompany the body designated by the League of Nations. At once, questions of cost arose, and Oudegeest frankly admitted that the cost could not be less than 50,000 guilders, or roughly £5,000 for the two delegates.

Already the International Federation of Trade Unions is in debt and is handicapped in its ordinary work by lack of money. When this was pointed out it was stated that as the Amsterdam Congress had desired that an inquiry into the economic and social situation in Russia should be instituted by the International Federation of Trade Unions, the affiliated organizations should be asked to provide the money in addition to the contributions already fixed.

It was obvious that organizations already pressed to find the ordinary contributions would refuse to make special contributions for the purpose of sending delegates to Russia. In any case, even if they found the money, so much time would elapse that the delegation could not travel with the official commission appointed by the League of Nations.

The difficulty was met by a majority deciding that the deputation should go to Russia and leave the question of expense to be met by the governments represented by the League of Nations. Jouhaux and either Oudegeest or Fimmen, whichever was best able to leave the Amsterdam office, were appointed to go to Russia. My own attitude is indicated by the following formal declaration:

"I vote against the resolution of Dumoulin, not because I am opposed to an inquiry by the bureau into the economic situation in Russia, but because I am opposed to the acceptance of financial assistance from the Labor Council to the League of Nations. I desire to preserve the economic independence of the International Federation of Trade Unions."

Jouhaux met this by saying that under such circumstances he would refuse to go and would report the matter to the next Congress. I think Jouhaux will go to Russia, and I don't care what he reports on this subject to the next Congress.

Prior to this meeting, I had written to Oudegeest questioning the wisdom of an immediate deputation to Russia and stating that in my opinion it was equally important at the moment, and much less expensive, to obtain accurate information concerning the situation in Germany.

The impression prevails in many quarters that tourists going to Russia for a few days or a week, and perhaps only visiting Petrograd and Moscow, can come back and accurately represent to the other nations of the world the exact situation in Russia. I have contended that such a conception is hopeless; that investigations on such lines would be futile, and even dangerous in the sense that it would bring ridicule upon the International Federation of Trade Unions.

If such an inquiry is undertaken, it must be on scientific lines and by people who have the ability to discriminate between information and evidence. In all our discussions, however, it has seemed impossible to force home the fact that Russia is a continent rather than a country; that residing in this continent are 180,000,000 people, educationally backward and handicapped by ethnographical diversities. No inquiry could be satisfactory or even useful unless it

took cognizance of the racial, the economic and the territorial conditions which exist. Such a commission of inquiry as appears to me to be necessary could not hope to complete these labors under six months.

There are other points of difference connected with the rules. As you know, I paid great attention to the drafting of these and never lost a moment's attention at the commission which considered these. The printed copy sent to me appears to be what the French would call a "bouleversement" overthrow. It is regrettable that the rules were not printed and circulated in the form the committee left them. It is said that the difference is only one of procedure. The enclosed copy of my observations on the subject will enlighten you.

With you I am always frank, and I desire to say without any equivocation, that had it been decreed that my election to the presidency of the International Federation involved my acceptance of socialism or any other political "ism," I should most emphatically have refused nomination. I stood as a trade unionist, not as a politician, and by a trade unionist I mean one who has asserted and practised his right to combine with his fellows for the purpose of selling his labor at the best possible price.

Just now I am greatly perplexed. If I were to follow my personal inclination I should immediately cut clear away from conceptions and policies which threaten the stability of society and the interests of all classes—including my own class. My duty, however, to my own committee and my relationships with the A. F. of L., compel me to put the whole matter before them and you, before I take action so decisive.

Write me as soon as you have consulted your colleagues. If you can telegraph a short message, I shall be grateful,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) W. A. APPLETON.

The proclamation to which Mr. Appleton refers in his letter and which, without his knowledge, bears his name, is as follows:

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
Amsterdam—61, Vondelstraat
Down with the Reaction! Up for Socialism!

COMRADES!

Everywhere the reaction is reviving again. Its late aggression on the German Republic has roused great indignation among all laborers affiliated to the International Trade Union Movement. The nations want to develop themselves freely, and claim the deliverance of Labor towards a freedom on which a new world shall be built up.

Against these claims a military and reactionary party is making head.

Against the criminal reactionary policy, the laborers of the whole world raise, through the International Federation of Trade Unions, an indignant and powerful protest.

The triumph of the military reaction would unchain new wars!

The laborers are bent on destroying every germ of new wars!

Too much blood has been shed already!

COMRADES!

Of whatever political party we may be, or whatever the tendency of our trade unions, we have all of us one common object, which to carry out all laborers in the world should join hands and feel themselves one and undivided.

There is one basis on which all laborers can make a firm stand against the increasing audacity of the reaction which has been at its old practice again in Hungary, and is still threatening in Germany and in many other countries.

To all laborers in the world there is one aim on which they must focus all their efforts, and which should enlist them against the reaction.

This aim, this common field of action, is the

Socialisation of the Means of Production!

Not in the sense of a government-exploitation, but a socialisation by and on behalf of the community, that is, with joint-management of the deputies of Labor and the consumers.

We now represent an organized power of

Twenty Million Laborers

in the various countries. Could not we, if we kept united, achieve our aim: the establishment of democracy by fighting the reaction?

COMRADES!

We call upon you to put aside all your differences at this momentous conjuncture!

We summon you for a joint fight against all that violates the rights of Labor!

We summon you to a fight for prosperity, peace and democracy. This aim will be realized, provided all keep up a vigorous action towards the socialisation of the means of production.

We call out to our German Comrades: Drop all your differences, concentrate all your efforts on the struggle against the reaction. If the laborers of the whole world, and, above all, those affiliated to organizations belonging to the International Federation of Trade Unions, manifest their unity in this way and vigorously start the movement for the

Socialisation

under the guidance of their unions, the reaction will be utterly defeated everywhere and the rights of Labor will triumph!

That our common motto be:

Action and discipline!

All up for our rights!

All united against the reaction!

Long live the International of Labor!

THE BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS:

W. A. APPLETON,
President.

L. JOUHAUX,
Vice-President.

C. MERTENS,
Second Vice-President.

J. OUDEGHEEST,
EDO FIMMEN,
Secretaries.

To the above letter the following cablegram was sent:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14, 1920.

APPLETON,
Wellwisher Esquare,
London.

Responding your letter April 15, American Federation of Labor is in entire accord with you.

GOMPERS."

In addition, we quote here cablegram received from Mr. Oudegeest:

date

"AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND,
April 18, 1920.

AFEL, WASHINGTON.

Decided committee meeting great demonstrations on first of May for socialization means of production and ratification conventions Washington conference.

OUDEGEEST.

9.20 a. m. April 18, 1920."

May first has come and gone with the results of the proclamation known to all.

The question of continuance of the affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions is placed before this convention for decision.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1919

By authority of the Executive Council, President Gompers on May 21, 1919, addressed to Messrs. Bowerman, Oudegeest and Jouhaux identical invitations to the International Federation of Trade Unions to meet in the city of Washington in October, 1919, at about the time when the International Labor Conference was to be held as provided by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Plans for the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in some European city in July were thereupon abandoned and the invitation of the American Federation of Labor was accepted.

It was decided that the delegates representing the A. F. of L. in the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be the members of the Executive Council.

The question of the affiliation of the A. F. of L. with the International Federation of Trade Unions was brought before the Executive Council. It was the decision of the Executive Council that an effort should be made by the Federation delegates to have the per capita tax reduced and that the question of continuing in affiliation be referred to this convention of the A. F. of L.

The meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions was convened in the Executive Council chamber of the A. F. of L. Building on the evening of Wednesday, October 29, President W. A. Appleton presiding; President Gompers, Vice-President Woll and Secretary Morrison represented the A. F. of L. at that meeting. The subject of principal concern in the meeting was the International Labor Conference under the terms of the Treaty of Peace, then in session. During the course of the meeting President Gompers made a statement of which the following is a part:

"One particular reason why I rise to address you is that the newspapers of Washington and other cities within the past week have published the statement that I have opposed the admission of the German and Austrian delegates to the International Labor Conference. Let me say that ever since my return from the Amsterdam meeting, I have busied myself in the effort to secure the admission of the delegates from Germany and Austria. I have busied myself, as I say, with the officials of the government of the United States and the Peace Commissioner at Paris. In addition, Mr. Barnes of the British War Cabinet sent me cablegrams through the American Embassy and which were received by me. I replied to these cablegrams in which I said substantially that unless German and Austrian delegates are admitted to the International Labor Conference at Washington the conference would be a failure in advance.

"I have here copies of the cablegrams received and the cablegrams sent by me and I am going to ask without reading them that they be made part of the record of this gathering in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to where the A. F. of L. and its President have stood upon the admission of the delegates from Germany and Austria. In addition, let me say that in order to facilitate and bring about the admission of the German and Austrian delegates

I sent to M. Fontaine Chairman of the Organizing Committee and the Secretary General of the International Labor Commission which met at Paris, a cablegram asking him to convoke a meeting at Paris or London as he might determine, for conference with Mr. Barnes so that the commission as a commission could prevail upon the Supreme Council of the Peace Negotiations at Paris that its attitude might be changed and consent given that the German and Austrian delegates might be admitted. I would like to have that statement I made first, interpreted first. It is separate from the few comments I would like to make to the committee. These are the copies of the documents.

"As a member of the Organizing Committee, I have been in conference with the committee for four consecutive days and at that committee meeting here in the office, we decided that no permanent organization should be established in the International Conference, no permanent officers should be elected until after the decision of the conference that the German and Austrian delegates shall be admitted. They are not here; that is not the fault of the conference. So much for that.

"I am in entire accord that we should do everything within our power to influence the International Labor Conference to go to the fullest limits of what can be done. What can not be officially declared within the terms of the call may be recommended to the next International Labor Conference but I do not think that it is wise or practical on our part to declare that the conference must do thus and so outside of the authority of that conference. So far as the A. F. of L. not being represented at the conference, that is explainable. The American government has not yet ratified the treaty and is therefore not a party to the society or the League of Nations and the Draft Covenant.

"I have just been informed that the conference and the organizing committee have decided to invite the representative of the A. F. of L. to be there, although not as an official delegate. Now I have that under consideration and more than likely we shall accept and one of us be represented there, but we are placed in the peculiar position that the President is not authorized to appoint, the government of the United States is not authorized to appoint, a delegation of governmental representatives, the representatives of employers and the representatives of the workers because the treaty is not ratified. It is lamentable, it is more than regrettable, but it is a fact and we can not change it. That is not our fault. We have politicians in the United States and I assume you gentlemen and ladies also have some politicians in your own country. I think I have heard of such in other countries than the United States who are playing for partisan politics."

It was the decision of the E. C. in regard to the question of affiliation that an effort should be made by the Federation delegates to have the per capita tax reduced and that the question of continuing in affiliation be referred to this convention of the A. F. of L. In accord with this decision President Gompers wrote on December 29 to President Appleton of the International Federation of Trade Unions, saying in part:

"If the contributions are reduced one-half of the present provisions it should be put in the money value of the English pound. England and the United States can not be asked to contribute a certain stipend when the value of the money of each country is of three to five times the value of the money of Germany, Austria, France and other countries.

"The A. F. of L. is anxious to be part of the International Federation of Trade Unions. We want the world solidarity of labor endeavoring to work out world labor problems to be of assistance to each other, and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. feels strongly that unless the situation be clearly met and the solution reached, instead of having a seriously conducted movement in the interest and for the promotion of the welfare of the workers of all countries, much injury will come.

"I fully concur in the view you express that we maintain our present membership in the International Federation and endeavor to extend its pur-

pose, power and influence upon a more modest program than to exclude not only England and the United States but make it impossible for the smaller countries also to pay a contribution."

In the Amsterdam conference it was decided by the committee having the matter in charge to recommend that the amount of per capita tax be equivalent to 1 cent American money per member per year. Delegate Tobin objected to this amount because we believed it was not necessary to levy so large an amount to carry on the work of the International Federation. The committee however by a majority vote decided to recommend to the conference the per capita tax of 1 cent per member per year. In the conference itself, after a considerable discussion, the per capita tax was finally fixed at one-half of 1 cent per member per year.

In conferences held during the time of the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Washington in October, 1919, the question of per capita tax was considered and the representatives of the A. F. of L. expressed the viewpoint that the amount fixed by the Amsterdam conference was excessive.

At its meeting of February 24-March 3, the Executive Council had under discussion the action of the Amsterdam conference in regard to per capita tax, and instructed President Gompers to enter into correspondence with W. A. Appleton, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and to say that we can not affiliate upon the basis of payment as provided in Holland, but that the A. F. of L. is willing to begin its contributions upon the basis of one-fourth of one cent per member per year.

At the same meeting, the Executive Council instructed President Gompers to correspond with President Appleton of the International Federation, to learn the indebtedness of the International Federation in order that the A. F. of L. might pay its proportion. President Gompers was further authorized to pay as the A. F. of L.'s share not more than \$500 and that this sum be transmitted to the International Federation of Trade Unions upon the basis proposed by the A. F. of L., which is one-half of the amount set by the Amsterdam conference, and that the regular per capita tax be not transmitted until such time as the bureau agrees to this proposition. Accordingly on March 11 President Gompers forwarded to J. Oudegeest, Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam, a draft in the sum of \$400 with the statement that it was "the contribution of the A. F. of L. toward the past indebtedness of the A. F. of L. to the old I. F. of L. which ceased to exist last summer at Amsterdam, Holland." It was further set forth that the Executive Council "expressed the belief that during the war and for some period thereafter the A. F. of L. was not part of the International Federation of Labor and therefore the above amount, \$400, is sent to in part meet the obligations incurred during the period of our affiliation."

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

On October 29 the International Labor Conference convened in Washington in response to an invitation extended by the government of the United States. The United States having failed to ratify the Treaty of Peace, and therefore not being a member of the League of Nations, the government of the United States was not in a position to name representatives to sit in this conference. The provisions of the labor charter in the covenant of the League of Nations are that each nation shall be represented in the labor conference by two delegates representing the government, one delegate representing the employers, and one delegate representing Labor. In the absence of any delegates named by the United States government, the Organization Committee of the International Labor Conference determined to invite participation of delegates representing American workers and American employers. In accordance with this decision the American Federation of Labor as the representative organization of workers in the United States was invited to name a delegate to participate in the sessions of the conference.

The President of the A. F. of L. was appointed by President Wilson, then at Paris, to be one of the two representatives of the United States in the commission to draft a labor convention for international labor legislation under the peace treaty and was elected chairman of that international commission. He aided in formulating the labor draft convention which became part of the peace treaty under the terms of which the Interna-

tional Labor Conference was held in Washington. The President of the A. F. of L. also served as a member of the organizing committee which organized the Washington conference.

Upon being invited to participate in the conference as a delegate and being instructed and authorized by the Executive Council to attend, the President of the A. F. of L. did attend the conference during a portion of its sessions.

During the time when the establishment of a universal maximum eight-hour work-day was under discussion he participated in the debate, delivering a lengthy address on the subject.

Despite the honor conferred, realizing the humiliating position of being a delegate to the conference, but being deprived of the right to vote and have a voice in the decision of issues, President Gompers declined to continue as a delegate without the powers of a delegate.

The Washington Conference by resolution directed the governing body to set up an international commission to study the question of emigration and immigration. The Executive Council had under consideration a letter from the director of the governing body requesting that the A. F. of L. appoint a representative to serve on that commission. The Executive Council feels itself in a most embarrassing position for two reasons:

1. The government of the United States has not yet ratified the Treaty of Peace and hence is not a party to the League of Nations or the International Labor Conference or the Governing Body.

2. The experience of the representative of the A. F. of L. in participating in the International Labor Conference at Washington, where he was entitled by courtesy to participate in the discussions of the conference, yet was denied, and rightfully denied, a vote in that conference.

Inasmuch as the situation has not changed, the Executive Council feels that it can not consistently recommend the selection of a representative to participate in the work of a commission on immigration.

THE CRY FOR RELIEF

The people of Vienna, Austria, have suffered intense poverty and misery. Indeed they were in a state of famine. Although authentic investigations were made and reports received as to conditions prevailing there, they are indescribable in their horror. We were appealed to for aid in succoring the famished people of Vienna. Instead, however, of making the appeal particularly to the working people of America, we joined with all other agencies which had the machinery and the facilities, not only to solicit and obtain contributions, but to transform them into the materials to satisfy the wants of the ill-fated people of Vienna and vicinity.

Reports coming to us are in grateful acknowledgment of the valuable and effective assistance rendered.

In addition, America's workers joined with every effort to alleviate the tremendous distress obtaining among the peoples of Serbia, Armenia and various other lands where the people were suffering. We recommend that the convention endorse the work of succoring the stricken peoples of these lands, Austria, Serbia, Armenia and neighboring countries, stricken by the world war, and we urge that working people and the friends of humanity contribute generously toward funds being raised for their relief.

THE TREATY OF PEACE

The Executive Council in its report to the 1919 Convention had this to say:

"The covenant of the League of Nations, written into the Treaty of Peace, must meet with the unqualified approval and support of the American working people. It is not a perfect document and perfection is not claimed for it. It does, however, mark the nearest approach to perfection that ever has been reached in the international affairs of mankind. It provides the best machinery yet devised for the prevention of war. It places human relations upon a new basis and endeavors to enthrone right and justice instead of strength and might as the arbiter of international destinies.

"It is, we feel, well to recall the adoption of the constitution by our own federal government in the early days of its life. Perhaps no document in the history of the world was more attacked, criticized, and opposed than was the Constitution of the United States when it was first formulated and adopted by the Congress. On several occasions that constitution has been amended, yet no one would presume to say, because of these amendments, that the constitution was not good when it was adopted or is not good today.

"Opportunity is afforded for amendments to the covenant of the League of Nations in order that the human family may from time to time make such improvements as may be needed and may so readjust its guiding rules of conduct as to make for the highest good of all the world. We declare our endorsement of the triumph of freedom and justice and democracy as exemplified in the covenant of the League of Nations.

"The introduction of the nine specific labor clauses in the Peace Treaty declares that 'the well-being, physical and moral, of the industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance.'

"No such declaration has ever been written into international law through any previous treaty of peace and it is due to the efforts of the American labor movement more than to any other single factor that it appears in this emphatic form in the present treaty.

"The labor section of the treaty as it appears in its final form is, of course, a compromise. It must, however, be a source of deepest satisfaction to the American working people to know that the American position and American declarations as presented for insertion in the treaty ranked above all others in point of progress measured and in point of actual and practical application in the lives of working people. Whatever of compromise appears, was made because of the claim that other nations of the world could not pledge themselves to an immediate and definite acceptance of the standards maintained by the American labor movement as the established practices of our day."

By a vote of 29,909 to 420 the convention declared its approval of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Labor Draft Convention and strongly urged ratification by the United States Senate of the Treaty of Peace.

In submitting its report on this subject to the 1919 convention, the Committee on International Relations to which the matter was referred declared:

"No human being in possession of his moral senses can deny the adoption of a measure that will tend to prevent the indescribable horrors of another world war. Civilization must turn to a point where international disputes will be settled in the calm light of reason, rather than by the repetition of the horrors we have just witnessed. While the Covenant of the League of Nations with its labor provisions is not perfect, is not all that we desire, it is in the right direction for the reason stated and a multiplicity of others and should be adopted in principle and so we recommend.

"We further recommend that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to aid in every way the holding of the International Labor Congress which under the treaty of peace will convene in Washington, D. C., in October, 1919."

Since our last convention the Treaty of Peace has twice been before the Senate of the United States for ratification and has failed of ratification on both occasions. We can not escape the conviction that the failure to secure ratification of the treaty was due to causes having but little relation to the merits of the treaty. It must be clear to everyone that partisan political considerations and selfish interests were the dominating factors throughout the discussion in the Senate.

We are convinced that the decision reached by the E. C. a year ago and confirmed by the convention, needs no revision in the light of what has happened since. The principles for which we took our stand a year ago are principles which are as deserving of support today as then. Careful study of the senatorial debate and of the reservations offered

in the Senate, compel us to conclude that the covenant of the League of Nations ought, at the earliest possible moment, to receive the support of the United States, through ratification of the treaty by the Senate. Reservations, whether offered for partisan political purposes or otherwise, ought not be used as instruments for further delay in ratification of the treaty.

It has been pointed out in the Senate and elsewhere that certain of the provisions in the treaty, outside of the Covenant of the League of Nations, are impossible of fulfillment and without justification from the American point of view. We recognize now, as we have always recognized, that the treaty is not a perfect document and that the imperfections extend both to the Covenant of the League of Nations and to the treaty provisions proper. In regard to these imperfections we call attention to our report of 1919, where it was set forth that the treaty itself provided machinery for the correction of mistakes and for the remedying of imperfections.

Those who have followed European developments in connection with the Treaty of Peace will have noticed that in several instances treaty provisions already have been modified, because it was found that they were impracticable. While it is true, as American labor recognized from the outset, that there were faults in the treaty, the actual developments in relation to the correction of faults already discovered, and the machinery set up by the treaty itself to facilitate corrections and readjustments, should be sufficient to remove objection on grounds of that character.

The people of the United States have suffered materially through failure of the Senate to ratify the treaty. The interests of the working people of the country are seriously affected by this failure. In our international relations, which are as important to working people as to any other, the country has been placed at a serious disadvantage. It is of the utmost importance that the Senate alter its position and ratify the treaty at the earliest possible moment, in order that the United States may play its full part in world affairs and may exercise its democratic influence most effectively in a world which continues to need all the democratic influence that can be brought to bear.

Labor, we believe, views the manner in which the treaty has been dealt, with the most profound regret, and it condemns without reservation the action of those who have deliberately produced the resulting state of confusion out of a desire to secure partisan political advantage.

In addition to Labor's broad interest in the treaty from the viewpoint of American citizenship, it has a specific and definite interest in the labor section of the treaty. American labor was unable to have representation, except through courtesy and without vote, in the first international labor conference under the terms of the Treaty of Peace, and it is unable to have representation in the International Labor Bureau until such time as the treaty is ratified. This is of the utmost importance, since work is continually in progress in which American labor has a vital interest and since decisions are being reached constantly in which American labor has an interest but no voice. We feel that as citizens and as workers, we can only renew our demand for speedy ratification of the Treaty of Peace, and this we believe should be done in the most emphatic manner possible. We therefore urge the convention to make most earnest protest against the tactics which have resulted in postponing the ratification of the treaty and to urge upon the Senate of the United States, the necessity of ratification without any reservations which would tend to injure the effectiveness of the covenant of the League of Nations.

HISTORY, ENCYCLOPEDIA, AND REFERENCE BOOK

The "American Federation of Labor History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book" has attracted wide attention. It has proved a wonderful source of agitation to more thoroughly acquaint the people of our nation with the hopes and aspirations of the trade union movement, as it contains practically every important action of the American Federation of Labor since its inception in 1881. It has proved of inestimable value to the members of affiliated organizations desiring official knowledge of what has been done, and why, on every question that can arise in the economic and political fields.

Many applications for copies of the work have come from foreign countries. High officials of the Japanese government as well as many other public men are studying the American labor movement through the contents of this reference book. The

wage-earners of Japan who are interested in organizing the workers of that country are using it as a text book. They desire to organize the labor movement in Japan on the lines followed by the American Federation of Labor. Every resident of Japan who visits this country to investigate labor conditions secures a copy.

Representatives of labor of England, France and other countries have also sent for copies. It is regrettable however that the trade unions of the United States have not interested themselves in the circulation of so valuable and thorough an official history of the American trade union movement. Every local union affiliated to a national or international union or direct to the American Federation of Labor should have a copy for its great educational value. There is no question that arises in a local union which can not be answered in the encyclopedia. It tells of the struggles of the labor movement, of the many obstacles and how they were overcome, and presents reasons for the adoption of the policies that have brought the American Federation of Labor to its present strength and power for good. Thousands of letters are received at headquarters yearly asking for information. The great majority of these are quickly answered by referring to the book.

The underlying principles of the trade union movement require years of study to thoroughly appreciate their value if the knowledge is to be secured by experience, but the encyclopedia takes up every question considered in thirty-eight conventions and explains the position taken on them. This permits the new member of a trade union, when confused as to the reason for certain methods being pursued, to look up the record for the information desired.

Another benefit to the labor movement is in the circulation of the book in colleges and libraries. Economic questions are continually being discussed in the colleges. Professors of political economy are not always versed in trade unionism. Their minds are more often tainted with the impossible sophistries of Socialistic propaganda. The encyclopedia will remove this objectionable viewpoint. The Executive Council therefore recommends that there be a more extensive circulation of the work. It should be placed in the hands of the secretaries and other officials of local unions. The national and international unions should aid by circularizing their respective local unions and urging that the book be secured.

The book is not published for the purpose of making a profit. It is intended for the education not only of the members of trade unions but of the general public as well. Therefore, every inducement should be offered book stores and other places where such works are sold to handle it. To bring this about the President of the American Federation of Labor should be directed to use whatever plan may in his judgment be the most effective to obtain a wider distribution of the book.

It is also recommended that arrangements be made to include in the next edition the proceedings of the 1919 and 1920 conventions. These will have to be printed as an appendix, as plates of the pages of the first edition that should be retained have been made. If 10,000 copies could be printed of the next edition it could be sold at a very reasonable rate thus giving the rank and file an opportunity of securing it. Up to April 30th, 873 copies have been sold. There are 890 bound books in stock and 2,000 unbound.

INVESTIGATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

In pursuance to the action of the Atlantic City Convention, by which the Executive Council was instructed "to appoint a committee to investigate the matter of selecting or of preparing and publishing textbooks appropriate for classes of workers" the E. C. directed that the matter be referred to President Gompers to carry into effect in accordance with the action of the convention. Following out these instructions, President Gompers appointed the following to constitute such a committee:

- C. L. Baine, Secretary-Treasurer, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
- Matthew Woll, President, International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.
- John P. Frey, Editor, *Iron Molders' Journal*.
- Charles B. Stillman, President, American Federation of Teachers.
- George W. Perkins, President, Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

The committee has devoted much time to the subject and has submitted the following report, which the E. C. herewith transmits to the convention:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

GENTLEMEN: The convention of the A. F. of L. held in June, 1919, upon report of the Committee on Education, directed that the E. C. appoint a committee to investigate the matter of selecting or of preparing and publishing textbooks appropriate for classes of the workers. The undersigned were appointed as such committee.

In undertaking the work delegated to it, your committee realized at the outset that a careful examination of the general subject of education was essential before intelligent conclusions could be reached upon the special subject of textbooks for classes of workers.

Your committee further realized that there was embraced in this study and investigation not only the educational facilities of those actually engaged at present in gainful occupations, but that it included the educational facilities of those who are to enter industrial occupations in the future.

The essential foundation of our educational institutions should be such as to make all workers and their children feel that society has done as much as lies in its power to remove all needless and artificial obstacles from their path; that there is no barrier except such as exists in the nature of things between themselves and whatever place in the social organization they are fitted to fill; and more than this, that if they have the capacity and industry, a hand is held out to help them along the path they have chosen.

Necessarily the education which should precede that of the workshop should be devoted to the body, to the elevation of the moral faculties and the cultivation of the intelligence and especially to imbuing the mind with a broad and clear view of the laws of that natural world with the components of which the wage-earners will have to deal.

The development of free public schools, colleges and universities, has been one of the important and essential results of cooperative action on the part of the A. F. of L. What has been achieved in this direction is impressive and realized best by those who have lived to see the development of these institutions.

While a great advance has been made in general education, there is room for improvement by the greater development of industrial science in our educational system, which, unfortunately, up to the present time, has entered into the school curriculum to only a minor degree.

Of increasing importance has been the subject of technical education. Nothing should be left undone to promote that kind of education which will have in view the protection of the industrial development of the country to the uttermost limits consistent with the workers' well-being and the general social welfare.

The declaration of the Convention of the A. F. of L. of June, 1918, upon this subject, bears repetition, and requires:

"The insistence that in all courses of study and particularly in industrial and educational courses an unemasculated industrial history must be taught, which would include an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, and should also include a summary of legislation, both state and federal, affecting the industries taught."

The 1919 convention reaffirmed this declaration.

Unquestionably the highest division of all science is that which considers living beings, not alone as individuals, but as aggregates—that which deals with the relation of living beings one to another—the science which observes men—whose experiments are made by nations, one upon another—whose general propositions are embodied in history and industrial development—whose deductions lead to our happiness or misery—and whose verifications so often come too late.

Unfortunately, our entire educational policies have not sufficiently em-

braced a careful and accurate teaching of the great development which has taken place in our industrial growth and in the principles of the trade union movement. If there be a people which has been busy making history on a great scale—and a most profound history—history which, if it happened to be of Greece or Rome we should study with avidity—it is the American people in the making of industrial history. If there be nations whose prosperity depends absolutely and wholly upon the mastery of its people over the forces of nature, upon their intelligent understanding of and obedience of the laws of the production and distribution of wealth and of the stable equilibrium of the forces of society—it is the United States and Canada.

No one will gainsay that the development and influence of industry have played a greater, though perhaps not a more prominent part, than the military and political activities in the growth and development of civilization. No factor has contributed or can contribute more to the comfort, well-being, and opportunities of the masses than the industrial growth and activity of the United States and Canada. Yet we find the history of our nations' development confined almost exclusively to the political changes which have influenced their growth. While it is essential that the theories of political movements should be taught, they are insufficient in themselves and must be supplemented by the theories of industrial relations and a true and accurate conception of political economy.

The economists of the past, whose teachings still largely dominate in the educational institutions of our time, have taught and are teaching doctrines which have failed to stand the test of experience and of unbiased investigation. Many of the textbooks used, dealing with industrial problems, have failed completely to state accurately and interpret correctly economic laws and their application to our modern industrial society. As a logical sequence the opinions held and views expressed by the great mass of people in our country upon present industrial problems, have been largely influenced by a false philosophy and an erroneous conception of the laws and principles of political economy and industrial relations.

Educators, clergymen and all men in public life, relying upon these works, have failed in many instances, to understand the spirit, purpose and method of the American trade union movement. Because of the inadequacy and inaccuracy of existing textbooks and because of their failure accurately to interpret labor's efforts and activities there has been created a public sentiment and opinion which has been founded more upon error than upon fact. Those who have undertaken to prepare these textbooks have had little real knowledge of the true economic development of industry in our country. It is therefore evident that the A. F. of L. should undertake the preparation of a statement setting forth sound and accurate economic laws, and the principles, aims, ideals and aspirations, as well as the philosophy and policies governing the organized labor movement, in textbook fashion.

While there are a number of good books to be obtained, dealing with economic and industrial questions, which can prove helpful in correcting the false philosophy which has been perpetuated from generation to generation, these works are widely scattered and not known to the extent they merit. It would therefore be well if a careful survey were made of all such works now on hand, and that a bibliography be prepared and published which might be circulated among all universities, colleges, public libraries and public schools, as well as among all trade union centers, and that all of these institutions ought to be encouraged to secure these volumes so that they may be available for ready reference at any time by those wishing to give an accurate study to the labor problems.

The library and records of the A. F. of L. in themselves present a vast amount of accurate information and data relating to industrial development and industrial relations, and particularly to the influence of the trade union movement in the solving of industrial problems. It is a matter of regret that these works

have not been more freely used by all students of industrial questions. Had these records been more fully examined, many of the errors now found in textbooks would have been prevented. There is a great need for textbooks upon industrial questions founded upon accurate, reliable data to be used in our educational institutions. The preparation of such textbooks can be best undertaken, however, by those whose training qualifies them for this duty. Unquestionably, however, there is an obligation resting upon the A. F. of L. to prepare a textbook which would contain a full statement of organized labor's position upon all subjects which form a part of its activities. Such a book, in addition to supplying the necessary information to members of the trade union movement, would likewise serve as the authoritative source from which students and educators might secure the essential information from which to compile elementary and more advanced textbooks dealing with industrial problems.

While the educational work which the A. F. of L. has already accomplished and which is contained in such an impressive form in the monthly magazine of the A. F. of L., the *American Federationist*, in the Year Book recently issued by the A. F. of L., and the numerous trade union publications and pamphlets, special papers and addresses which have been prepared and delivered by President Gompers and others recognized as qualified to speak for the American Trade Union Movement, all dealing with industrial subjects, has been of invaluable assistance, there exists, nevertheless, the urgent need of supplementing this work by a textbook which shall contain reference to Labor's activities in connection with the public school system, collective bargaining, child labor, women in industry, hours of labor, minimum wage rates, political action, union shop, initiative and referendum, equal suffrage, convict labor, health, and workmen's compensation, and all other important activities underlying the philosophy and principles and procedure of the American trade union movement. Such a work should, of necessity, be compiled by a competent unionist thoroughly familiarized by actual experience and contact with the work of the trade union movement, in order to insure the accuracy of all information, data and conclusions set forth in such a work.

Attention is also directed to the fact that there is hardly a branch of industry which does not depend, more or less directly upon some department of physical science which does not involve for its successful pursuit, reasoning from scientific data. Then, too, those in the higher industrial occupations are most commonly selected from the general workers who intelligently grasped the modifications based upon science, which are being constantly introduced into industrial processes. It is interesting to reflect upon the trade guilds and their work in the development of instruction of technical arts of manufacture as well as of organization for those actually employed in workshops who desired to extend and improve their knowledge of the theory and practice of their particular avocation and enlighten themselves upon the principles and laws underlying industrial relations, forces and influences.

It would be helpful if all affiliated international trade unions would therefore be urged to respond to the suggestion of encouraging educational tendencies and opportunities by the preparing of a textbook for the assistance and guidance of its journeymen, helpers and apprentice members. Such textbooks should include not only the history and development of the particular trade or industry represented, but should also undertake to familiarize its members with the trade developments and problems, the history and development of the trade union movement and the importance of trade union activities in the solving of their peculiar industrial problems.

Summarized, your committee recommends for favorable consideration:

1. Including in the school curriculum the teaching of an unemasculated industrial history embracing an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, the teaching of the principles underlying industrial activities and relations, and a summary of legislation, state and federal, affecting industry.

2. The making of a careful and comprehensive survey and the preparation and distribution of a bibliography of all books, pamphlets and addresses dealing with industrial and economic problems, which are founded on accurate information, sound principles, and which will prove helpful in removing the false conception of existing theories of industrial, political, and social economy.

3. Encouraging all schools, colleges, universities, libraries, trade union centers, and all institutions of learning to secure copies of the books, pamphlets and addresses recommended, for use by those interested in securing accurate and reliable information regarding industrial problems.

4. Encouraging textbook writers and publishers to avail themselves of the library and the records of the A. F. of L. upon all subjects dealing with the industrial development and progress, as well as the movement of the wage-earners, in the preparation of textbooks on industrial problems and movements.

5. The preparation of a textbook by the A. F. of L. to supplement the existing works of President Gompers and other recognized authorities of the American trade union movement, to be prepared by a competent trade unionist under the direction of the executive officers of the A. F. of L. in cooperation with a special committee for this purpose.

6. Encouraging and assisting affiliated international trade unions in the preparing of textbooks for their membership, dealing with economic laws, the development of their trade and the solving of trade problems, as well as the influence of their trade union activities upon the development of industrial relations.

HEALTH INSURANCE

The Executive Council in its report to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in June, 1918, recommended the appointment of a special committee to make an investigation into the subject of health insurance, particularly as it applied to industrial and occupational diseases. This recommendation was approved. At the 1919 convention the E. C. expressed the need for further investigation.

The E. C. finds itself unable to reach a unanimous agreement upon the subject of voluntary health insurance and trade union health insurance on the one hand as against compulsory state or industrial health insurance on the other. Therefore, because of our inability to agree we recommend to the convention that the entire subject-matter be referred to a committee to be selected by the E. C.; that the personnel of that committee shall represent the proponents and opponents of compulsory health insurance; that this committee shall make a study and investigation and report to the E. C. at the earliest possible time and that the report of this committee as made to the E. C. be submitted to the 1921 Convention of the A. F. of L.

TRADE UNION INFORMATION BUREAU FOR IMMIGRANTS

The proposal for the establishment of a trade union information bureau for immigrants arriving at the port of New York has been given our best attention.

The matter is now in the hands of the Commissioner of Immigration with our earnest recommendation that it be given his favorable consideration.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue its efforts.

COOPERATIVE PLAN

The committee has made its report of the year's work. We submit it herewith. In another portion of our report will be found a statement regarding the financial transactions of this committee.

We recommend the approval of this committee's report. We further recommend that authority be given for the continuance of the work of the special committee on cooperation during the coming year.

Report of the Special Committee on Cooperation

Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Committee of Five, representing that organization in dealing with the work of developing the

cooperative movement in our country, drafted a letter and sent it to the international unions requesting that they send another letter (a draft of which the committee had made) to each of the local unions, copies of which follow and are self-explanatory:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 18, 1919.

To the Officers of National and International Unions, State Federations and Central Bodies.

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: We, the undersigned Committee on Cooperation, appointed by President Gompers, beg leave to submit to you the draft of a circular, which we earnestly request you to have printed and sent to your local unions in your next official communication to them, and that you print it in your official journal and otherwise give it the widest publicity possible.

This committee asserts that the present high cost of living caused chiefly by criminal profiteering can be best and more readily met and overcome by cooperation than any other means, and we feel that the present is an opportune time to bring this important question to the attention of your members and to give impetus to the movement in the direction of effective, proper cooperation on the Rochdale plan.

So long as profiteering exists the workers will find difficulty in meeting the cost of the common necessities of life.

The A. F. of L. in first endorsing the plan of cooperation and the appointment of the Committee on Cooperation, endorsed the proposition that every local union within the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. be requested to contribute at least \$1 for the purpose set forth in the circular accompanying this letter.

We particularly urge that you ask your locals to give at least \$1 and as much more for this purpose as they can afford.

We feel that the movement should not start without those who will embark in this important proposition are given the opportunity to obtain the knowledge that leads to success, and it is for the purpose of educating our members that the A. F. of L. sought to create at the least possible expense to affiliated unions the necessary fund to carry forward the work of educating our members upon the successful methods of cooperation.

Yours fraternally,

GEORGE W. PERKINS.
JOHN H. WALKER.
WILLIAM D. MAHON.
JAMES W. SULLIVAN.
ARTHUR E. HOLDER.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

This communication aims to direct the attention of organized labor toward the benefits and possibilities of practical cooperation.

Every local union is urged to consider the subject now and to give at least \$1 out of its funds to promote the campaign for cooperation under the guidance of the American Trade Union Movement.

At the Buffalo Convention of the A. F. of L., 1917, a special committee appointed by President Gompers, under the direction of the Baltimore Convention, held in 1916, made a short but clear report which was unanimously adopted.

The members of this committee are all veteran trade unionists and have been earnest cooperators for years, and who know the pitfalls that should be avoided in any cooperative enterprise. They know that the pathway of cooperative effort in all countries is strewn with failures, largely due to lack of knowledge, incompetency, indifference, of proper safeguarding of funds and in many instances to the fact that sometimes exploiters with mercenary purposes have wrecked the enterprise.

Criminal profiteering to which is largely due the high cost of living can be checked without any legislative enactment only by the cooperative movement. We have it in our hands without interference of state or federal government or any law making authority to check the legalized, robbing profiteering through the cooperative movement. We can check it in so far as it affects the purchase of the necessities of life and the costs thereof now controlled by a minority, which is bleeding the giant majority white through criminal profiteering. Let us apply that remedy.

The A. F. of L. Committee on Cooperation recommended to the A. F. of L. the following short program, which was unanimously adopted:

1. That a qualified trade unionist cooperator be appointed by the President of the A. F. of L. to serve one year as lecturer and adviser on the practical work of Rochdale cooperation.

2. That this appointee shall have office room in the A. F. of L. building in Washington, which shall be the center of information by correspondence and otherwise on the subject.

3. That he shall visit localities in which cooperative societies are in process of formation or have already been formed, and give practical information to the officers and members of such societies, making out routes of travel for this purpose so as to conserve his time and perform the work at a minimum of expense.

4. That it shall be understood that central labor unions and local trade unions as such shall not form cooperative societies, but shall appoint committees from their membership to act in cooperation with other citizens who are in sympathy with the trade union movement in assisting in establishing and upbuilding a general cooperative movement.

5. That every local trade union under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar (\$1.00) in order to establish successfully the Federation Bureau for promoting and advancing the cause of true cooperation in the United States and Canada.

Your committee has excluded from its consideration all forms of associated work which do not fall within the limits of the Rochdale cooperative system.

The simple principles of this system are:

1. A democratic organization.
2. One vote for each member with equality in share ownership. No voting by proxy.
3. Cash returns quarterly to members of the difference between the total amount they have paid for their purchase and the lesser total cost of these purchases to the cooperative society; including among the cost depreciation and a reasonable amount for a reserve fund to meet emergencies and extend the business.
4. Rejection of the principle of profits.
5. Current interest on loan capital.
6. Sales where possible preferably to members only.
7. Distributive cooperation to precede productive.
8. A sufficient number of retail stores to be established to assure a market before a wholesale department is created.
9. Observance of methods recommended by the International Cooperative Alliance.

Following this action of the convention of 1917, President Gompers sent a circular letter to our international organizations calling attention to the provision in Clause 5 of the report which requested every local trade union to contribute the sum of \$1 to enable the A. F. of L. to start this cooperative work. All but a few of the international headquarters officials, owing to the war and other unavoidable, pressing obligations, postponed or overlooked the appeal; so that up to the present date the total amount subscribed is but \$3,250. Up to the present this sum has not been expended, the committee as well as the

Executive Council, A. F. of L., deciding that a sufficient sum ought to be in the fund to insure the success of our effort to place the necessary knowledge and information in the hands of our members to successfully start their efforts at cooperation.

The matter is now put to the local union membership directly so that it may contribute an infinitely small sum to make this campaign of education successful. Today every wage worker knows that cooperation is not limited to benefits of a purely business character. Through it the workers can secure more comfort, better health and greater individual and collective independence. The cooperative store affords a working-class education in equitable business.

Sensible men look at real problems of life in a sensible way. The members of trade unions may by their action on this occasion crystallize into activity the A. F. of L. project for cooperation.

A prompt response from local unions in contributing their mite is earnestly requested. The money should be sent to Frank Morrison, Secretary, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

.....
President, International

.....
Secretary, International

As a result of the issuance of this letter, the fund has grown, reaching a total on April 2, 1920, of \$4,019.08.

The committee also recommended to the E. C. the employment of one man who should devote all his time to furnishing information to all inquirers concerning the cooperative movement, the procedure employed in the formation of societies and establishing stores, etc., on the part of the local unions, by central bodies or by individuals.

This recommendation was adopted by the E. C., who thereupon appointed J. H. Walker, who served in that capacity to April 1, 1920, at which time he assumed the duties of President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

A considerable number of requests for information and for speakers was received from local organizations and central bodies, as well as requests for literature from individual members in all directions, which might enable them to understand the cooperative movement and assist them in forming societies, and establishing and operating stores.

As a result of the information which the committee has supplied through Brother Walker, and of the meetings which the latter has addressed on this subject, a number of societies have been formed and stores started; with the added advantage that practically every society which was already in existence has received assistance and encouragement. There exists today an infinitely better and more general understanding of the need for the cooperative movement, and of its purposes, both immediate and ultimate; a recognition of the practical methods indispensable to its successful operation; of the obstacles which are to be overcome; regarding the opposition likely to be encountered both within and outside of the movement; and the methods necessary to overcome them; with the result that the cooperative movement nearly everywhere is enjoying a rapid development.

The greater freedom of action and the superior resources enjoyed by our people as compared with those of any other country in the world, as well as the greater rewards which attend the establishment and successful operation in this country of cooperative institutions, due to the fact that the commercial interests in America have been taking more from the people than these same vested interests have been able to take from the common people in any other country on earth at any period in the world's history, have all contributed in a large degree to this superior development.

The workers recognize clearly that if they establish and operate their own retail and wholesale stores honestly and efficiently, patronizing them loyally, they will reduce the cost of living at least to the degree that the private retail merchant and middleman have been profiteering upon them.

Your committee is convinced that in the cooperative movement we shall find a practical solution of many of the material ills afflicting the human family and their cure by peaceful methods; believing, furthermore, since harmful laws, an incorrect interpreta-

tion of these laws by some judges, and improper enforcements or, per contra their lack of enforcement by those whose duty it is, are due in almost every instance to selfish influence on one side or the other in these industrial or commercial controversies— that once those considerations are settled on the basis of justice, leaving no incentive for maladministration in government in these matters, such settlement will help solve many problems of injustice or malfeasance in the enactment of the laws, in the decisions of the judiciary, or the execution of the laws by the executive arm of the government.

Among the many benefits which are to be expected as a result of the operation of their own wholesale and productive enterprises on a cooperative basis by the workers, will be enjoyed not only the utmost degree of material saving which they shall be able to effect through the institutions they operate, but they will also give a practical demonstration of the extent to which the business and employing interests who operate private enterprises for selfish personal gain are using the powers at their command for the exploitation of the masses; and (perhaps of even greater importance), they will be able to demonstrate conclusively to the workers the extent to which these vested interests are disregarding their own obligations as regards the public interest and their duties to humanity in general.

Believing that the measure of benefit that will accrue to the workers from the successful operation of the cooperative movement is immeasurable, and that the knowledge derived through the establishment of this beneficent activity and through its operation will make for a more intelligent handling of all the other problems which arise, through their different organizations, we are confident that in proportion to the establishment of the cooperative movement in commerce and industry, to the same degree do we transform the opposition to the Labor movement in all of its varied aspects into the sincere support of the Labor movement, in its efforts to secure increased wages, shorter hours, safer and more healthful working conditions and better treatment; reducing the cost of living; in securing the enactment of beneficial legislation, and in the election of sincere, competent men and women who are friends of humanity to government positions; recognizing that it makes for a fuller life on the part of the people, based on a sure knowledge that they are doing for themselves all that can be done at this stage of development; that as a result of their efforts, they will ultimately enjoy all the benefits which can justly be hoped for, for all time to come.

Your committee is of the opinion that the A. F. of L. should create a department of the A. F. of L., based upon the true cooperative idea, wherein every organization within the movement would be eligible to membership; that the necessary funds should be raised through such a department in furtherance of the establishment and development of the cooperative movement, throughout the length and breadth of our land.

This Bureau on Cooperative Societies should be closely in touch with the work being done by the Union Label Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and should at all times cooperate with the Union Label Trades Department in encouraging the sale of union labeled goods in all cooperative stores where practicable.

Your committee feels that no particular organization could be singled out and given the endorsement of the A. F. of L., without such action resulting in deleterious effect upon some other organizations that are honest.

There are so many organizations being started with evil intent by fanatics, impostors self-seekers, and some of them by out-and-out swindlers, that it well behooves the Federation to provide means in a constructive way, through the appointment of some organization wherein honest men and women may be enabled to devise methods and authorized to work in cooperation with the great body of bona fide labor for the most effective protection of the workers from such malevolent influences, whatever they may be.

With this in mind, we have prepared and placed in the hands of the President of the A. F. of L. statement of the cooperative movement, which we believe to be sound, properly conducted, and worthy of support.

GEORGE W. PERKINS.
ARTHUR E. HOLDER.
WILLIAM D. MAHON.
JOHN J. MANNING.
JOHN H. WALKER.

THE "UNDER-PAID" PROFESSIONS

Large numbers of our people, either poorly organized or not organized at all, have felt the burden of the rising cost of living most keenly during the year just closed. Your Executive Council deems it right to speak a word in their behalf.

Large classes of workers employed directly or indirectly by the public, in public service, have been driven to the point of desperation by economic conditions. Among these are the school teachers, nurses in hospitals, various kinds of clerical workers, and technical or semi-technical workers.

It is clear that there must be an upward revision in the compensation which workers in these and similar classes are to receive. It should be considered the duty of all citizens to give expression to this thought upon every proper occasion.

School efficiency is imperative in America. It can not be had unless proper salaries are paid to teachers. In many of the cities and towns in nearly all the states of the union, teachers have gone into other lines of endeavor, industrially or professionally, and there are comparatively few young men or young women who now enter into the important work of teaching in the public schools. It is a dire need for the perpetuation of our Republic that full opportunity shall be afforded to its children for adequate education. We urge all possible assistance to the teachers in their efforts to improve their standard of living and we call the attention of the teachers of America to the need for organization in order that their efforts may be effective. We commend to all teachers the good work of the American Federation of Teachers and we point to the necessity for making it the great medium of expression for the needs of teachers everywhere.

Among nurses conditions are even more intolerable. We are informed that many hospitals have found it necessary to close their doors because of their inability to secure nurses. In others it has been necessary to discontinue classes for trained nurses because an insufficient number of students came forward, owing to the low wages involved and the hard conditions imposed.

The conditions in the hospitals directly affect the nurses and those who find it necessary to go to hospitals as patients. In those hospitals maintained by charity it is often impossible to increase the benefactions sufficiently to allow proper conditions and wages for nurses. In too many publicly owned hospitals the exigencies of politics result in niggardly policies.

Hospital service is a matter of public concern. Proper wages and humane conditions for those who render service in hospitals is likewise a matter of public concern. We believe this convention should give expression to constructive views in relation to this important subject. Organization of nurses will be of direct benefit, but there must be the additional remedy of proper control and financing of hospitals before the situation can be fully corrected.

As to technical and semi-technical workers, we are of the opinion that the valuable organization work already done should be extended with vigor. We believe the trade union movement is fully appreciative of the service to society rendered by these workers and is likewise fully alive to their needs and ready to extend all possible assistance. Nothing can be done, however, unless there is among the oppressed themselves a desire for betterment, a spirit of organization.

We recommend that the attention of the officers of the organized labor movement throughout America be directed to the situation here set forth and that they be urged to use every effort to assist in developing a remedy. We recommend also that where political action or the action of political bodies, is necessary to provide a remedy in whole or in part, organizers and officers and the members of organized labor be asked to assist in securing such action. The health, comfort, welfare and standard of living of thousands of working men and women depend upon conditions in the occupations to which we have here called attention. It is urgent that every possible effort to be of assistance be extended.

THE COAL STRIKE AND THE LEVER ACT

One of the chapters of the labor history of the year of greatest moment to the labor movement is that relating to the controversy between the United Mine Workers of America, the mine operators and the government of the United States. The facts regard-

ing this controversy are of special and peculiar importance not alone because of the economic issues involved but because of the introduction of the mandatory injunction into the struggle by the Attorney General of the United States.

Having in mind the menace of the injunctive process to labor's struggle for a greater freedom and a higher standard of manhood and womanhood, the 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor declared itself in part as follows:

"The fate of the sovereignty of American people again hangs in the balance. It is inconceivable that such an autocratic, despotic and tyrannical power can long remain in a democracy. One or the other must ultimately give way, and your committee believes that this convention should declare that as wage-earners, citizens of a free and democratic republic, we shall stand firmly and conscientiously on our rights as free men and treat all injunctive decrees that invade our personal liberties as unwarranted in fact, unjustified in law and illegal as being in violation of our constitutional safeguards, and accept whatever consequences may follow.

"Your committee further recommends that immediate steps be taken by the Executive Council and by all state organizations for the early enactment of adequate laws to deny the further usurpation of these unwarranted powers by our courts, and that Congress be petitioned to impeach all judges from office who may hereafter exercise governmental functions and authority not expressly delegated to them."

The struggle of the miners, the first phase of which was brought to a climax by the use of the mandatory injunction by the government, began late in July, 1918, when the international officers of the United Mine Workers of America requested of the United States Fuel Administrator that representatives of the mine workers be given an opportunity to present reasons for a substantial wage increase to the bituminous coal mine workers. This request was followed in the month of August of the same year by a formal demand on the part of the organization for a wage increase. The Fuel Administrator, H. A. Garfield, refused the request for a hearing and President Wilson, to whom the appeal was taken by the miners, for an opportunity to be heard, affirmed the decision of the Fuel Administrator, after delaying the matter until after the signing of the Armistice on November 11, 1918.

Subsequent to the signing of the Armistice and the cessation of actual hostilities in Europe, the mine workers in common with all others, found that the cost of the necessities of life continued to increase rapidly. Under pressure of this increase in the cost of living, Frank J. Hayes, then president of the United Mine Workers of America, on March 18, 1919, called a general policy meeting of the representatives of the mine workers which was held in Indianapolis. At this meeting the recommendations of President Hayes for the adoption of the policy recommending demands for a six-hour workday, a substantial increase of wages and nationalization of the mines, were adopted and were presumed to constitute the recommendation of the meeting to a national convention of the United Mine Workers of America.

It should be noted in connection with the steps taken by the Mine Workers at this time that price restrictions on coal had been lifted by the Federal Fuel Administration on February 1, 1919, and that on July 1, 1919, Fuel Administrator Garfield resigned his position. These two acts served to partially release the mine operators from the provisions of the Lever act, while bringing no similar freedom to the mine workers.

The convention of the United Mine Workers was held in Cleveland, Ohio, beginning on September 9, 1919. This convention gave consideration to the previous actions of the policy meeting in Indianapolis in the preceding March and by an overwhelming vote endorsed the following wage demands and policies as the program of the organization:

To the Twenty-Seventh Consecutive Constitutional and Fourth Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America.

GREETINGS:

We, your Scale Committee, to whom was delegated the duty of drafting

a proposed wage scale, herewith submit for your consideration and acceptance the following report:

First. We recommend that this report be accepted as a substitute for all wage scale resolutions that have been presented to the convention.

Second. We recommend that this convention demand a 60 per cent increase to be applicable to all classifications of day labor and to all tonnage, yardage and dead work throughout the Central Competitive Field.

Third. We recommend that this convention demand that all wage agreements that are negotiated to replace existing agreements shall be based on a six-hour workday, from bank to bank, five days per week.

Fourth. That all day labor shall be paid time and a half for overtime and double time for all work done on Sundays and legal holidays.

Fifth. That all agreements entered into by the United Mine Workers of America shall have incorporated therein a provision providing for a weekly pay-day.

Sixth. That all double shift work on the coal shall be abolished except as may be necessary for development and ventilating purposes and development for increased tonnage shall not be regarded as being a reason for double shift work; it being understood that this rule shall not be applicable to new mines that are in the process of development.

Seventh. That no automatic penalty clause shall be written into any agreement entered into by the United Mine Workers of America.

Eighth. That all internal differences not covered by joint interstate agreement shall be referred back to the respective districts for adjustment.

Ninth. That all contracts in the bituminous field shall be declared as having automatically expired November 1, 1919, and that no sectional settlement shall be allowed and new contracts must run concurrently for a period of two years in all bituminous districts under our jurisdiction.

Tenth. That agreements negotiated for outlying districts shall be retroactive and become effective on the date upon which the agreement for the Central Competitive Field becomes effective.

Eleventh. That no agreement for the Central Competitive Field shall be concluded until after this convention has been reconvened and the agreement has been ratified by the reconvened convention, which reconvened convention shall also define a policy to be applicable to outlying districts, and that the reconvened convention shall be held in Indianapolis, Ind., on such date as may be designated by the resident international officials.

Twelfth. We recommend that in the event a satisfactory wage agreement is not secured for the Central Competitive Field before November 1, 1919, to replace the one now in effect, that the international officers be authorized to and are hereby instructed to call a general strike of all bituminous miners and mine workers throughout the United States, the same to become effective November 1, 1919.

Thirteenth. That this convention go on record as favoring the ratification of the wage demands made by the anthracite miners in their tri-district convention which was held in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., from August 19 to 23 inclusive, and we pledge to the anthracite mine workers our power and influence in aiding them in the fulfillment of their demands.

These demands were presented by the officers of the United Mine Workers to the coal operators of the Central Competitive Field, embracing Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, at an interstate joint conference which convened in Buffalo, N. Y., on September 26, 1919. It early became evident that the coal operators had no intentions of consummating a wage agreement with the United Mine Workers and the most earnest attempts of its officers were insufficient to negotiate a basic wage scale. The conference in Buffalo continued until October 2, 1919, and a reconvened session was held in Philadelphia from October 9 to 11 inclusive. Conditions in nowise changed and a sine die adjournment of the conference, without an agreement, was had in Philadelphia on October 11.

Acting in conformity with instructions of the Cleveland Convention, the President

and Secretary of the International Union on October 15, 1919, issued a strike call to all members of the United Mine Workers of America working in the bituminous coal fields, effective at midnight, October 31, 1919.

On October 21, 1919, in response to an invitation issued by Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, the full scale representation of operators and miners met with the Secretary of Labor in Washington and continued in session until and including October 24. The mine workers' representatives offered to negotiate a wage scale without reservations but were met with the insistent and reiterated demand of the operators that the strike order of October 15 be withdrawn. In view of the instructions of the miners' convention, the representatives of the miners refused to take this action and the meeting adjourned without progress.

On October 25, 1919, President Wilson issued a statement to the country wherein he demanded a recall of the strike order by the United Mine Workers' officials declaring the proposed strike to be "not only unjustifiable but unlawful." This astounding action crystallized tremendous public opinion in opposition to the mine workers and the Department of Justice instituted injunction proceedings against the United Mine Workers in the federal courts with a view of preventing the strike.

On October 31, 1919, Judge Albert B. Anderson of the Federal Court district in Indianapolis, upon petition of the government, issued a temporary restraining order against the officers of the United Mine Workers. This order sought to restrain them from performing any act in furtherance of the strike and prevented legitimate intercourse with their membership. On November 1, 1919, some 452,000 men ceased work in response to the strike order and in violation of the terms of the injunction. On November 8, 1919, Judge Anderson sitting at Indianapolis, upon prayer of the government issued a mandatory writ of injunction wherein the officers of the organization were given seventy-two hours to rescind the strike order.

Upon issuance of the temporary restraining order issued by Judge Anderson on October 31, officers at A. F. of L. headquarters made public the following statement:

Throughout the period of war and during the nation's time of stress, the miners of America labored patiently, patriotically and arduously in order that the principles of freedom and democracy might triumph over the forces of arbitrary authority, dictatorship and despotism.

When armed hostilities ceased last November the miners found themselves in the paradoxical position where their intensive labors were being used to further enrich the owners of coal mines and merchants dealing in coal by the immediate reduction of the mining of coal. Of course, the mine owners readily conceived that an over-abundance of mined coal would seriously disturb the high prices of coal and endanger their large margin of profits.

On the other hand the miners found that with the constantly rising cost of necessities of life and with their income reduced over 50 per cent because of idleness that they had reached the limit of human endurance. Orderly and approved processes were resorted to to negotiate a new understanding with the mine owners and which would enable the miners to work at least five days during each week throughout the entire year and allow them a wage sufficient to enable them to live in decency and free from many of the pressing uncertainties of life.

In attempting to negotiate this new understanding and relation the miners found that their plea for continuous employment would destroy the mine owners' arrangement to curtail the mining of coal so as to continue exploiting the public with high and exorbitant prices.

The mine owners very cleverly met the issue by appearing willing and anxious to negotiate but only if the miners would first throw aside the only power at their command to gain a respectful hearing and fair consideration—the decision to strike whenever it was demonstrated fair dealing did not prevail.

We are now faced with a coal strike of vast magnitude. The government now proposes to intervene because of a possible coal shortage. Apparently the government is not concerned with the manipulation by the mine owners which has made for the present coal shortage and undue unemployment of the miners for the past eleven months.

Instead of dealing with those responsible for this grave menace to the public welfare it now proposes to punish those who by force of circumstances have been the victims of the coal barons' exploitations. The miners are now told the war is not over and that all war legislation is still in force and if reports received are correct, the government intends to apply existing war measures, not against the owners of the coal mines but against the coal miners.

The government has taken steps to enforce war measures by an injunction and it has restrained the officials of the United Mine Workers from counselling, aiding or in any way assisting the members of this organization for relief against grievous conditions of life and employment.

It is almost inconceivable that a government which is proud of its participation in a great war to liberate suppressed peoples should now undertake to suppress the legitimate aims, hopes and aspiration of a group of its own people. It is still more strange that a nation which may justly be proud of its Abraham Lincoln should now reverse the application of the great truth he enunciated when he said that as between Capital and Labor, Labor should receive first and foremost consideration.

The injunction against the United Mine Workers' bodes for ill. An injunction of this nature will not prevent the strike—it will not fill the empty stomachs of the miners—it may restrain sane leadership but will give added strength to unwise counsel and increase bitterness and friction.

This injunction can only result in creating new and more disturbing issues which may not be confined solely to the miners.

These views were presented to Attorney General Palmer in a conference this afternoon, lasting nearly two hours, by President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and Vice-President Woll of the A. F. of L.

On November 5, the following telegram was sent to members of the E. C. with the exception of William Green, Secretary of the United Mine Workers:

"In view of critical labor situations in the judgment of Vice-President Woll, Secretary Morrison and myself requiring immediate consideration and action of E. C., under authority of Section 4, Article 6, of Constitution of A. F. of L. I invite the members of the E. C. to meet in A. F. of L. Building at Washington at 10.30 o'clock Sunday morning, November 9, 1919. Members of E. C. are strongly urged to be in attendance.

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS."

The purpose in not sending a copy of the telegram to Vice-President Green was to avoid causing him unnecessary embarrassment. Labor's view of the use of the injunctive process to which the government had resorted in the case of the mine workers, was conveyed to the attorney general in detail by President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and Vice-President Woll and earnest protest was entered. It was pointed out that the Lever Act under which the court proceedings were being brought was not intended to apply to strikes or lockouts and it was urged that the restraining order and the injunction be withdrawn and that the miners be called into conference with the operators and an effort made to negotiate a settlement.

In accordance with the summons above quoted, the E. C. met in Washington on November 9 and formulated its views in a declaration which was then made public. Emphasis was laid upon the menace contained in the introduction of the mandatory injunction into industrial disputes, and the pledges given that the provisions of the Lever Act under which Judge Anderson was operating, would not be used in cases of strikes or lockouts, were set forth in detail.

The declaration adopted by the E. C. follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 9, 1919.

The E. C. of the A. F. of L. called into special session in the city of Washington for the express purpose of considering the coal strike, the conditions which brought on the strike as well as the court proceedings brought by the

government, submit to our fellow citizens and to our fellow workers, the following statement:

The E. C. is of the opinion that the officers of the United Mine Workers of America did everything in their power to avert this great industrial controversy. Of all the great industries in our country, there is none so dangerous to human life as the coal industry. The men who go down under the ground to dig coal, so that the domestic and industrial needs of the nation may be supplied, are engaged in work more hazardous than any other employment. Due consideration has never been given to the danger surrounding the coal miners. There is no other class of employment where each individual worker is so isolated and in whose districts there is such a lack of opportunity for social intercourse and enjoyment. The condition of the miner and his family is such that he is practically deprived not only of sunshine and fresh air but to a certain extent he is deprived of the association and companionship of all other human beings outside of his own particular class who are themselves engaged in the dangerous and unhealthy occupation of coal mining. The miners suffer more than any other workers from periods of compulsory unemployment. Authentic statistics show that the miners have less than 200 days of employment during each year. The wages of the miners, consequently, having to spread over the entire year, are greatly reduced as a result of the non-employment existing in that industry. The high cost of living has presented itself in perhaps a more serious form in isolated mining camps than in large industrial centers. There is usually not the same opportunity for the miners in the mining camps to make their purchases to such advantage as is presented in other localities. Their isolation prevents this.

The United Mine Workers, in their convention, held during the month of September in the city of Cleveland, adopted a positive declaration demanding improved conditions of employment for the miners. They further instructed the officers to proceed to obtain by negotiations with the operators the working conditions that the convention unanimously adopted.

There were almost 2,200 delegates seated in the convention, representing 500,000 organized miners. They further positively and explicitly instructed their officers that unless an agreement was reached on or before the first day of November, 1919, that the resolution of the convention calling for a strike on November 1, 1919, should be communicated to the membership. There was no alternative except for the officers, who are elected by the membership, to carry out the direct instructions of the membership or resign from their positions as officers, in which event chaos and confusion would result.

The officers of the Mine Workers, with their scale committee, entered into conferences and discussions with the operators in the city of Buffalo. They stated at the conference that they had full power to negotiate an agreement; in other words, that they had the power to give and take in the conference. The employers refused to make any offer whatever. Later on the miners answered the call of the Secretary of Labor and further endeavored to reach an agreement, but failed. The officers then proceeded to carry out the instructions of their membership and communicated the results of the failure of negotiations, and by order of the convention the strike automatically took effect November 1, 1919.

The machinery which has existed for years and which has been successful in bringing about agreements, between the miners and the operators, still exists, and they as representatives of the miners were and are ready and willing to enter into negotiations without reservation to reach an agreement.

At this time, our government interjected itself and applied for an injunction.

A temporary restraining order was granted by a federal judge which restrains the officials of the miners from in any way advising their membership on the situation, or contributing any of the moneys of the mine workers to the assistance of the men on strike, also restraining them from discussing, writing or

entering into any kind of a conversation with their membership on the strike situation.

The government then proceeded to further invade the rights of the miners, not only by restraining the miners, their officers and members from furthering the purpose for which the men contended but went to further lengths of demanding from the court an order commanding the officers of the miners' union to recall and withdraw the strike notification, and the court complacently complied and issued the order.

Never in the history of our country has any such mandatory order been obtained or even applied for by the government or by any person, company or corporation.

Both the restraining order and the injunction, in so far as its prohibitory features are concerned, are predicated upon the Lever Act, a law enacted by Congress for the purpose of preventing speculation and profiteering of the food and fuel supplies of the country. There never was in the minds of the Congress in enacting that law or in the mind of the President when he signed it, that the Lever Act would be applied to workers in cases of strikes or lockouts. The Food Controller, Mr. Hoover, specifically so stated. Members of the committee having the bill in charge have in writing declared that it was not in the minds of the committee, and the then Attorney General, Mr. Gregory, gave assurance that the government would not apply that law to the workers' effort to obtain improved working conditions. Every assurance from the highest authority of our government was given that the law would not be so applied.

In the course of President Wilson's address to the Buffalo Convention of the A. F. of L., November, 1917, among other things he said:

"While we are fighting for freedom, we must see among other things that Labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of Labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of Labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do."

The autocratic action of our government in these proceedings is of such a nature that it staggers the human mind. In a free country to conceive of a government applying for and obtaining a restraining order prohibiting the officials of a labor organization from contributing their own money for the purpose of procuring food for women and children that might be starving, is something that when known will shock the sensibilities of men and will cause resentment. Surely the thousands of men who are lying in France, under the soil, whose blood was offered for the freedom of the world, never dreamed that so shortly afterwards in their own country 450,000 workers endeavoring to better their working conditions, would have the government decide that they were not entitled to the assistance of their fellow men and that their wives and children should starve, by order of the government.

It is a well-established principle that the inherent purpose of the injunction processes, where there is no other adequate remedy at law, was for the purpose of protecting property and property rights only, thereby exercising the equity power of the court to prevent immediate and irreparable injury.

It was never intended and there is no warrant of the law in all our country to use the injunction power of equity courts to curtail personal rights or regulate personal relations. It was never intended to take the place of government by law by substituting personal and discretionary government.

The Lever Act provides its own penalties for violators of its provisions. The injunction issued in this case has for its purpose not a trial by court and a jury, but an order of the court predicated upon the assumption that the law might be violated and by which the defendants may be brought before the court for contempt and without any trial by jury.

We declare that the proceedings in this case are unwarranted, as they are unparalleled in the history of our country, and we declare that it is an injustice

which not only the workers but all liberty-loving Americans will repudiate and demand redress. The citizenship of our country can not afford to permit the establishment or maintenance of a principle which strikes at the very foundation of justice and freedom. To restore the confidence in the institutions of our country and the respect due the courts, this injunction should be withdrawn and the records cleansed from so outrageous a proceeding.

By all the facts in the case the miners' strike is justified. We endorse it. We are convinced of the justice of the miners' cause. We pledge to the miners the full support of the A. F. of L. and appeal to the workers and the citizenship of our country to give like endorsement and aid to the men engaged in this momentous struggle.

In addition to the adoption of the statement made public, it was the unanimous decision of those in attendance at the meeting that a circular be issued in the name of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. to all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions, the organizers, and the labor press, calling upon all to give every support to the miners' strike and to the miners' cause.

Reconvening on Tuesday, the E. C. received the information through the press that a conference called by President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, had, after a session lasting seventeen hours, decided that the order of the court be complied with; which was that the strike order of October 15, 1919, be withdrawn. Later the following telegram was received:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *November 11, 1919.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Miners' conference met yesterday morning 10 a. m., and remained in session until 4.30 this morning. Sixteen districts expressed their opposition to continuing the strike in defiance of our government with all its civil and military forces arrayed against us and that we should prove again that the mine workers of our country are law-abiding citizens notwithstanding that they feel keenly the wrong perpetrated against them. President Lewis desired me to convey to you the information that under those circumstances it was absolutely necessary in order to save our organization from disruption that he should comply with the order of the court to rescind the strike order. There was no other reason that would have compelled him to take such action.

PAUL J. SMITH.

In carrying out the decision of the conference called by President Lewis in Indianapolis, the executive officers of the mine workers' organization on November 11 signed an order rescinding the strike order of October 15, and the following was issued to the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America:

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: In obedience to the mandate issued on November 8 by the United States Court, District of Indiana, Judge A. B. Anderson presiding, the undersigned hereby advise you that the order of October 15 directing a cessation of mining operations in the bituminous coal fields of our jurisdiction is withdrawn and cancelled.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS,
President.

(Signed) WM. GREEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Following the receipt of the telegram the E. C. formulated the following as the expression of its views:

The E. C. of the A. F. of L., reviewing this record, expresses the opinion that it was misled by the officers of the United Mine Workers of America and their representatives as to the attitude they would take in the strike and the

injunction. The E. C. declares that in so far as the incident and the fact is concerned the officers of the United Mine Workers of America have dealt with it as their judgment warranted but in the principles involved by the restraining order and the injunction and the mandatory order in connection therewith the A. F. of L. will proceed as a matter of principle, right and freedom of the workers of America to contest every inch of the ground until freedom shall again be reestablished.

Notwithstanding the rescinding order, the strike continued and on December 3, 1919, upon information brought by government attorneys in the federal court, Judge Anderson cited for contempt eighty-four officers of the United Mine Workers whose arrests followed immediately. Bail in the sum of \$10,000 each was required for their appearance in court on December 9.

On December 6 the President and Secretary of the United Mine Workers went to Washington, upon the solicitation of the government, and a proposal for the settlement of the strike was advanced upon honorable premise. This arrangement provided for an adjudication of the claims of the mine workers by a coal commission, upon which the mine workers would be given representation. It further provided that the commission would assume the powers of the United States Fuel Administrator and resulted in the elimination of Dr. H. A. Garfield. It further provided for the immediate application of a 14 per cent increase upon all wage schedules. This arrangement was accepted by the representatives of the mine workers in conference in Indianapolis on December 10. Orders were immediately issued for the return of all men to work under this arrangement and the strike officially terminated. Mining operations were promptly resumed and the coal crisis ended.

On December 19, 1919, President Wilson appointed Henry L. Robinson, Rembrandt Peale and John P. White as members of the Bituminous Coal Commission.

On January 5 to 7 inclusive, a reconvened session of the international convention was assembled at Columbus, Ohio, and the policy of the officers of the organization in accepting the peace terms proposed by the president was affirmed by a vote of 1,638 delegates in the affirmative to 221 delegates in the negative.

On January 12, 1920, the Bituminous Coal Commission commenced its hearings at the American Red Cross Building, Washington, D. C. On March 11, 1920, Messrs. Robinson and Peale, members of the Bituminous Coal Commission, submitted the majority report of the commission to President Wilson. On March 13, 1920, Mr. John P. White submitted his minority report as a member of the Bituminous Coal Commission to President Wilson.

On March 23, the President of the United States in a public statement indorsed the findings of the majority members of the Bituminous Coal Commission and addressed a communication to the operators and miners directing them to consummate a wage agreement with the commission's report as its basis. On March 31, 1920, the joint Interstate Conference of operators and miners assembled in New York and formally signed a wage scale agreement for the Central Competitive Field, extending from April 1, 1920, to March 31, 1922. This agreement provides for an increase of 24 cents per ton upon mining rates throughout the United States, pick and machine mined coal, with a 20 per cent increase in rates paid for yardage and dead work. It further provides for an increase of \$1 per day to day workers and monthly men in all classifications. The tonnage rate increase in the Central Competitive Field is the equivalent of 30.7 per cent increase. In the coal producing sections south of the Ohio River, comprising the states of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama, the increase approximated 45 per cent. In application to the tonnage schedules of the bituminous coal producing districts of the country as a whole the increase is equivalent to 35 per cent.

The attention of the convention is called to the paramount fact that the action of the court at Indianapolis in introducing the mandatory injunction into the dispute between the miners and the operators, leaves before the organized labor movement and the workers of the United States in general, an issue which can not be evaded and an issue which can never be settled until it is settled in such a manner as to restore the liberties and the freedom which have been destroyed. So long as it is possible for courts to assume the

power and the authority assumed by the federal courts in Indianapolis, so long will it be possible for judges throughout the land to suspend and nullify rights guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, rights without which democracy is crippled and incomplete. We again call attention to the declaration of the convention of 1919 and we recommend that the determination there expressed be reaffirmed. The rights that have been called into question and which have been abrogated by a federal court must be restored and made safe beyond further attack. The liberties of the people of the United States must be protected no matter what the hazard and no matter what the cost. Upon such rights as those which were called into question by Judge Anderson rest the foundations of the American Republic.

We further called attention to the betrayal of pledges on the part of those charged with the duty of upholding the law, in connection with the issuance of the injunction against the United Mine Workers. We called attention to a portion of an interview with Representative Lever, the author of the food bill under which the injunction was issued, which appeared in the *New York Times*, of May 20, 1917:

Never was such a drastic bill drawn. The President had given his word that it is only a war measure and that it ceases to be in effect when the war is over. It is framed simply to safeguard the nation's food supply for its own use and for whatever we can do for our allies while we are *fighting the war out*.

When the bill came up for action, Representative Keating on behalf of Labor urged an amendment providing that nothing in section 4 should be construed as repealing sections 6 and 20 of the Clayton Act.

June 22, 1917, this debate was held in the House between Representatives Lever and Keating as reported by the *Congressional Record*, page 4396:

Mr. Lever: . . . We do not believe, and the matter was thoroughly discussed in the Committee on Agriculture, that this section in anywise serves to repeal or amend in the least particular either the Clayton Anti-Trust Act or any other act which deals with the right of men to strike for purposes of increasing their wages or bettering their living conditions. We do not believe that this affects that in the least.

Mr. Keating: Let us get the issue cleared up. Let us get a concrete case. Suppose that men engaged in work on the railroads of the country—we will say, the telegraph operators on a particular line in this country—decided to strike. Is it the object of the gentlemen, and is it the object of this bill that the power shall be vested in some one to compel those men to go back to work? Let us face the issue squarely, and if this is not your purpose, why not adopt this amendment?

Mr. Lever: I am glad to face the issue squarely. If there were such a combination to strike for the purpose of bettering living conditions or increasing wages there is no purpose in this bill, and there is no authority in this bill, to prevent it.

The following day this statement was made by Representative Keating, and a letter read from Food Administrator Hoover (*Congressional Record*, June 23, 1917, page 4515).

Mr. Keating: Mr. Chairman, this amendment is the one I offered the other day to section 4 of this bill. At that time I made it apply exclusively to section 4. In its present form it applies to the entire bill. When my amendment was before the House the other day the contention was made that I was seeking to have farmers' organizations and labor organizations exempted from the operation of this bill. I want to impress on the members of the House that I am not seeking any exemption for any class. Neither the farmers nor the members of labor organizations, so far as this amendment is concerned, are granted exemption from the provisions of the bill. The sole object of this amendment is to clarify the bill. The chairman of the Committee on Agriculture has assured us that

it was not the purpose of the framers of the bill to interfere in any way with section 6 and section 20 of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law. Mr. Hoover who will be called upon to administer this act, in a conference held a week or two ago with representatives of all the great labor organizations of the country confirmed this view and suggested the amendment which I have offered. On that point the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture (Mr. Lever) has requested me to read the following memorandum which he has received from Mr. Hoover:

Mr. Hoover's memorandum:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 22, 1917.

"Memorandum for Mr. Lever. The labor representatives are very much exercised over the possible reading of the food control bill to stretch to control of wages, and they suggest that an amendment may be made providing that the labor provisions of the Clayton Act should not be affected by the proposed bill. I understand that Mr. Keating proposed this amendment and it was defeated.

"It appears to me that there is no intention in the bill to interfere and I believe it might silence a great deal of criticism and opposition which might be raised in the Senate if this amendment could be undertaken. I do not wish to impose my views upon you, but simply to suggest that as it is not the intention of the bill to regulate wages, it might do no harm to satisfy this element in the community that they are immune from attack.

"Yours faithfully,

"HERBERT HOOVER."

On Monday, August 6, 1917, this statement regarding the right of labor to strike was made in the Senate (*Congressional Record*, Monday, August 6, 1917, page 6403):

Mr. Chamberlain (Senator in charge of the bill): . . . Mr. President there is not anything in the act, it seems to me, that would prevent labor organizations from peaceful picketing or the peaceful strike if they see fit to indulge in it; and, while as I said, I did not vote against the Senator's amendment, and I do not recall having been with the conferees when it was receded from, I would not have hesitated to do so in conference, because I think it unnecessary. It was insisted upon by the Senate conferees for quite a while and finally went out. I really do not know how many days it had been in conference before the Senate conferees finally receded. But, Mr. President, I have not any fear that in the administration of the food law anything would be attempted by the President or by the agencies which he has power to create under the act to prevent any labor or other organization from doing in a peaceful way all that they can now do under the Clayton law to protect themselves and their rights without any saving clause in the bill under consideration. It is not necessary in this bill in order to protect rights.

Other conferences were had by the President and Secretary of the A. F. of L., among them conferences with Secretary of Labor Wilson and the then Attorney General Gregory. In each case the assurances were repeated; the attorney general gave the assurance that he would write to the district attorneys not to construe section 4 as interfering in any way with the normal activities of Labor.

During the debate in the Senate August 8, the following dialogue took place (page 6481, *Congressional Record*):

Mr. Husting: . . . I voted for the Hollis amendment to the bill, which provided that the provisions of the bill should not be construed to prevent strikes or peaceful picketing or in any way amend or repeal the provisions of the Clayton Act. I would not favor the clause striking out this amendment if I thought it had that effect. I do not think it has that effect.

I was sufficiently interested, however, in the argument made by the Senator from New Hampshire, and by arguments already made upon the legal effect of striking out the Hollis amendment to inquire from those who will

have the administration of this law in their hands as to what construction would be placed upon it by them in the event that it became a law in its present form.

I am authorized by the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wilson, to say that the administration does not construe this bill as prohibiting strikes and peaceful picketing and will not so construe the bill, and that the Department of Justice does not so construe the bill and will not so construe the bill.

Mr. Reed: Will the Senator then say to us why the amendment which would have removed any necessity for construction, or any doubt, was stricken out?

Mr. Husting: I can not answer that question with authority, but I understand it was stricken out because it was not thought necessary or essential, that it had no effect whatever. I think it would have been wiser to have left it in, but it was stricken out, I understand, upon the argument that it could not legally be construed in that way and that it was surplusage or redundancy.

Mr. Reed: Has the Senator talked with the Attorney General?

Mr. Husting: I will say that I have not. I have not talked with the Attorney General. However I can say that the Secretary of Labor advised me that this was the opinion of the administration and the Department of Justice. He did not give it merely as a matter of belief on his part, but said that he was authorized to so state.

Mr. Reed: Now may I ask one further question? Suppose that a complaint should be filed in a court of the United States charging a violation of this act, and that the case was lodged in court, and the judge of the court should hold that under the charge made a violation of the law had occurred, is the Senator prepared to say to the country that the Attorney General has stated that under such circumstances as that he would nullify the law and undertake to control the court?

Mr. Husting: Mr. President, I can not say anything further than what I have already said. I do not presume any United States District Attorney will prosecute any person under this law contrary to the interpretation placed upon the law itself by a superior officer.

Mr. Lewis: . . . I am advised . . . that the provisions we placed in the Federal Trade Commission Act in the closing days of its consideration . . . to the effect that there shall not be prosecution of farmers' organizations or members thereof or of labor organizations or members thereof for any of the acts to which we particularly addressed ourselves as criminal concerning commercial bodies, would exclude the prosecutions of which the Senator from New Hampshire had such a sincere fear.

Mr. Husting: Mr. President, that is my belief. I will say to the distinguished Senator from Illinois, that is my view of it; and not only is it my view, but as I said before, it is the view of the administration, and I am advised is also the view of the Department of Justice and of every eminent and able attorney on the floor.

That a promise had been made that a separate bill embodying the amendment that the law should not "modify or amend or repeal the Clayton Act" is established in the following statement made in the Senate August 8, 1917 (page 6482, *Congressional Record*):

Mr. Husting: . . . But it appears here from the debate that many Senators have taken the view that this measure does not modify, or amend or repeal the Clayton Act. So the action of many Senators and their votes will be based upon the assumption that it does not so modify amend or repeal that act, and the fact that others do think so will have no other effect than to put their opinion against the opinion of those who believe otherwise. . . . If there is any division of opinion here upon the question of what effect this proposed legislation will have on the anti-trust laws, let a bill be introduced embodying

the Hollis amendment, and let it go through both Houses, as I think it will without much opposition. Then all uncertainty will be swept away. But notwithstanding that this bill is not exactly as I would have it if I had the writing of it, it is necessary to pass this bill at once.

While the discussion over the Hollis amendment was at its height the Supreme Court gave an opinion in the case of the Paine Lumber Company vs. Neal. It was held by the court that private individuals could not institute legal proceedings under anti-trust legislation. This encouraged the officials of labor in the belief that the striking out of the Hollis amendment would not work to the injury of Labor, as only the government could institute prosecutions and the government had given assurance it would not. And as the President and the Attorney General of the United States had said there would be no prosecutions by the Department of Justice, Labor felt safe.

In view of the use to which the writ of injunction was put in the case of the miners and in view of the clear violation of pledges on the part of representatives of the United States Government, both legislative and executive, special importance is given to the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign now being waged. It is vitally necessary for the preservation of the rights, liberties and freedom of the working people of the United States that no effort be spared to defeat at the polls those who have proven not only their enmity to the interests of the great masses of our people but their absolute and complete failure to comprehend the welfare of the Republic.

Few charges more serious than those here raised have been brought against officials in the public life of our country. In this case the workers have been compelled to suffer from disruption of their liberties at the hands of those charged with safeguarding their liberties, and to suffer in addition as the result of the betrayal of pledges solemnly given while our nation was at war and solemnly accepted by a labor movement given heart and soul to the cause in which the nation was struggling, the cause of human freedom, the cause of democracy, the cause of humanity everywhere, in the United States no less than in other countries.

The E. C. can not urge too solemnly and can not urge with too much emphasis the necessity of remembering this record in the contest in which we are now engaged.

"Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices; whether executive, legislative or judicial."

STEEL STRIKE

Because of the conditions existing in the steel industry of the country, and because of the great number of appeals which had come from the workers in that industry to the American Federation of Labor, asking for assistance, the convention of the A. F. of L., held in St. Paul in 1918, adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The organization of the vast armies of wage-earners employed in the steel industries is vitally necessary to the further spread of industrial democracy in America; and

"WHEREAS, Organized Labor can accomplish this great task only by putting forth a tremendous effort; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the executive officers of the A. F. of L. stand instructed to call a conference, during this convention, of delegates of all international unions whose interests are involved in the steel industries, and of all the State Federations and City Central Bodies in the steel districts, for the purpose of uniting all these organizations into one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America."

As a result of the action initiated by the St. Paul resolution, organization work was begun, and by the early spring of 1919 work had progressed to the point where unions existed in many of the large mills. The twenty-four international unions having members engaged in the steel industry from the outset cooperated in the work of organization. The Steel Corporation from the first viewed the work of organization with extreme dislike and during the spring of 1919, when it became apparent that the response to organi-

zation efforts was general, the corporations began the systematic discharge of men who became affiliated with the unions, or who were suspected of such affiliation.

In May, 1919, it became apparent that serious danger existed of local strikes that might destroy the national character of the movement. Therefore, a general meeting of the representatives of all local unions of all the trades throughout the steel industry was called, to be held in Pittsburgh, May 25, in order that an expression of the rank and file might be had, and the national character of the movement emphasized by bringing together representatives of the workers from the different points.

In this conference it developed that there was an insistent demand for relief and that summary action was necessary in order that it might be met. At this time the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers was in session in Louisville, Ky., and in that convention a resolution was adopted instructing President Tighe to undertake to secure a conference with the officials of the United States Steel Corporation. President Tighe undertook to carry out his instructions, but failed. In view of this failure, and having before it the correspondence between President Tighe and Judge Gary, the Pittsburgh conference adopted a resolution, asking the National Committee, representing the twenty-four cooperating international unions, to take action.

Two days later the National Committee, meeting in Washington, adopted the resolution submitted by the Pittsburgh conference calling for a meeting with heads of the steel corporations. The following were selected as a conference committee:

Samuel Gompers, Chairman of the National Committee.
 John Fitzpatrick, Acting Chairman of the National Committee.
 D. J. Davis, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
 William Hannon, of the International Association of Machinists.
 Edw. J. Evans, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
 Wm. J. Foster, Secretary-Treasurer of the National Committee.

President Gompers was requested to write a letter to Judge Gary, asking for a conference. This was done. After waiting for several weeks for an answer from Judge Gary and receiving none, the National Committee again met on July 20 to consider the situation. It was the judgment of the committee, expressed by vote, that a strike ballot of the steel workers should be taken, the voting to be under the laws of the respective organizations and the ballots to be returned August 20.

On August 20, the National Committee met in Youngstown to canvass the votes. It was found that 98 per cent of the votes cast were in favor of a strike, provided no conference could be secured. The conference committee was instructed, therefore to make another attempt to secure a reply from Judge Gary and in the event of failure, to set a strike date. Thereafter the conference committee called upon Judge Gary at his office in New York. He refused to meet the committee, but asked that the proposition be submitted to him in writing. This was done and he made reply, refusing to meet the committee and outlining his well-known position toward the trade union movement.

The committee, headed by President Gompers, next called upon President Wilson in Washington and asked that he arrange a conference. The President agreed to make an effort to arrange such a conference. After a week had passed, the National Committee again met and advised the President by telegraph of the situation in the steel industry, which, in the judgment of the committee, steadily had grown worse. Reports to the committee showed that hundreds of men were being discharged daily for union membership. At this time the meeting of the international presidents interested in the organization of workers in the steel industry, was set for September 9 to act upon the serious problems confronting the committee.

When the meeting of international presidents was convened on September 9, a telegram was laid before the meeting from President Wilson, stating that the efforts of the President had been unavailing, but that he would continue them in the hope that a conference might still be arranged.

Many of the delegates felt that this answer was final, but as a precautionary measure another telegram was sent to the President, which brought a reply on the following day, repeating the message contained in the first telegram.

Thus, having exhausted every effort to secure a hearing for the steel workers, the

organizations represented in the National Committee for the Organization of Steel Workers set September 22 as the date upon which a strike of all the trades would begin in all the mills of the United States Steel Corporation, and in the mills of all other steel companies not working under union agreements. Two days later Acting Chairman Fitzpatrick, of the National Committee, received a letter from President Gompers, containing a copy of telegram from President Wilson, asking that the strike be postponed until after the President's Industrial Conference, which was to convene on October 6 in Washington. This was reinforced by a request from President Gompers that the wishes of President Wilson be complied with, if it could be done without injury to the cause of the workers. On September 17-18 the National Committee met to consider this request, but, after a thorough consideration of the situation, found it impossible to postpone the strike date. The condition in the industry was such, in their judgment, that with thousands of men on the streets and the rest of them prepared for the strike, any effort to postpone the strike date would have ruined whatever chance the workers might have had of success. Organizers reported to the committee that if the strike was postponed, they would not be able to return to their districts, for they were certain that the men would strike in any event. They reported, also, that emissaries of the steel corporations were circulating among the workers, telling them that the A. F. of L. was going to betray them. It was the opinion that postponement of the strike would be accepted as an abandonment of the men in their critical hour.

On September 22, approximately 310,000 men in the steel industry ceased work. This number was added to during the following week, until finally it was estimated that 365,000 men had ceased work. This figure was never disputed by the steel corporations.

The United States Senate instructed its Committee on Labor and Education to undertake an investigation of the steel strike and accordingly hearings were held in Washington, D. C., Pittsburgh and the steel centers in the Pittsburgh district, but no action was recommended to the Senate, beyond a recommendation for the establishment of an industrial tribunal which might prevent such strikes in the future. In his testimony before the committee, Judge Gary refused to consider arbitration looking toward a settlement of the controversy. Chairman Fitzpatrick, of the National Committee, on the other hand, agreed in his testimony before the committee, to arbitration of the strike.

On October 6 the President's Industrial Conference began its sessions in Washington. The labor delegations submitted a resolution at the outset, calling for the selection of two members from each of the three groups—labor, employers and the public—represented in the conference to undertake a settlement of the strike, and agreeing that the workers would abide by whatever settlement might be reached in that manner. The resolution met with no success.

The Executive Council, at its meeting in Washington, October 5-22, declared its endorsement of the steel strike and recorded its determination to do everything possible to assist in winning the strike. It further denounced the attitude of the United States Steel Corporation toward its employes and instructed the president of the A. F. of L. to issue a public statement to that effect. It was further decided by the E. C. that every organization be urged to give support to the strike to the fullest extent, and that an appeal be sent to national and international unions, state federations, central bodies and local unions, and that all contributions should be sent to Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L.

The Inter-Church World Movement conducted an investigation of the strike, sending a committee of inquiry and a corps of skilled investigators into all the important strike centers to gather information. Because the attitude of the committee seemed to be fair, the National Committee proposed that the committee should undertake to mediate the strike. This the committee agreed to. The committee visited Judge Gary, but was met with a repetition of Mr. Gary's viewpoint about the strike, and a refusal of either mediation or arbitration.

The strike continued until January 8, 1920, when in view of all the circumstances, it was decided that only unnecessary suffering could result from its continuance, and accordingly it was declared off. It was estimated that at the time the strike was declared off, there were approximately 100,000 men still out. The international unions expressed their determination to continue with the work of organization and declared the firm

intention to stand by the steel workers and not to leave them at the mercy of corporation blacklisting systems. In accordance with this decision, the work of education and organization is being continued.

At the conclusion of the strike, Secretary W. Z. Foster tendered his resignation, whereupon J. G. Brown was selected as his successor.

The Executive Committee can not conclude this report without paying tribute to the heroic work of the organizers, who conducted their work a great portion of the time at the risk of their lives. Terroristic methods were early injected into the situation by the employers and by municipal and county officials, who sought by every means at their command to make impossible the work of organization. It is worthy of note that during the organization of the steel workers, the first labor mass meeting to be held in twenty-seven years was held in the city of Homestead, Pa. Organizers reported that in order to reach the halls for this meeting, it was necessary to pass a line of fully 150 gun men. The right of free speech and free assemblage was abrogated by officials in many places.

We append herewith a general recapitulation, showing receipts and expenditures of funds during the strike. Following is the recapitulation of the receipts as handled by Secretary Morrison, of the A. F. of L.:

RECEIPTS

Total donations received from October 22, 1919, to January 10, 1920 (Part I).....	\$418,161 14
Total donations received from January 12, 1920, to February 18, 1920, and returned to contributors by direction of the National Committee for organizing Iron and Steel Workers (Part II).....	8,662 65
Total of donations received at A. F. of L. Headquarters	\$426,823 79

EXPENDITURES

Total of amounts forwarded to John J. Fitzpatrick, Chairman, National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers	\$418,141 14
Total of two unpaid checks of \$10 each made good at bank.....	20 00
Total of refund checks returned to contributors by direction of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers of all donations received at A. F. of L. Headquarters after January 10, 1920.....	8,662 65
Total of checks drawn	\$426,823 79
Total of donations.....	\$426,823 79
Total expended.....	426,823 79

Following is the report of disbursements submitted on behalf of the National Committee:

DISBURSEMENTS

Meat and groceries.....	\$178,695 64
Commissary checks for points outside Pittsburgh District.....	93,082 82
Labor and expenses.....	3,612 44
Freight and drayage.....	3,757 24
Bread.....	46,739 54
Potatoes.....	22,622 04
Total	\$348,509 72

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts from November 4, 1919, to January 31, 1920 (comprising total fund).....	\$418,141 14
Total disbursements from October 27, 1919, to January 31, 1920	348,509 72
Balance deposited in General Fund of National Com- mittee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers.....	\$69,631 42

An itemized statement of receipts and expenses was printed and mailed to every contributor.

THE BOSTON POLICE

For many years the police force of Boston, recognized as one of the finest in the United States, suffered from inadequate wages, unreasonable hours, unsatisfactory working conditions and unsanitary station houses, many of which were infested with vermin and rodents.

In thirteen years the grievance committee of the policemen's social club could secure no improvements. When the present Police Commissioner came into office about two years ago he abolished the social clubs grievance committee and established a "head-quarters-controlled" grievance committee which failed to truly represent the men or to secure better conditions.

In the meantime, through the instigation of Police Commissioner Curtis, the policemen of Boston were denied the benefits of the Veterans' Preference Act and the right of redress for punishment or dismissal, a right enjoyed by every other police force in the state of Massachusetts. In fact, the Police Commissioner's entire record shows a studied design to repress and make all submissive to his supreme domination.

Discontent among the men began to manifest itself. For years braving all manners of physical hardships and dangers in protecting life and property, a strong resentment crystallized against the perpetuation of their deplorable conditions.

Being unable to make themselves heard they naturally sought a spokesman and openly held meetings to discuss affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The police commissioner objected but did not forbid it until after application had been made and the charter received. Application for a charter was made July 11, 1919, and it was received August 9. On August 11, Commissioner Curtis issued the following order which is so ambiguous and unreasonable as to be illegal.

Section 19. Rule 35. No member of the force shall join or belong to any organization, club or body composed of present or present and past members of the force which is affiliated with or a part of any organization, club or body outside the department, except that a post of the G. A. R., the United Spanish War Veterans and the American Legion of World War Veterans may be formed within the department.

From the above it will be seen that the policemen were forbidden from joining or remaining a member of any outside organization fraternal, social, or even religious, except as noted.

The situation became so critical that the Mayor of Boston appointed a committee of thirty-four of Boston's leading citizens to investigate the entire situation and submit proposals for its amelioration. The men's substantiated and acknowledged grievances shocked Boston.

In the meantime Police Commissioner Curtis had been prevailed upon to engage personal counsel and he submitted his willing submissive mind to the advice of one of the cleverest attorneys for "big business" and "the interests" in New England. Although the Boston Chamber of Commerce had urged commissioner Curtis to employ personal counsel, on learning of his choice it sent a committee to him to suggest a change.

The report of the Mayor's Committee was approved by the mayor, the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and, with the exception of one newspaper, was unanimously endorsed by the press of Boston. One of the proposals was that the charter of the American Federation of Labor be surrendered with assurance from the attorneys for the

policemen's union that they would accept that stipulation, thus eliminating the question of the policemen's affiliation with the A. F. of L.

When the report of the Mayor's Committee was submitted by its chairman to the police commissioner he was abruptly dismissed with the statement: "This is my business and I will take care of it myself."

This destroyed the last ray of hope for the policemen. Nineteen of their number who had been active in organization work were haled before the police commissioner and victimized by suspension from the force. These men did not strike. They were later "fired." The rank and file being guilty of every act committed by the victims could only expect like treatment at the hands of such a despot, especially as the police commissioner had several times publicly stated that he had the situation well in hand and could take care of any emergency with volunteer policemen who had been sworn in and were ready for duty.

In this provoked frame of mind and driven to desperation, the police held a meeting and unanimously decided to cease work at 5.45 the following afternoon.

With weeks of notice and ample men including 400 "loyal" policemen, Police Commissioner Curtis made absolutely no effort to protect the city from the lawless element between the hours of 5.45 p. m. and 8 a. m. the next morning. With the power and the force to prevent it, he either neglected his sworn duty or purposely permitted crimes, misdemeanors and outrages on the Commonwealth. The following extract is quoted from the first report of the Mayor's Committee of thirty-four to the mayor dated October 3:

An endeavor had been made by your committee on Sunday, September 7, to obtain a second conference with the governor for the purpose of reporting upon the then critical situation and presenting for his consideration the committee's plan, but the governor was reported to be in the western part of the state and such a conference could not be arranged. On Monday, September 8, the mayor in cooperation with the members of your committee again endeavored to obtain a conference with the governor, and such a conference was arranged to take place early in the evening of that day. At that time the commissioner had taken final action in regard to the police officials. Your committee in collaboration with your honor thereupon advised the governor of the entire situation, presenting the plan and stating its status. Constructive action upon the principles proposed was urged. In the absence of such action your honor and the members of your committee emphasized the prospective seriousness of the situation which would result from the absence of the great majority of the patrolmen and expressed their strong conviction as to the necessity of troops to the number of not less than three to four thousand to be present in Boston on the day following at 5.45 p. m. either upon the streets or ready in the armories.

The members of the committee at this conference were:

Gen. Charles H. Cole.
B. Preston Clark.
George E. Brock.
John R. Macomber.
Frederic S. Snyder.
P. A. O'Connell.
A. C. Ratschesky.
James J. Storrow.

On Tuesday, September 9, at about 1 o'clock, your honor, as set forth in your letter to the chairman (Appendix 15) visited the commissioner at his office in Pemberton Square, and was assured by the commissioner that he had the situation well in hand and had ample means at his disposal for the protection of the city. Your honor asked him whether he did not think he ought to have the State Guard ready for emergencies, and the commissioner replied that he did not need it and did not want it (Appendix 16 and 17). Your honor then suggested to the commissioner that the governor's consideration of the

question of protection of the city should be asked. The commissioner replied that it was not necessary, but consented to see the governor with the mayor. At this conference the same ground was gone over again. The police commissioner reiterated his assurances that he had the situation in hand and had made ample provision, and again stated that he did not need or want the State Guard. No action was taken. The volunteer police were not called to duty until Wednesday morning. On Tuesday evening, September 9, riots, disorders and robbery occurred, and on Wednesday morning, September 10, your honor assumed temporary control of the Police Department, acting under the Statute of 1917, Ch. 327, Part 1, Sec. 26 (Appendix 19), which gives your honor the power to do so, "tumult" having then occurred. Your honor also immediately called out that part of the State Guard located in Boston which you then had authority to do, and requested the governor to order out three additional regiments of infantry.

By Thursday morning order had been generally restored in the city. On Thursday afternoon, September 11, the governor assumed control of the situation, as indicated by his proclamation of that day.

From the above it will be seen that "no action was taken" until the mayor took charge the next morning.

The Boston public received a second shock when an affidavit sworn to and subscribed by a reputable newspaper correspondent was read at a public meeting in Boston. It was a sworn statement that the ex-superintendent of police who had been recalled some time before to recruit a new police force had stated to him on the afternoon of the strike that his orders from higher up were not to put any policemen on the street until 8 a. m. the next morning, thus deliberately turning the city over to the lawless element and permitting, if not actually inviting, all that happened. On September 10, Mayor Peters made the following statement:

The committee of thirty-four appointed by me and myself, have made every human effort to avoid the strike of the policemen but received no cooperation from the Police Commissioner and no help or practical suggestions from the governor.

What other conclusions can be deducted from these facts except that it was a deliberately premeditated plan to throw odium and cast a stigma upon the good name and work of the American labor movement, and discredit the rising power of organized labor?

With this record the Massachusetts authorities go forth prostituting the slogan "law and order" in the greatest campaign of deceit and hypocrisy ever perpetrated upon the American public and Police Commissioner Curtis is still being protected by those who do not dare jeopardize political aspirations by the full flood light of truth and justice. To paraphrase a familiar quotation: "Oh, law and order, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

Although the cause of the Boston policemen led them to martyrdom they achieved not only for their successors but for hundreds of police forces throughout the United States thoughtful consideration and improved conditions that could not have been achieved in any other way.

The narrative of the Boston police is but history repeating itself. It proved that in this year of grace, 1920, men will not submit to being "hog-tied and gagged."

It proves that those, blinded by egotism, arrogance and autocracy, who strike against the laws of nature by constructing a human machine without a safety valve are not only unmindful of the welfare of the masses but are inviting disaster and are therefore especially unfit to be in charge of public safety, for it is only a matter of time before a machine, mechanical, or human, without a safety valve, will explode, and the man or men who advise, construct, or approve such a blunder are a menace and a danger to modern society.

It proves that the rational, normal activities and natural aspirations of mankind for a just share of self-respect, decency and happiness can not be denied in spite of autocrats and despots benevolent or otherwise.

It proves that only through organization, solidarity, and unity in thought, spirit and action are the rights and welfare of wage-earners to be protected and promoted.

The Boston police situation is but one more sacrifice in the human struggle against autocracy, injustice and wrong out of which has grown a better and a brighter day for their successors and fellow-workers.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS—ENGINEERS

The 1919 convention having the subject under this caption under consideration adopted the following:

"Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to select a committee of five men who by training and experience are competent to judge the technical trade questions involved to make an investigation of the points at issue and that this committee submit its report to the Executive Council, which, after further conference with the two organizations in dispute, shall render such decision and make such disposition of this controversy as in its opinion the results of the investigation warrant."

Desirous of having the personnel of the committee conform to the wishes of the organizations vitally interested rather than to appoint the committee himself, President Gompers requested President Snellings of the Engineers and Acting President Noonan, of the Electrical Workers to submit to him five names each, so that from these lists of ten names he could designate the committee of five. The engineers submitted:

Jas. Moriarity, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.
 John Donlin, President, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.
 William L. Hutcheson, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
 John L. Lewis, President, United Mine Workers of America.
 William J. Bowen, President, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.

The Electrical Workers submitted:

William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.
 J. J. Hynes, President, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.
 L. Weyand, Acting President, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.
 James Wilson, President, Pattern Makers' League of North America.
 Joseph F. Valentine, President, International Molders' Union of North America.

From the names thus submitted, President Gompers selected the following as the committee:

Joseph F. Valentine, President, International Molders' Union of North America.
 Mr. Wm. Hutcheson, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
 Mr. William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.
 Mr. John Donlin, President, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.
 Mr. Jas. Moriarity, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Mr. Valentine advised that it would be absolutely impossible for him to serve on the committee. President Wilson of the patternmakers was then asked to serve but he was unable to do so. Acting President L. Weyand of the boilermakers was then invited to become a member of the committee and accepted. The committee then being as follows:

L. Weyand, Acting President, Brotherhood of [Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

William L. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.

John Donlin, President, Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

Mr. James Moriarity, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Under the action of the 1919 convention, the further proceedings of the committee was left in the hands of the chairman. The chairman of the committee, on several different occasions, endeavored to get the committee together in a conference at headquarters but without avail.

We have endeavored to have the committee meet during this convention and trust that the report may be received while we are in session that an agreement mutually advantageous has been reached.

ENGINEERS—STEAM SHOVEL AND DREDGEMEN

As directed by the last convention, a conference of the representatives of the two organizations, together with the representatives of the Mining and of the Building Trades Departments of the American Federation of Labor, with Secretary Morrison representing the Executive Council, was held for the purpose of carrying into effect the plan of amalgamation of the Engineers and the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen which we reported to you last year.

The Steam Engineers agreed to the terms of amalgamation as proposed but the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen refused to agree to the plan and stated that they would agree to a plan of amalgamation which would give them a charter as a department with full autonomy over steam shovel and dredgemen's work. Therefore under the action of the convention, the charter of the steam shovel and dredgemen's organization was suspended.

HATTERS—CAP MAKERS

The 1919 convention, when considering Resolution No. 84, proposing to extend the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America "so as to include the making of all fur, felt, wool, straw, panama, velvet, cloth and silk hats for men, women and children, also the making of hats or caps of any other material which might be used in the headgear industry," directed that the good offices of the Executive Council should be exerted to the end that all employed in the making of cloth hats and caps shall join and affiliate themselves with the United Hatters of North America.

With that object in view in the early part of the year, President Gompers met in conference with the officers of the United Hatters of North America, the officers of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, in which Organizer Hugh Frayne, of New York City also participated. There was discussed at length the history of the two organizations, the questions at issue between them, the final suspension of the cap makers and the conditions under which amalgamation might eventually be brought about.

As a result of that conference, proposals as a basis for amalgamation with the United Hatters of North America were submitted to President Gompers by the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' International Union. Upon receipt of this plan it was submitted by him to the United Hatters of North America. The officers of the Hatters stated that their executive board should have ample time for its consideration.

It is earnestly hoped that agreement may be reached between the two organizations by which cooperation may be had under a plan of amalgamation or otherwise that shall protect and promote the best interests of the workers in the entire industry.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYES

Delegates from several affiliated organizations protested to the 1919 convention against the jurisdiction transgression on the part of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes. The convention directed that organization to discontinue its policy of encroaching upon the jurisdiction of other organizations.

The Executive Council was directed to see to it that the brotherhood complied within a reasonable time or otherwise that the Brotherhood's charter be suspended until such time as they should comply. Every effort was made to reach an adjustment but without avail, therefore on December 31, 1919, the charter of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees was suspended. We recommend, however, that efforts be continued to have this organization adjust its differences with the organizations making complaint so that the way may be cleared for it again to become part of the family of trade unions under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF TEXTILE WORKERS

We regret to report that although we extended the time limit for the amalgamation of the three organizations of textile workers and used our best efforts to bring about amalgamation, we were not successful, and therefore on December 31, 1919, the Spinners' International Union and the Chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America, having refused to comply with the terms of amalgamation, were automatically suspended.

JEWELRY WORKERS—METAL POLISHERS—MACHINISTS

In reporting upon this case to the convention of 1919, we said:

"In this jurisdictional controversy the American Federation of Labor decided that:

"1. Metal polishing comes under the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

"2. That where jointly employed the Metal Polishers and the Jewelry Workers shall combine their action for the purpose of securing improved conditions.

"3. That the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over tool and die making.

"4. That where jointly employed the Machinists and the Jewelry Workers shall coordinate their effort for the purpose of securing improved conditions of employment.

"The three organizations were duly notified of the decision of the St. Paul Convention. The convention further directed that should the members of the Jewelry Workers' Union fail to comply with the decision, the Executive Council would be required to inform the labor movement thereof, and whatever inconvenience might result would be due to their disregard of the decision and not to any desire on the part of the A. F. of L.

"The officers of the Metal Polishers have expressed themselves as being thoroughly satisfied with the action of both the convention and the E. C.

"The representatives of the Jewelry Workers appeared before the E. C. at their meeting May 13, 1919, and asked that the case be reopened. As they submitted no new testimony the E. C. decided that we would not be justified in reopening the case."

The convention approved our report. At the same time the convention considered a resolution (Number 51) coming from the delegates from the Metal Polishers' International Union requesting immediate suspension of the charter of the Jewelry Workers. The resolution was referred to us with authority to suspend the charter, but that preceding such action further effort be made to have the Jewelry Workers comply with the decision of the A. F. of L.

We, therefore, authorized President Gompers to have the several organizations meet in conference but in compliance with the request of the Jewelry Workers the entire matter was held in abeyance owing to the acute situation and the general strike in the trade in New York City.

During our meeting at headquarters the week of May 10, the Jewelry Workers

and the Machinists together with Secretary Morrison, met in conference and reached the following agreement:

"1. That the conditions remain as they are at the present time, namely, that the Machinists' organization should not interfere with the members of the Jewelry Workers' organization and that the Jewelry Workers should not interfere with the members of the Machinists' organization.

"2. That fields be selected in which to carry on a joint organization campaign by the Jewelry Workers and Machinists and that the organization of the workers shall be in harmony with the decision of the E. C. of the A. F. of L.

"3. Recognizing the International Jewelry Workers' Union as the paramount organization in the jewelry industry, the International Association of Machinists agrees to coordinate their efforts in case of any grievances or movement for better conditions being initiated by the Jewelry Workers' organization, and upon bringing that to the attention of the International President of the International Association of Machinists, the Machinists will immediately and without any further investigation coordinate their efforts with the International Jewelry Workers' organization."

The representatives of the Metal Polishers and the Jewelry Workers having failed to agree the following was submitted to them for their consideration:

"We, the undersigned, agree that in all shops or factories manufacturing jewelry, etc., in which metal polishers are employed who are members of the Metal Polishers' International Union, they shall remain members of the Metal Polishers' International Union; and in all factories, shops, etc., in which jewelry is manufactured and in which metal polishers are employed who are members of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, they shall retain their membership in the Jewelry Workers' International Union; unless they desire to become members of the Metal Polishers' Union; and in all shops to be organized in the future in which jewelry is manufactured, the Jewelry Workers' International Union will have the right to take into their membership those who properly come under their jurisdiction, but under no circumstances shall they admit to membership a metal polisher or a person who properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

"In the case of the Metal Polishers in Rochester who went out on strike and were afterwards admitted to membership in the Jewelry Workers' International Union, this case shall be referred to a board of arbitration. The Board of Arbitration shall consist of one man from each organization, both parties to name a third; on failure to do so within thirty days, President Gompers shall name the third person and the decision of the board in the case shall be final and binding upon both parties."

The representatives of the Metal Polishers gave their approval to the proposals. The representatives of the Jewelry Workers disapproved them.

We recommend that unless agreement shall have been reached either on a basis mutually agreeable between the representatives of the two organizations involved that upon the expiration of ninety days from the adjournment of this convention the charter of the Jewelry Workers shall stand suspended.

JURISDICTIONAL CONTROVERSIES

In the effort to effect adjustment of jurisdictional disputes between various contending organizations there have many conferences been held in which representatives of the Executive Council participated and assisted in every possible way in reaching an understanding. A number of further conferences have been arranged to be held during the sessions of this convention. The representatives of the Carpenters and the Longshoremen, the Coopers and the Longshoremen, the Teamsters and the Longshoremen, the Carmen and several contending organizations.

It is hoped favorable reports of these various conferences will be made to this convention before adjournment.

In the case of the Machinists and Carpenters, the Machinists and Plumbers, the Stove Mounters and Sheet Metal Workers, we have endeavored to be of the best assistance possible in having these several organizations come to an amicable understanding. We recommend that efforts along these lines be continued during the coming year.

In the dispute of the American Flint Glass Workers and the International Association of Machinists, we have not been able to effect an adjustment. The matter is presented to the convention for such action as it may deem necessary.

REPRESENTATION IN CENTRAL BODIES

There was a proposal submitted to the convention held last year having for its purpose defining the numerical representation to which each of the affiliated local unions should be entitled in trade assemblies and central labor unions. The representation proposed that local unions with less than 50 members should have 1 delegate; with 50 and less than 100, 2 delegates; with 100 and less than 200, 3 delegates; with 200 and less than 300, 4 delegates; 300 and less than 500, 5 delegates.

Upon the recommendation of the committee having considered this proposal the convention directed the Executive Council to make an investigation of the present form of representation in and election of delegates to central labor unions so that an intelligent and helpful decision may be reached which will assure a fair representation to all affiliated local unions.

This investigation has been made and while there are 856 central labor bodies, reports of the present form of representation were received only from 215. These reports have been carefully tabulated and examined. It is found that the minimum representation of each local union ranges from one to nine delegates regardless of numerical strength. The following table indicates the minimum representation to which local unions are entitled under the existing laws of central labor bodies:

Number of central bodies	20—locals entitled to 1 delegate.
" " " " 18	" " " 2
" " " " 90	" " " 3
" " " " 8	" " " 4
" " " " 67	" " " 5
" " " " 7	" " " 6
" " " " 2	" " " 7
" " " " 1	" " " 9
No report	" " 2

A careful review of the foregoing table indicates that the vast majority of central labor bodies permit a minimum representation ranging from 1 to 5 delegates. Thirty-eight of these central labor bodies permit a representation ranging from 1 to 2 delegates; 10 provide a representation ranging from 6 to 9 delegates, while 165 central bodies have arranged for a minimum representation ranging from 3 to 5 delegates.

Evidently experience has demonstrated that a minimum representation ranging from three to five delegates is best designed to serve the needs of central labor bodies and to enable them to carry on their work diligently and effectively and with justice to all concerned. It is therefore recommended that a minimum representation of three delegates should be guaranteed to all local unions in central labor bodies, regardless of the number of members embraced in these local unions, leaving it optional with the central labor bodies to enlarge upon the minimum representation herein provided.

Under existing laws of central labor bodies there is greater variation permitted in the maximum representation of each of the affiliated local unions. It is found that sixty-one central labor bodies do not provide for a fixed maximum representation but regulate the maximum representation of each affiliated local union on a proportionate basis of repre-

sentation which varies in the different localities. The following table illustrates the maximum representation allowed on the proportionate as well as fixed basis:

Number of central labor bodies	2—maximum rep.	1 delegate.
“ “ “ “ “ “ 1	“ “ “ “ 2	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 57	“ “ “ “ 3	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 7	“ “ “ “ 4	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 65	“ “ “ “ 5	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 7	“ “ “ “ 6	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 4	“ “ “ “ 7	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 1	“ “ “ “ 8	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 2	“ “ “ “ 9	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 7	“ “ “ “ 10	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “ 1	“ “ “ “ 15	“ “ “ “
“ “ “ “ “ “	61—proportional representation governs.	

The foregoing table evidences that 61 central labor unions determine the maximum number of delegates on a proportional representation basis while 215 central labor bodies provide a maximum number of delegates regardless of proportional representation. It will be further seen that the maximum number of delegates allowed in these 215 central labor bodies with one exception does not exceed 10 delegates. While 121 central labor bodies have limited the maximum representation ranging from 3 to 5 delegates, nevertheless it is believed, that in the interest of fair representation and fair distribution of authority the minimum number of delegates to which any one local union should be entitled in central bodies is 3, leaving it discretionary with central labor bodies to fix the maximum number of delegates to less than 8 delegates and to any figure that local conditions and experience have demonstrated to be most efficient and helpful.

By fixing a minimum representation of 3 delegates to each local union and a maximum of 8 a range of 5 delegates is permissible to be regulated either upon an arbitrary or proportional representation plan. Our investigation of existing forms of representation shows that 125 central labor bodies have combined their minimum and maximum representation and permit each affiliated local union a certain fixed number of delegates regardless of size or numerical strength, while 90 central labor bodies have adopted the proportional representation plan. No complaint of any kind has been directed against either the fixed or proportional representation plan. To the contrary, the information received leads to the conclusion that both of these plans of representation are meritorious and are suitable to particular localities and peculiar requirements. It is therefore recommended that no change be made in existing plans and that it be left discretionary with central labor bodies to determine the number of delegates to which local unions are entitled within the minimum and maximum representation herein recommended, subject to review by the Executive Council in any instance where it is believed that the exercise of discretion by central labor bodies has not been well-founded or equitably administered.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The 1919 convention increased the benefit in case of strikes or lockouts of members of directly affiliated local unions from \$4 to \$6 per week without making provision to meet that increased expenditure. To remedy that situation, we recommend to the convention that for the word "five" in the ninth line, section 1, article 10 of the Constitution, there be substituted the word "ten" in lieu thereof.

CANADIAN COSTS AND BENEFITS

Because of charges made in Canada by persons outside the labor movement to the effect that the Canadian labor movement is being "fleeced" through its affiliation with the American labor movement and that much money is sent out of Canada while little is returned, President Gompers instituted an inquiry into the whole question and issued a questionnaire to all national and international unions including the railroad brotherhoods which are unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

The returns cover almost the entire field and show clearly that a far larger sum is returned to Canada for expenditure there by the various international unions than is received from Canadian members in the form of dues and assessments.

Incomplete returns show \$617,324.19 received from Canadian members by international unions in the last year. There was sent into Canada \$553,695.90 for various benefit purposes and \$282,018.50 for salaries to officers and organizers in Canada. The total amount of money sent into Canada for expenditure in Canada was for the year \$835,714.40 or \$218,390.21 above the amount received from Canada. The half dozen organizations from which reports have not been received could not materially alter the situation.

The American labor movement is a movement for the advancement of the interests of the workers. While politically the labor movement of Canada is as independent of the American labor movement as is the Canadian citizenship and the citizenship of the United States, yet the industrial relations between Canadian members and members in the United States has always been a relation unaffected by the border line. The figures are produced in this instance in order that a charge originating outside of our movement may be effectively answered from within and in order that its falsity may be thoroughly understood by all.

THE "ONE BIG UNION" IN CANADA

In our report to the last convention we called attention to the work of advocates of the so-called "one big union" among the workers in Canada, setting forth at that time the facts connected with the movement and recording our conviction that because of its fundamental error in principle, it was doomed to failure. It is gratifying to report that in the convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, held in Hamilton, Ont., September, 1919, 950 delegates disavowed and repudiated the so-called "one big union" movement, while only one delegate recorded his vote in support of that movement. The vote came after a debate lasting two hours and after the Canadian trade unionists had had ample opportunity to consider the question from a practical as well as from a theoretical viewpoint. The repudiation of the "one big union" fallacy in Canada was a magnificent triumph for trade unionism, and a vindication of the purposes, policies and achievements of the American Federation of Labor.

THE CONVENTION CITY

The 1919 convention directed the Executive Council to select the city in which the 1920 convention should be held. This action was taken by the 1919 convention after nominations of cities had been made for the 1920 convention. The sentiment manifested in the 1919 convention led us to believe that Montreal would have been the choice of the convention had the question come to a vote.

Montreal was for that reason selected by the E. C. After having selected Montreal, and the selection having become generally known, we found ourselves confronted with new problems. First, there was difficulty in securing a guarantee of sufficient hotel accommodations. As a result of this, we found it necessary to exercise extraordinary power and change the date of the opening of the convention from June 14 to June 7. Second, after having been assured of the use of the Drill Hall for our convention, it developed that that hall could not be obtained. The only meeting place available was the St. Denis Theater in which we are now in session.

We found it necessary to have one of our number proceed to Montreal to arrange hall and hotel accommodations. It was therefore deemed advisable to have Secretary Morrison proceed there, and he visited Montreal three times to complete the best possible arrangements for our convention.

JOHN MITCHELL

The Executive Council feels that it would be derelict in its duty if it failed to incorporate in its report fitting mention of the death of John Mitchell, for many years President of the United Mine Workers of America, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and member of the Executive Council.

Born in Braidwood, Ill., February 4, 1870, he lived a life of devotion and service to the trade union movement up to the day of his death on September 9, 1919.

On its next meeting following, on October 6, 1919, the Executive Council adopted resolutions concerning Mr. Mitchell, sending his widow a copy. The resolutions are as follows:

"John Mitchell, our beloved friend and former colleague, has passed away. His unexpected death came as a shock to those who knew him, who saw in him the great heart and sympathy for those who could not protect and defend themselves. In him were blended in a remarkable way the idealist and materialist. His heart beat unceasingly for the unfortunate while his practical mind continually sought a remedy for their ills.

"Known as a man of the mines and deeply concerned in all that pertained to the well-being of the miner, still his greatest desire was to aid all mankind who suffered. His one thought was the welfare of humanity. The heritage he leaves his family is one of great courage, high principles and supreme integrity.

"Those who knew him intimately saw in him the persistent champion of trade union ethics and a valiant fighter in the day to day struggle of the masses. He was ever pressing for the elimination of economic evils, for the establishment of right and justice between men so that life would be the better worth living for all the people. It is therefore

Resolved, By the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, of which Mr. Mitchell was a member for many years, that we deeply grieve over the loss of so loyal a colleague and friend; that in his death American labor has lost a stout-hearted champion and the world a great citizen. His faithful devotion to his country, to his family, to his union and to his conception of right were of an extraordinary nature.

Resolved further, That we extend the sincere sympathy of the trade union movement to his devoted wife and children in their hour of sorrow."

John Mitchell's career was a romantic one, from the day when at the age of 12 he went to work in the mines. He joined the mine workers' union in 1895 and was chosen secretary-treasurer of an Illinois sub-district. Two years later he was elected president of the Illinois Mine Workers and in the next year was elected vice-president of the United Mine Workers of America, becoming its president shortly afterwards upon resignation of the incumbent. The next mine workers' convention re-elected him president, a post he held continuously until 1908.

Mr. Mitchell's official connection with the American Federation of Labor began in 1898, when he was elected a vice-president, an office he filled until 1913, and at the time of his demise was an elected delegate of the miners to the A. F. of L. convention.

The value of John Mitchell's activities in behalf of organized labor can never be computed. His high qualities of leadership in the great anthracite coal strikes of 1900 and 1902; his long and able generalship as an official of the mine workers' unions; his written and spoken championship of the rights of labor; his sound advice and integrity in the councils of labor, have endeared him forever in the hearts of those who knew him.

LABOR'S MEMORIAL DAY AND LABOR SUNDAY

Of late there has been a deviation from the original intention to observe the fourth Sunday in May of each year as Labor's Memorial Day, a day upon which the men and women of labor in every section of the country could meet and by appropriate ceremonies pay tribute to the memory of those who have gone before in the great work for humanity.

The custom of observing Labor's Memorial Day was first established at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Norfolk, Va., in 1907. This convention, by vote, fixed the day as the second Sunday in May. Subsequently, at the convention held in Atlanta, Ga., in 1911, this date was changed to the fourth Sunday.

Through some error, however, the date became shifted to the third Sunday, and for some recent years the observances have been held on the third, instead of the fourth Sunday. It is the desire of the Executive Council that this convention should rectify the

mistake, and that observance should once more be on the proper day, the fourth Sunday of May of each year.

Your E. C. also recommends that the custom, begun a number of years ago, and recently omitted, of cooperating with the churches for observance of Labor Sunday, the day preceding Labor Day, be once more established. The A. F. of L. took official cognizance of the growing interest of religious denominations in matters affecting the welfare of the workers, when it adopted a resolution at its convention in Toronto, Ontario, Can., in 1909, urging that the churches of America be requested to devote part of their services to a presentation of the labor question on the Sunday preceding the first Monday in September (Labor Day). Recent utterances pertaining to Labor by groups representing religious denominations are indication that the church can not afford to ignore the welfare of the wage-earners, the problems that beset them, and the organized labor movement which aims and works to solve them.

ORGANIZERS AND ORGANIZATION WORK

During the year just closed, organizers for the American Federation of Labor have done exceptionally valuable work, for which they are deservedly commended by the Federation. Not only have the organizers regularly paid by the Federation done work of great value, but the hundreds of volunteer organizers have been unusually active and unusually effective. The great growth of the Federation during the year is the best testimony to the character of the work which has been done. Organizers, both salaried and volunteer, have during the year worked at times under most trying circumstances and, in some cases, in positions of actual danger to their own safety. This has been the case particularly in the organization work done in the steel industry. We commend most sincerely the splendid work done during the year just closed.

While the results that have been achieved have been of the most satisfactory nature there is still much to be done. Many workers remain unorganized and are consequently voiceless. Great have been the efforts made in the past. The future must, we feel, bring forth still greater efforts in the work of organization. It is imperative that organization work proceed intelligently, both for the sake of those who remain unorganized, and for the sake of those who are organized. There is in America no more potent factor for progress than the bona fide labor movement. The more effective the organization of the workers, the greater will be the beneficent results achieved. Every possible effort must be made during the coming year to strengthen the organized labor movement, and to this end we call upon national and international trade unions, state federations, central bodies, and local unions as well as organizers generally in America, to put forth their best efforts and to surpass in effectiveness the magnificent achievements already accomplished.

OFFICIAL TRADE UNION JOURNALS AND AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR PUBLICATIONS

During the year just closed the official trade union journals rendered exceptional service to the labor movement. No class of publications in the United States exhibited a finer balance of judgment or pursued a more consistent course in the support of those principles which make for human progress. The year was a most trying and difficult one for many reasons. Questions of great public interest remained unsettled. Private interests and political interests made these questions more difficult of solution or impossible of settlement for the time being. In addition to facing these issues of unusual character and importance, the trade union press faced great difficulties in relation to their supply of white paper. That the labor publications have been enabled to go through the year and with such credit to themselves and with constantly growing strength and influence, is a token of the ability and ingenuity of their publishers.

It may not generally be known that there are approximately 300 publications in the United States devoted to the cause of organized labor and expressing the viewpoint and policies of the trade union movement.

The *American Federationist* has been able during the year to be of material assistance to the union and general press, furnishing to these publications a constant source of

leadership in dealing with the momentous questions affecting public policy during the year. It is gratifying to know also that the non-labor daily and periodical press has given much attention to the expression of labor thought as found in the *American Federationist* and has from month to month quoted largely from its columns. The American Federation of Labor *News Letter* presenting week by week to the labor press the news of the labor world has continued to serve the movement ably in its sphere. In the *News Letter* the labor press finds a concise presentation of the happenings of the world of labor each week and is thus enabled to present in turn to the readers a reflection of the activities of the workers throughout the nation.

In addition to these regular publications the A. F. of L. has by the unusual press of events during the year been under the necessity of publishing a number of pamphlets containing information of national and international importance. Some of the pamphlets and books published during the year and which may be had at the office of the A. F. of L. are:

Legislative Achievements of the A. F. of L.
 Forty Years of Action.
 Labor's Political Banner Unfurled.
 Labor: Its Grievances, Protests and Demands.
 Why the Peace Treaty Should be Ratified.
 Collective Bargaining.
 Fifty-five Questions and Answers About the Campaign.
 The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Law.
 Real Farmers vs. Professional Farmers.
 The Truth About Soviet Russia and Bolshevism.

The year to come will be no less trying for the labor press than the year just closed. It may be much more trying. There is small indication that conditions having to do with the business side of newspaper publishing will be any less difficult than they have been in the immediate past. The service rendered to the movement by the labor press will be of increasing value. The need of the movement for an intelligent, aggressive labor press is increasing with each day. Members of organized labor should show their appreciation everywhere by giving all possible support to the legitimate labor press. Too often it is the feeling that the labor press will take care of itself, but the truth is it needs the constant energetic support of those who chiefly profit by its work. It should be made a matter of special concern to every trade unionist to see that the labor press is not only maintained but that constant improvement is made possible. It is perhaps a human failing to overlook the unceasing service of friends but that should not be true in labor's relation to its newspapers and periodicals. We urge that from this convention there shall go forth this appeal to the workers: "Give all possible support to the legitimate press because it is the unflinching champion of the movement in all of its struggles."

In the opinion of the Executive Council, the achievements of the trade union movement as chronicled in the files of the *American Federationist* since its establishment in 1894, should be made available to all who seek to be informed and who are in need of convenient references. For this reason there is being compiled a complete subject and author index of the *American Federationist*. This index is well under way and will be published before the end of the present year. The publishers of standard subject and author indexes to current periodicals have not included the *American Federationist* in their list of indexed periodicals. This has deprived students, writers and all who are engaged in research work, of the valuable information to be found only in the files of the *American Federationist*. Since the *American Federationist* is on file in nearly all the colleges, universities and public libraries throughout the United States and in many of the labor offices throughout America, the index now being prepared will make the material contained in its files available to all.

LABOR AND THE ORGANIZED FARMERS

It has been the custom of the American Federation of Labor to secure cooperation from the organized farmers and to extend cooperation to them in all matters mutually affecting farmers and wage-earners. This policy is based upon instructions of long standing given by a vote of the A. F. of L. in conventions. During the year just closed there

was an increasingly harmonious relation with organized farmers, and an increasing understanding of their mutual interest in the great problems confronting the nation. There has been a keen realization among both farmers and wage-earners of the fact that they suffer alike from the malpractices, the profiteers and gamblers, and from mal-adjustments of the machinery by which necessities of life are distributed. They also have a growing appreciation of the fact that farmers, no less than wage-earners, suffer from the incompetence of political representatives, and from the unwillingness of those representatives to carry out in their work the wishes of the great masses of the people. During the year representatives of organized farmers have participated with the representatives of organized wage-workers in conferences dealing with some of the most vital questions of the year, and with most gratifying results.

We take pleasure in laying these facts before the convention and we recommend that instructions be given the Executive Council to continue the development of friendly, harmonious and cooperative relations with the great bona fide body of organized farmers.

WAR VETERANS' ASSOCIATION

The officers and the Executive Council have been in receipt of numerous letters and telegrams concerning the activities of organizations of war veterans, and the attitude of the Federation toward them. In some cases central labor unions and members of organized labor have complained that certain organizations of veterans had shown themselves hostile to labor. In no such instance, however, has it been shown that the veterans' organizations had by official word or deed shown themselves in conflict with the aims of organized labor; rather has it been shown that such instances could be traced to the unauthorized and unwarranted actions of individuals. On the contrary, also, the American Federation of Labor has been assured by officials of various veterans' organizations, both orally and in writing, that nothing hostile to labor's interests was contemplated.

Where the letters have been simple requests for information as to the attitude of the Federation toward these groups, the writers have been informed that the American trade union movement, has in the past taken no official stand in relation to the organization of war veterans, and that, failing such official action, no member of organized labor had the right either to endorse or condemn any such organization in the name of organized labor.

There is another feature, however, to which attention should be called in connection with the organization of the ex-service men; that is, it is not only current report but actual information that the ex-service men in the organizations which have been instituted purpose to utilize the political power of these men as service men.

The American citizenship have a common policy and polity and where the divergent groups of our citizenship may exercise their political power to serve their respective interests, no political group is justified to separate itself from the common polity and policy of our country purely upon the ground of having given service to the United States during the war.

EXTREMIST PROPAGANDA AND MOVEMENTS

During the year just passed the labor movement has stood its ground solidly and maintained the progressive, constructive policy which has marked it apart from most of the labor movements of the world throughout the whole period of the world war.

But the nation has witnessed sporadic outbreaks of extremist sentiment and has been compelled to deal with extremist propaganda in a number of cases since the war period came to an end. This tendency toward unreasoned conduct and unreasoned thought has been most unfortunate for the nation and still more unfortunate for those who have been the participants.

Bolshevism has been a lure for some of our people and its doctrines have been propagated with great vigor. This hideous doctrine has found converts among two classes of people principally—those intellectuals, so-called, who have no occupation save that of following one fad after another, and those so beaten in the game of life that they find no appeal in anything except the most desperate and illogical schemes. The rank and file of the organized labor movement, as was to have been expected, has given no countenance

to the propaganda of Bolshevism, but has, on the contrary, been its most effective opponent in America.

The propaganda of revolutionary thought has not been limited to the propaganda of bolshevism. It has taken other forms. The "one big union" idea has had its adherents, despite the disastrous results of the experiment in Canada with its treacherous machinery during the year preceding our 1919 convention. It is gratifying to note that everywhere the ostensible strength of this propaganda has been lost and that its fallacies are daily becoming clearer to its former victims.

Of more importance than the results of studied propaganda of revolution and extremism is the feeling of unrest among our people which is due to abuses in our political and industrial life and which seeks relief and freedom and not revolution and catastrophe.

So long as this unrest finds its expression in the orderly, constructive and democratic activities of the bona fide trade union movement it is of incalculable benefit to the nation. So long as it finds the trade union movement an effective weapon for the righting of industrial wrongs and for the enlargement of opportunity and the extension of liberty, it is an asset to the national character and stability. It is the expression of the masses of the people against injustice and reaction and an expression of their unalterable determination to persist in the constructive effort to press home to a successful conclusion the fight for rights too long denied and for the abolition of wrongs too long endured.

The greatest disservice that the great interests of reaction and bourbonism can do for America is to repress and deny the legitimate aspirations of the workers and to seek by restrictive legislation to make ineffective their bona fide trade union organizations. Protest denied will still be protest.

Upon the signing of the armistice it became clear some employers and some reactionary forces in our political life were bent upon a career of exploitation and suppression, regardless of the needs and just desires of the masses of our people. The nation has already witnessed effort after effort to enact legislation of a restrictive, coercive character, in defiance of the interests of the people and in defiance of American liberties guaranteed in the constitution of our Republic. The Esch-Cummins railroad law and the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations law are examples of bourbon success. The Graham-Sterling peace-time sedition bill, the Palmer anti-sedition bill and other proposed legislation was of a similar mould, but was defeated by reason of Labor's energetic and angry protest. The injunction in the case of the coal miners was another example of the lengths to which employers and government officials were ready to go in suppressing the aspirations of the workers and in making ineffective their lawful and constructive trade union organizations as agencies of progress.

There was immediate evidence of the same trend in the purely economic life of the land. The position assumed by the United States Steel Corporation typified a spirit too prevalent—a spirit of bludgeoning wrath and enraged opposition to all progress for the working people, a spirit of intolerance of the rights of man and of arrogance in the face of a struggle for elemental justice.

In a score of communities employers' associations have reopened the struggle of a decade ago for what they term the open shop—in reality the shop which is closed against union men and women. At a time when vision and statesmanship should guide the employers and the political authorities of the country there has been a resurgence of the concept of brutality and oppression.

During the whole period since the armistice price inflation has continued. Profiteering, for which constructive remedies are recommended elsewhere in this report, has run wild. It has scourged the land like a plague. It has burned through our arteries of trade like a fever and ravaged our people like a pestilence. Profiteers have been insatiable "devourers of men, women and children," intent upon heaping up hoards of gold without precedent, at the expense of human life and happiness.

Inflation in staple commodities has reached a point of all but unbelievable extremes. Efforts of the Department of Justice to restrict profiteering have merely constituted comic interludes in one of the great tragedies of the post-war period.

The written and spoken propaganda of unreason and extremism can be met and defeated by truth. But legitimate unrest, growing out of conditions of injustice can be met and overcome only by intelligent dealing with conditions. Those who drink from a poisoned well will be poisoned until the well itself is cleansed.

Your Executive Council has given constant attention to the whole matter in contemplation here. It has caused constant attention to be given to the work of exposing the fallacies of false and misleading propaganda. But those who by means more effective than any propaganda have brought disturbance upon our country and suffering to our people must be dealt with directly by forces which they can understand and from which they can not escape. They are afflicted with a madness, and reason has ceased to affect them.

The powerful economic organization of the American wage-earners offers to the workers their most potent agency of relief, but not in every case can relief be had before desperation begins to make itself felt. The opposing forces are strongly entrenched and seem to know no sobering sense of responsibility or conscience.

During the year the officers of the labor movement have issued repeated warnings to the people and have put forth definite suggestions for remedial action. Congress, which might have done much, has done nothing. Great industrial leaders have laughed at warning words and have gone back to their counting rooms.

Keeping pace with the extremist propaganda and with the forces generative of unrest there has been what appears to have been a studied attempt to discredit the organized labor movement and to throw upon it the onus and burden of most of our national ills. Employers and their publications have sought steadily to spread the belief that the labor movement is responsible for high prices, responsible for unrest and an antagonist of the public welfare in every strike.

Your E. C. believes this convention should utter a solemn warning to the country, calling upon it to demand of Congress measures of fundamental relief from oppressive legislation, measures of fundamental character looking toward currency deflation and reduction in cost of living and warning the nation that if the just and reasonable demands of the working people, presented for orderly negotiation through their properly accredited representatives, are not given consideration and made the subject of prompt action it is but logical that it should face the disordered protest of unorganized masses driven to desperation by the disdain and autocracy of those in control of industrial management and political parties.

Your E. C. believes this convention should call upon all loyal citizens of our Republic to aid in the work of bringing relief to the wage-earners and that it should make clear the abuses that afflict the country and the forces that are responsible. It should be made clear to all—as it should have been clear long since—that Labor's right of protest has been held in restraint out of motives of the highest patriotism and that largely because of this high patriotism the profiteers of the country have been able to force a price piracy without parallel in history. It is a matter of vital necessity that the program of social reconstruction adopted by the 1919 convention and the declaration of Labor's representatives adopted in Washington December 13, 1919, be pressed for adoption.

The American nation has reached a grave crisis. It stands at the cross roads. Progress must come. Justice must be done. Bourbonism must be dethroned. Criminal profiteering and exploitation must cease. These things are so because the endurance of the people has been strained beyond their willingness to bear and because all of these things are possible of achievement.

The illogical, fantastic propaganda of revolution has been met and will continue to be met by the truth about democracy. The terrible pressure of injustice within democracy can be removed only by the functioning of democracy. And if the forces of greed so obstruct and distort the processes of democracy that they no longer work in normal, healthful manner to satisfy the needs of the people, it is the first duty of the nation to free those processes and remove those obstructions. The unrest born of need can be met and allayed only through definite, constructive action. The program for this action has been offered by the labor movement and is before the country. The weight of this convention should be added to the force of the great movement for relief.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

The experience of being compelled to detain large numbers of people for what in European countries have long been known as political offenses is an experience practically new to the United States and hitherto unexperienced by the present generation.

The necessities of war, however, made it a question of national safety to imprison those who violated the emergency statutes of war time. The congress enacted an espionage-

age law for the protection of the Republic from enemies within its gates and under this act numbers of people were detained as a war precaution.

In the tense hour of warfare sentences were imposed which were easily justified under the unusual circumstances of national peril, but which, as was to have been expected, have lost their meaning with the return of peace.

Sentences were imposed during the tense months of war which were thoroughly justified under war conditions. The life of the nation was at stake. We do not condone the conduct of those who sought by any means to make more difficult the progress of our government toward victory. We condemn those activities as severely now as during the war.

But we believe that many still detained in prison have satisfied justice and should be released. We believe this is in harmony with the thought of our people. We see no cause to be served by detaining further those whose violation of the espionage law was by speech or writing in the expression of views.

The principal nations of Europe have already pursued the course here indicated. America is unaccustomed to such problems and it is undoubtedly for that reason that our authorities have hesitated to take a step which is regarded as but natural in those countries where the problem is an old and common one.

It is not democratic to inflict continued punishment for the mere sake of punishing. Despicable as was the conduct of many of those still imprisoned, we shall not build well for our Republic if we allow ourselves to build upon resentment. We believe the welfare of our country and the nobility of our institutions call upon us to urge the release of those political prisoners held for the expression of views and whose detention has already satisfied the ends of justice and the safety of our Republic.

MOONEY CASE

Your Executive Council was authorized by the last convention to be helpful in the endeavor to secure a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings and in bringing before the court testimony and evidence presented since the trial of the case, inasmuch as this evidence tends to the belief that perjured testimony was responsible for the conviction and sentence.

Our attorneys were of the opinion after studying the case that nothing of a legal nature could be accomplished through judicial proceedings in the courts and that the only hope was through a pardon by the governor of California, even though it might mean a trial upon one of the indictments still pending against Mooney and Billings. Therefore, upon our authorization a committee of five was appointed to wait upon the Governor of California and urge that a pardon be granted to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings. The committee thus appointed consists of the following:

Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary.
Daniel C. Murphy, President, California State Federation of Labor.
Seth R. Brown, President, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Calif.
R. L. Ennis, President, Federated Trades Council, Sacramento, Calif.
Michael Casey, San Francisco, Calif.

The committee entered into correspondence with the governor for the purpose of securing a pardon for Mooney and Billings. The governor emphatically refused the application. From information we have received there are indications that the probability exists for a better outlook in this case in the near future.

CONCLUSION

We have closed a year of complex experiences. Our Federation has gained in strength and influence and it has made during the year a record of achievement that must be a source of pride to every member.

Human relations are always disturbed by great wars and must undergo a period of reconstruction and rearrangement following great wars. We have been passing through such a period of reconstruction and rearrangement; indeed we are still in the midst of it.

In reviewing the work of the year we can say with confidence and truth that the efforts of the organized labor movement have been the means of withstanding the tide of reaction and the means of lightening the burdens of our country.

We have given true expression to the demand of the masses of our people for progress, for the enlargement of the sphere of human life and for the development of the splendor of our democracy and its institutions of liberty, freedom and justice.

The splendid efforts of the organized workers of America have been devoted to the cause of humanity in peace as they were in war and in the years before the war. Our movement for humanity has gained in influence and effectiveness in proportion as it has gained in strength of numbers.

Our problems will not be lessened during the year to come. Policies to meet issues of the gravest and most far-reaching importance must be shaped. But viewing the past and the splendid statesmanship and accomplishments of our movement, we are confident of its future wisdom and ability. We call upon the movement to be vigilant in defense of the principles of liberty, freedom and justice, to increase its strength everywhere and to face every task with confidence, fortified in the consciousness that the struggle for humanity and the rights of humanity must triumph over all obstacles.

Now for the Five Million Mark!

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President

JAMES DUNCAN
First Vice-President

JOS. F. VALENTINE
Second Vice-President

FRANK DUFFY
Third Vice-President

WILLIAM GREEN
Fourth Vice-President

WILLIAM D. MAHON
Fifth Vice-President

T. A. RICKERT
Sixth Vice-President

JACOB FISCHER
Seventh Vice-President

MATTHEW WOLL
Eighth Vice-President

DANIEL J. TOBIN
Treasurer

FRANK MORRISON
Secretary

*Executive Council
American Federation of Labor.*

APPENDIX

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Wm. H. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Department, submitted the following review of the work of the Building Trades Department during the last year:

Standing as we are today on the threshold of the building season for the current year, indications would seem to point to a general renewal of the healthy building activities of the recent past.

Reports which ordinarily might be considered authentic seem to agree that there be little, if any, recession in the program for general building enterprises, notwithstanding the fact that the tendency in the cost of material is upward, without substantial cause or reason. Except in the case of certain staples, particularly of clay products, prices remain stationary or are on the increase. But it may be assumed that, as building operations become more active, advance in prices of material may be expected.

Permits issued throughout the country show the estimated valuation to be a gain of practically two hundred and thirty per cent over 1919, yet a slight decrease is noted in the permits issued during the month of February as against that of January.

This may be accounted for by reason of the continued hard weather which necessarily serves to repress building operations. With the opening of more favorable weather conditions, however, it is expected that increased momentum will be felt throughout the country. Consequently, the industry may be considered to be in a most active condition, with prospects of a banner year in sight.

The trial balances struck for the department during the past year show evidence of general progress not only as it affects the organization, but on the part of affiliated internationals as well.

In general, the international unions identified with the department, have reported gratifying increases in membership for the fiscal year closing March 31, 1920. The total membership certified to being 803,920 for the past year, as against 686,554 for the year 1919, showing an increase of 117,366 members.

Together with 17 internationals there are shown 348 affiliated local councils and 7 state organizations, with a general total of 372 organizations in good standing March 31, 1920.

On the occasion of the presentation of our last report, reference was made to the formation of a Board for Jurisdictional Awards in the Building Industry. It is with great pleasure that we are in a position to report the establishment of the tribunal referred to and to say that it has entered upon the discharge of its duties.

Composed as it is of representative contractors, architects, engineers and three members of the Building Trades Department, it would appear that contentions are capable of review and adjustment in a manner likely to provoke the greatest measure of satisfaction.

Such decisions as have already been rendered have been accepted in a most generous spirit, with the result that an appreciable stimulus has been administered to the entire trade.

With the prospect in view of an elimination of jurisdictional strife in the building industry, there looms before us a period of prosperity such as has never been known, and with this accomplished it is safe to say that our general movement will be freed of the unjust and unwarranted criticism it has heretofore borne.

Most gratifying indeed it is to be in a position to report that general strikes and lockouts have been practically unknown to the trade for the past year, so that it may be said our general relations with contractors and owners have never been so friendly and cordial as at present.

Viewed from a financial standpoint the Department is in a flourishing condition and quite equal to meet any emergencies that may arise.

The chartered state and local councils are growing both in point of numbers and prestige, displaying meanwhile a true trade union spirit in coping with the constantly changing conditions of the building industry.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Albert J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department, submitted the following report of the work of the Department for the past year:

Despite the many obstacles with which we have been confronted during the past twelve months, we have been able to hold the conditions obtained during the war. This, however, was accomplished only because of the splendid membership which our affiliated organizations have been able to maintain. They have not only been able to hold the membership which was so successfully recruited during the war, but some show a steady and healthy increase for the past year.

Conditions in the Shipbuilding Industry

Our report to the Executive Council last year referred to negotiations being carried on with the Atlantic Coast Shipbuilding Association with a view to signing an agreement similar to that entered into with the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Ltd. An agreement was consummated on August 20, 1920. This agreement was signed by shipbuilders employing over fifty per cent of the workers engaged in this industry on the Atlantic Coast. Under this agreement an office was established in Philadelphia in which there is located a secretary representing each side. These secretaries are required to give all of their time to this work. We are standing fifty per cent of the cost of maintaining the office and are paying the salary of the secretary representing the labor side.

Pacific Coast Agreement

After several conferences were held in the east between representatives of the various trades and callings from the Pacific Coast, the international officers and the shipbuilders, the shipbuilders submitted a final agreement to the conference. The representatives of the trades and callings would not assume the responsibility of agreeing to the proposed agreement but stated that they would submit it to a referendum vote of the membership of the entire Pacific Coast without recommendation. The result of the referendum vote disclosed the defeat of the proposed agreement.

It was later decided that the presidents of the affiliated internationals proceed to the Pacific Coast to make a further effort to sign an agreement. After many conferences between the local coast representatives, the international officers and the Pacific Coast Shipbuilders, the following agreement was reached:

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this sixteenth day of August, 1919, by and between the employers engaged in the shipbuilding industry of the Puget Sound and the San Francisco Bay district and the Pacific Coast District Metal Trades Council, to become effective the first day of October, 1919, and to remain in full force and effect until April 1, 1920. On February 1, 1920, a conference shall be called at the request of either party hereto to consider adjustments in this agreement or to negotiate a new agreement to take effect April 1, 1920.

1. Eight hours shall constitute a day's work except that four hours shall constitute a day's work on Saturday. Work in excess of these periods or upon Sundays, and holidays as set forth below shall be considered as overtime, and shall be compensated for as such. Overtime shall not be indulged in except in cases of emergency. Eight hours of employment constituting a day's work shall be worked within nine consecutive hours. The hour of commencement of work shall be that now in force, unless otherwise mutually agreeable to the parties to this agreement.

2. All time worked over eight hours shall be paid for at the rate of double

time (2 hours for 1) including Sunday and the following holidays. The following holidays will apply for California: New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, July 4th, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, Admission Day, and on General Election Days for Governor and for President. The holidays for Washington shall be: New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Columbus Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, a half day for all general, primary and general city elections. Should any of the above named holidays fall on Sunday, the day observed by the state or national shall be considered the holiday and paid for as such.

3. All time worked between the hours of twelve midnight Saturday, and twelve midnight Sunday, shall be considered overtime. The same rule is to apply to all holidays, for example, a holiday falling on Tuesday, from twelve midnight Monday until twelve midnight Tuesday, shall be considered the holiday, except that regular second and third shifts now existing shall not be changed except by mutual consent.

4. Wages shall be paid weekly accompanied by a statement of the number of hours, rate of pay and amount due, to at least within one week of pay-day. Any employe discharged or ceasing work of his own volition shall receive his wages and personal property within twenty-four hours of said termination of employment.

5. The existing conditions regarding the bonus or (dirty hour) shall prevail on all old or repair work.

6. If an employe works half a day or less he shall receive a half day's pay, with the following exceptions—break down of plant or discharge for cause.

7. The accredited business representative of the various crafts shall have access to the establishment of the builders to settle disputes which have failed of settlement by the committee, by applying to the management or a designated representative of the management. The management reserves the right to send a representative into the yard with the business representative.

8. All establishments employing normally two hundred and fifty employes shall provide practical trained nurse or nurses during all working hours and for thirty minutes thereafter; and all establishments shall provide first aid emergency outfits for the establishments the same distributed that they may be available within reasonable time, irrespective of place of injury.

9. The classification set forth in Exhibit "A" of the decision of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, of October first, 1918, shall remain in effect during the life of this agreement, with the following exception that the bitumastic painters be classed the same as painters, and that both be classed as basic trades. *All classifications fixed by the Macy Board subsequent to October 1, 1918, are to be considered as being part of Exhibit "A."*

10. Employes leaving the vicinity where employed to work on jobs when it is necessary to remain over night shall receive first-class transportation, board and lodging at place of employment and to receive eight hours pay for each day's travel.

If any employe has worked all day and is requested to travel that night he shall receive eight hours pay for the first night. If sleeping accommodations are not provided when traveling, the overtime rate shall prevail.

11. When the working force is to be reduced the seniority rule shall apply to the respective classes of labor consistent with their ability to do the work.

12. Men coming to work late shall be admitted on the half hour or hour after starting time and shall lose the time up to their admittance. Men habitually late are subject to dismissal.

13. WAGES. All employes shall receive an increase of eight cents (8c) per hour over the rates established by the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, as set forth in their award of October first, 1918, and the subsequent classification.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

14. San Francisco Bay District Builders agree to a ten per cent advance on all piece rate prices on the present scale now in force in the district.

The Puget Sound Builders agree to a ten per cent advance on present piece work rates now in effect in their district, except where said rates are out of proportion and such rates are subject to readjustment by joint conference in that district.

It is understood in both districts that when piece workers do not make the day work rates when working piece work that the day rate shall be allowed.

15. All grievances which may arise in any shop or yard shall be given consideration as follows:

Workmen shall take up all grievances with their Shop Committee within twenty-four hours. Shop Committee will endeavor to adjust these grievances with the foreman.

When an adjustment can not be reached between the foreman and the Shop Committee the matter will be taken up with the management, by the Business Agent and the Shop Committee representing the craft having the grievance and they shall endeavor to reach a mutual understanding.

In the event an understanding can not be reached by the management and the representatives of the craft involved, a committee of representatives from the Metal Trades Council will meet with the management and try to bring about an adjustment to be made within five days from the date that the committee takes the grievance up with the management.

In case grievances can not be adjusted by the representatives and the company or companies involved the grievance shall be referred to a Conference Committee, the call and subject for such conference to be made in writing. This conference shall be called within ten days from receipt of notice for the purpose of adjusting the question at issue and the conference shall render a decision within ten days.

The Conference Committee shall be made up as follows: The Metal Trades Council having jurisdiction shall select three and the builders three.

All controversies arising from subcontracts shall be subject to conference between both parties signatory to this agreement. There shall be no strike or lockout pending a decision from said conference.

When the discharge of an employe is brought to the attention of the management for investigation and failing of adjustment the same shall be referred to the conference board, this body to render a decision as to the merits in the case including reinstatement and compensation.

Any man claiming that he is unjustly discharged shall enter complaint to the management and to his union within twenty-four hours after his discharge. In all cases of this character coming before the Conference Committee decision shall be given within seven days.

16. There shall be no *individual* agreement entered into by any organization or union a party to this agreement with any builder, or firm a party to this agreement. The terms of this agreement shall not be altered except by mutual consent of the parties hereto.

17. Foreman and subforeman in all departments shall be selected as far as practicable from the trades they are supervising and with a view to their mechanical and managerial ability.

18. Workmen employed on shifts Nos. 2 and 3 shall receive an additional compensation of 10 per cent over that paid workmen on the recognized day shift.

19. Wages now paid individual employes in excess of the revised rates shall not be reduced.

This agreement provides for an eight cent an hour increase. This agreement was submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the entire Pacific Coast and ratified by a large vote. The increase was agreed upon by all those taking part in negotiating the agreement, notwithstanding the fact that it was made very clear to the conference by a representative from the Emergency Fleet Corporation that the

Corporation would not reimburse shipyard owners having contracts with them on a wage rate higher than that contained in the October, 1918, award of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board.

The Navy Department officials as well as the Shipping Board having been advised of the consummation of the agreement and upon receiving further inquiry from the shipyard owners as to their attitude towards reimbursing on the new rate, the following telegram was sent to them:

“September 30, 1919.

“The United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation takes the position that following the policy announced by the President, no increase be authorized over the Macy scale which is continued in effect after October 1, unless a change is authorized after the White House conference; and if shipbuilders in the meantime put any increase into effect it must be understood that they do so at their own cost, and that the Emergency Fleet Corporation will not, directly or indirectly, assume or pay any part of such increase.

“JOHN BARTON PAYNE, Chairman.”

The government having reiterated its position with reference to reimbursement to the shipyard owners of the San Francisco Bay and Los Angeles districts, they refused to pay the increase while the employers of the northwest coast, with the exception of Tacoma, rather than repudiate the agreement, paid the increase out of their own profits.

A strike was called on October 1, 1919, in all places where the employers refused to pay the increase. At the present time the strike is still on in the San Francisco Bay district where thirty thousand men were involved when the strike was called. The whole situation was again gone over at a conference held at Department headquarters with the international officers, and it was decided that the president of the Department with the international officers should again visit the Pacific Coast to try to effect a settlement. After several weeks of earnest effort no settlement was reached. This was due largely to the refusal of the California Metal Trades Association to meet with the international officers. This strike is to be continued with increased vigor and determination. To lose it would cause a severe setback to the labor movement. It is the California Metal Trades Association's intention to install the so-called “American Plan” of plant organization, which has for its purpose the destruction of the trades union principle.

The Panama Canal

The officers of this Department held a conference with the governor of the Panama Canal on one of his recent visits to the States to discuss the advisability of extending the jurisdiction of the Board which the governor at our request agreed to appoint last year. He sympathized with our request and promised to give the labor member the privilege of taking up all grievances affecting employment direct with him for adjustment. Heretofore the Board's jurisdiction was confined largely to adjusting classifications and inequalities of wage rates.

Securing Work for Navy Yards

Due to the cancellation of contracts for war materials and of insufficient money, the Navy Department contemplated reducing the forces of the navy yards. While the force was reduced in some yards, on the whole we were successful in preventing a wholesale discharge of these employes. We were successful in having the United States Shipping Board send some of its ships to navy yards to be repaired. We are hopeful of getting the Shipping Board to continue to have their ships repaired in the navy yards.

Finances of the Department

The finances of this Department are in excellent condition. In view of the signing of the several agreements with the large shipbuilding corporations and associations,

which agreements provide machinery for the handling of all questions affecting employment, the Atlantic City Convention of this Department increased the per capita tax from one-third of a cent per member to five-eighths of a cent per member per month, to meet the expense of carrying out the agreements. This action made it possible for us to meet these additional obligations and to extend our activities.

New Affiliations

During the year the Department issued charters of affiliation to the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, making seventeen internationals affiliated. In addition the following District Metal Trades Councils, which the Atlantic City Convention provided for, were chartered:

Canadian Metal Trades District Council.
 Delaware River Metal Trades District Council.
 Great Lakes Metal Trades District Council.
 General Electric Company's Plants Metal Trades District Council.
 New England Metal Trades District Council.
 Pacific Coast Metal Trades District Council.
 South Atlantic and Gulf Coast Metal Trades District Council.

Charters were issued to Metal Trades Councils in the following cities:

Beverly, Mass.	London, Ont.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Charlotte, N. C.	Newburgh, N. Y.	Reading, Pa.
Kalamazoo, Mich.	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	Saginaw, Mich.
Three Rivers, Canada	Norfolk, Va.	S. Charleston, W. Va.
Manitowoc, Wis.	Orange, Texas	St. Catharine, Ont.
Montreal, Canada	Omaha, Nebr.	Sherbrooke, Canada
Bridgeport, Conn.	Ottawa, Ont., Canada	Sorel, Canada
Bradford, Pa.	Pascagoula, Miss.	Titusville, Pa.
Hamilton, Ont.	Pensacola, Fla.	

There are several jurisdictional disputes between international organizations affiliated with our Department that have on several occasions received attention by both the conventions of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Council, but which unfortunately at the present time have not been adjusted. While we are cognizant of the fact that these questions are at times difficult of settlement we will gladly cooperate with the Federation in trying to bring about an amicable adjustment of them within the earliest possible time. These jurisdictional questions have during the past year been showing themselves to quite some degree in navy yards. We have had some difficulty in preventing serious troubles on account of them. The government departments while reluctant to deal with such matters, feel it their duty to take such steps as will prevent questions of this nature causing a stoppage of work.

We have given up a very great portion of our time to taking up conditions of employment with government officials, especially affecting navy yards, arsenals and the Panama Canal employes. This includes assisting in legislative work.

We are pleased to report that our relationship with all the departments of the A. F. of L. and our affiliated internationals and councils have been of the most harmonious nature. The work of bringing the organizations to a full realization of what cooperation means is eventually bearing fruit, and as a result we are now able to institute more movements of a cooperative nature than we were ever able to do before.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

John J. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department, has this to say of the work of that Department for the past year:

The work of the Union Label Trades Department during the past year has been placing before trade unionists the great possibilities there are for betterment of working and living conditions through a concentration of purchasing power, by giving preference to the products of union labor.

Between five and six billions of dollars are earned annually by the members of trade unions, only a small portion of which is used in the employment of union labor by the men and women who earn this vast amount of money, for, in the final analysis, the purchaser of any commodity is really the employer.

The membership of the national and international unions affiliated to the Department feel that while there has been an increased demand for union labeled goods, it has not been as great as it should have been and they are looking forward to the time when the demand for union labeled goods will be so great that it will be a very unwise merchant who offers for sale commodities that do not bear the emblem of fair working conditions.

During the year charters have been issued to 1 international union and 25 local leagues, there being now 39 national and international unions in affiliation to the Department and 84 local label leagues.

At the Atlantic City Convention a membership of 571,422 was reported on, while this year there are 725,716 members, a gain of 154,294.

There are several national and international unions which should be in the Department that persistently refuse to lend any support to the work for which the Department was formed. Among these are unions that have been greatly benefited from the agitation carried on by the Department. This is an intolerable situation and one which it is hoped the American Federation of Labor can remedy in some manner in the very near future.

Acknowledgment of the good work done by voluntary organizers of the American Federation of Labor is made and appreciation expressed for the aid they have given the Department from time to time in the union label field and the hope expressed that efforts in this direction will be extended during the coming year.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

John Scott, Secretary-Treasurer of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, has submitted the following report:

At the time of our report to the Thirty-ninth Convention of the A. F. of L., the organizations affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department were in the midst of the negotiations with the representatives of the regional directors for a national agreement and further increase in wages.

The national agreement was signed by the director general on September 20, 1919, and became effective October 20, 1919, the same applying to all railroads under federal control at that time, including the Pullman operating department and American Railway Express.

The presentation of wage demands to the Board of Wages and Working Conditions was concluded on April 25, 1919. The following minimum rates were requested: Mechanics, minimum rate of 85 cents per hour for men with four years' experience; minimum rate of 60 cents per hour for helpers; regular apprentice rate to be increased 10 cents per hour; excess rates for crafts now receiving differentials to be provided for in the national agreement.

The Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions filed its recommendations with the director general about the latter part of July, 1919. Just preceding this time and during the early part of August the membership at several points on the various railroads and especially in and around Chicago suspended work in protest against the delay in completing the negotiations on the agreement and making suitable adjustment in wage rates to meet the increasing cost of living.

Many thousands of our members were involved in these illegal strikes which continued for practically three weeks, the full efforts of the department and the respective internationals being directed toward having the men resume work, inasmuch as the Railroad Administration declined to proceed with the negotiations until normal conditions had been restored.

Under date of August 23, 1919, after conferences with President Wilson and Director General Walker D. Hines, some temporary relief was secured in the nature of 4 cents per hour increase to all men coming under the provisions of supplement No. 4, President Wilson, in his address to the representatives on August 25, stating very clearly that he

believed it an inopportune time to elevate wages on a basis of the increased cost of living, believing that to do so would have the tendency to further increase the living costs instead of in any way bettering the condition of the employes. Assurance was given that the entire resources of the government would be directed towards bringing the profiteer to book and making the stocks of necessaries available at lowered prices. The railroad employes were strongly appealed to for their cooperation with the government and have since that time continued to serve the interests of the public, patiently waiting some measure of redress although realizing from day to day that living costs are still in the ascendency, and the rates paid for similar work in other industries are far in excess of their compensation.

Having waited what we considered a reasonable time with no measure of relief in view, the negotiations were again taken up with the director general on February 9, 1920, by the chief executives of the recognized standard railway labor organizations, in which the present congress was blamed for having failed to meet the emergency, notwithstanding the fact that the President in his message on August 8 dealt with the high cost of living quite thoroughly and made concrete recommendations for legislation to govern.

We quote the following excerpts from the letter addressed to the director general as the substance of our demands reiterated:

"(1) That railroad wages be promptly adjusted by the President (a) so as to equal the wages paid in other industries where similar or analogous service is rendered; (b) to meet the increased cost of living; (c) wherever the application of the two foregoing principles does not yield an adequate wage, to establish an equitable and living minimum wage based upon American standard of living, with proper differentials having regard for skill, hazard and responsibility. (By the term 'equitable and living minimum wage,' we do not mean a mere subsistence wage, but a minimum wage sufficient to maintain a railroad man's average family on a standard of health and reasonable comfort and in addition enable him to set aside a sufficient amount for old-age and disability.) And (d) all of the above adjustments by the President to be effective as of May 1, 1919, to those employes in service on that date and to those who entered since that date and remain in railroad service until February 29, 1920.

"(2) That the President urge Congress promptly to pass necessary legislation to make possible, among other things, reduction in the cost of living, elimination of profiteering, excessive profits, interference with distribution by hoarding, speculation in futures, proper restriction of exports. This to be given precedence over any and all other legislation.

"(3) The departments of the government to be organized in such a way as to secure the fullest cooperation in reduction of cost of living as is permitted by present laws and in keeping with the powers of the government to meet an extreme emergency."

In response to the foregoing, assurance was given by President Wilson in his letter of February 13, addressed to the chief executives of the railroad organizations that with the return of the railroads to private control the necessary steps would promptly be taken to reassure the employes that their claims would be properly and promptly disposed of by the creation of the necessary machinery for dealing with railroad wage matters.

In accordance with the recommendation of the President a bi-partisan board consisting of representatives of the railroad managers and representatives of the standard recognized railway labor organizations met in a series of conferences for the purpose of adjusting the wage matters. These conferences netted no results toward carrying out the wishes of the President, the managers' committee declining to assume the responsibility of granting any increase.

At this writing all of the standard recognized railroad labor organizations have completed the presentation of wage demands to the Railroad Labor board created by the passage of the Transportation Act of 1920. It is now contemplated that the board will move headquarters to Chicago and resume hearings on May 17, when the railroad executives will present their argument.

We are assured on every hand that all possible haste will be made in reaching a deci-

sion on the wage question. The temperament of the railway employes in all branches of the service leaves no room for doubting the necessity of handling this matter expeditiously and equitably, and we sincerely hope that an early and satisfactory adjustment will be reached.

While the negotiations for agreement and wage increase have been the most important issues during the past year, the organizations affiliated with the department have neglected no opportunity to fully perfect their ranks, splendid gains in membership have been made, the records in each case marking the pinnacle in the history of the organization.

The department issued charters to sixteen system federations during the year. The list of system federations now under charter represents a total of 132 which includes practically all of the larger trunk lines in the United States and Canada.

The activities of the Railway Employes' Department are fast developing a much wider scope as necessities arise from time to time, in conjunction with the standard recognized railroad labor organizations. All of the affiliated organizations in the department are meeting their proportionate share of expense in promoting the Plumb Plan of government control of the railroads, in conducting a publicity bureau in support of our demands for an equitable wage, and in cooperation with the A. F. of L. in making for success of the political campaign.

It is most gratifying to announce that a cooperative agreement has been entered into by and between the standard recognized railroad organizations as an offensive and defensive measure to cope with the unprecedented conditions confronting us at this time, and to meet the uncertainties of the future. We feel that this is a step in the right direction and will have for its purpose the safeguarding of the interests of the railway employes against any attempt to lower just and equitable standards affecting working conditions and compensation.

By the action of the fifth biennial convention recently held in Kansas City, Mo., the per capita tax to the department has been increased from one-half cent per member to 1½ cents. This we hope will enable the department to materially extend its activities in the interest of all affiliated trades.

MINING DEPARTMENT

James Lord, President of the Mining Department, gives this as the report of the year's work:

Complying with the established custom, I hereby submit for your consideration a report of the activities of the Mining Department since the Atlantic City Convention in 1919.

This has been an eventful year in the lives of America's toilers. The general spirit of unrest that is now permeating the world and in which spirit no man dare prophesy, have found vigorous expression in the ranks of the men and women who do the useful work of our country by hand or brain.

The two things that stand out pre-eminently in relation to the unrest of America's toilers, are the cost of living and the unintelligent attitude of certain of the employing classes.

Wage advances achieved during and since the world war, are not only woefully inadequate to meet the cost of life's necessities, but seem to fall further away from doing so as the weeks and months roll by. Every time it is heralded forth that the cost of living is about to decline, it is taken as a pronouncement for another rise in all that the workers come in contact with, except the purchasing power of wages.

There seems to be a generally accepted opinion among a large number of employers in these United States that our connection with the European War was merely to help to beat Germany; that the terms Freedom and Democracy were merely used in a relative and rallying sense, for their patriotic appeal and that the world, outside of Germany, should maintain the status it did before the war.

The situation existing since the signing of the armistice is making plain to the American people that which the organized workers always knew, that we have more Bourbons in proportion, among the employing class in America, they "who learn nothing

and forget nothing," than any other so-called civilized country in the world. The minute of the announcement of the cessation of hostilities, Freedom and Democracy disappeared from their vocabulary, and they swung back to their ignorant, stupid, pre-war conception of things.

Organized labor is determined to go on, with greater vigor than ever, with the campaign for Freedom and Democracy. Organized Labor loves this country so well that it is determined to make it everywhere, from coast to coast and the lakes to the gulf, a fit place for free men to live in.

We want to proceed in an orderly, intelligent manner. The cry of Bolshevism and I. W. W. moves us not at all. We have always known that dealing with cause, rather than effect, brings results. The I. W. W. was created by the intolerance, brutality and un-Americanism of the I. W. W. employer. He who said he would not make agreements; he who said he had nothing to arbitrate, nothing to settle; "power to the strong, we have the power and mean to keep it;" "we reserve the right to run our own business in our own way, without interference or suggestions from anybody." Power shifted in a remarkable way in Russia. The I. W. W. who was blamed for everything, is the creation of those who practiced exactly what he now preaches, with reverse English. The Bourbons can create a lot of this dictatorship of capital, but the faster they travel in this direction, the sooner they create the "dictatorship of the proletariat," and intelligent human beings want a dictatorship of no kind.

The American Labor Movement is going to continue to do its best to maintain and create democracy. It deals not with hare-brained experiments. It is fighting and will continue to fight the battle of Labor, for a bigger, better and securer life for the men and women who do the useful work of the world, by hand or brain. It believes in dealing with the problem of today, and preparing for the problems of tomorrow. In this way we know the greatest measure of progress can be attained, and a minimum of mistakes made.

We do not set a goal for human achievement. No one can do that. As long as there is one man or woman wanting work and unable to get it, as long as there are unsanitary and unhealthy conditions of living and working existant, as long as men and women are fleeced from the results of their labor and the right of protest denied them, as long as one child cries for bread, or suffers from a curable disease, as long as men and women shudder with fear at the insecurity of tomorrow, we carry on the fight for the rights of man.

Oil Workers

In briefly outlining the methods that have been pursued in the working out of the relation of the oil workers and operators of California, I am simply giving the essential points in this unique series of negotiations, as they have occurred, because of a considerable amount of confusion that has existed in the minds of men active in the Labor Movement.

The oil, well and refinery workers is an international union of men working in the oil industry, chartered by the American Federation of Labor and an out-growth of a series of local and federal unions.

At the Atlantic City Convention, the oil workers were paying per capita tax on 4,500 members. At the present time, they have approximately 35,000 members. A year ago they had 50 local unions, now they have 105 local unions, distributed over 12 states. There have been 23 wage scales negotiated, affecting approximately 50,000 workers.

Louisiana is at present about 85 per cent organized. South Texas is about 60 per cent organized, and preparations are under way for the presentation of a district scale in the near future. Organizers are putting forth strenuous efforts in the different oil fields, and with splendid success.

At the Atlantic City Convention, the oil workers were admitted to the Mining Department. Prior to this, and almost from their beginning as a local organization, I, with others in the mining industry, have been helpful in advising and cooperating with them, when possible.

During the war, the President's Mediation Commission, in its investigation of troubles in the copper and oil industries, arranged for machinery to take care of these

industries, with joint methods of handling disputes, either of wages or working conditions, so that a measure of justice could be assured for the workers and continuous production maintained.

In August, 1917, the organized oil workers in California, sent an invitation to 200 operators to attend a conference at Bakersfield, to be held on September 1, for the purpose of arranging a re-adjustment of wages and working conditions. United States Commissioner of Conciliation, Chas. T. Connell, was invited to be present. The operators did not accept the invitation.

Commissioner Connell was then requested to arrange for a conference between the operators and the workers and was given a reasonable time to do so. The workers had taken a referendum vote and had decided to demand.

First: An eight-hour day.

Second: A minimum wage of \$4 per day and certain changes in working conditions.

This referendum vote also authorized the State Executive Board to call a strike if peaceful methods failed.

Commissioner Connell took up the matter with Mr. G. M. Swindell, Secretary of the Chamber of Mines and Oil in Los Angeles. At this time the oil workers claimed from 40 to 50 per cent of the workers were organized. The operators claimed there were not over 25 per cent organized.

After some time taken up in preliminary negotiations, a conference was arranged for the workers to meet the Mediation Commission in San Francisco on November 13, 1917.

The President's Mediation Commission turned over the whole oil problem to one of its members, Mr. Verner Z. Reed, with Commissioner Connell as adviser. Messrs. Reed and Connell met the oil workers in Bakersfield on November 19-20, 1917, for a preliminary conference. The commissioners met the operators in Santa Barbara on November 23. These operators represented 75 per cent of the oil production in the state, the Standard Oil Company not participating. An agreement was finally reached carrying with it a \$4 minimum wage beginning December 1, 1917, and the eight-hour day, beginning January 1, 1918.

The Secretary of Labor appointed a board of three members, known as the Federal Oil Inspection Board, whose duty it would be to adjust grievances and make awards. The appointees were:

Mr. L. P. St. Clair, for the operators.

Mr. W. F. Byrne, for the workers.

Mr. G. M. Swindell, for the public.

This board resigned on May 18, 1919. This resignation restored the jurisdiction of the California Oil Industry back to the Mediation Commission, who then arranged for a series of conferences between representatives of operators and workers, and in the Santa Barbara, the basic agreement was reached which is now in effect until June 30, 1920. At the invitation of both the oil workers and the Department of Labor, I attended the Santa Barbara conference, and was invited by vote of both workers and operators to sit in the session in an advisory capacity.

While this memorandum is working as a joint agreement, it really represents two agreements made jointly by the representatives of employers and employes in conference with the President's Mediation Commission, and signed separately, the operators not being willing to join in an agreement which committed them to full recognition of the Oil Workers' Union.

Under this agreement, the Department of Labor assumes the responsibility of seeing that all phases of it are fairly carried out by both sides. Hywel Davies was accepted by both sides as an adjuster. Under his administering of this agreement, committees, elected by the workers without interference in any manner from representatives of the company, are the recognized channels through which grievances must be handled. No discrimination because of union activity is countenanced. In the event a committee can not reach

an agreement with the local management, the evidence of both sides is presented to the adjustor or his representative in writing, who files his decision within ten days. In the event it seems to be warranted, a case may be re-opened by mutual consent.

Under the terms of this agreement, back pay was recovered amounting to 50 cents per day for the period from January 1, 1919, to June 30, 1919. This applied to all workmen in the industry except the few who had already received this rate.

Where the terms of the agreement are fairly lived up to, the operator will, within forty-five days after June 30, pay to each employe 25 cents a day for each day worked during the life of the agreement.

The minimum wage for roustabouts under the agreement, is \$5 per day, and ranges to \$8.75. The eight-hour day is agreed to, with time and one-half for overtime, except as otherwise arranged in special classes of work.

This agreement, which is unique in many ways, has been successful from an operating standpoint, no strike having occurred, and will be amended and perfected as time and experience warrant to the contracting parties.

Mutual joint relations are established that seemed an utter impossibility when negotiations began, and both sides have learned a great deal in an intelligent way, of each other that will be good for both and helpful in the future.

Cobalt

During the month of August, 1919, I was called to the Cobalt, Ontario Silver Mining Field, because of a strike there. The operators, many of whom are American, and representing American interests, have been steadfast in their determination not to recognize a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which they term as a foreign association for many years. Wages were woefully inadequate and the cost of living higher than in more thickly settled communities. Discrimination was openly practiced, and all the annoyances and persecution that go with this kind of a situation, prevalent. The Cobalt Miners' Union, a branch of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, through its scale committee, asked the Operators' Association for a conference. This was refused repeatedly, and by the time I arrived there the strike was on and the tie-up complete as far as hoisting ore was concerned. I immediately tried to arrange a conference with the operators without success, being told that they would be glad to meet me at any time in a social way, but not as a representative of the American Federation of Labor.

A committee of public-spirited business men who did not agree with the methods of the operators, invited me to meet with them and go over the local situation to the end that they might be helpful in an intelligent manner without causing more confusion. I met with them several times, explained the demands of the miners and the philosophy of the Trade Union Movement generally, and they then tried to arrange a conference between the companies of the district and their employes, not specifying the union, and with or without my presence. The operators had been holding to their expressed position that they would always meet or deal with their employes, but not as representatives of an American union. When the group of business men put their request up to them, they still refused to go into conference. They finally induced the operators to very unwillingly go into a conference with a committee of miners elected in a mass meeting in the local auditorium, a business man to be chairman of the conference. This childish procedure is evident when it was well-known that the district was more than 90 per cent organized. Out of this conference came an understanding that the basic wage would be advanced \$1 a day and recognition of a district group board selected by the local mine committees, whereby grievances of a general character could be taken up and adjusted from time to time. Wages are based on the market price of silver, and as the present price of silver is high, this gave no relief in the existing situation. It did, however, raise the basic wage a dollar a day, and was the first real beginning of any form of joint relation.

The miners, without funds to carry the fight further, unwillingly agreed to this proposition and called the strike off. I believe it was the best thing to do under the circumstances, and advised them to do what they could to strengthen and extend the meager joint relations and make a campaign to thoroughly organize that and adjoining fields. It is not a pleasant thing to advise such settlements, but I know what they were

facing. I have lived their identical experiences and, in view of all conditions confronting them, believe they did the intelligent thing in calling off their strike. Conditions of work and life are hard in this bleak and barren country, and my sincere sympathy is with the miners of the Cobalt field. But their measure of relief will come as it has in other fields, by a united militant organization of the miners of that province, and being true to each other in adversity as well as in happier times.

As the blatant and unintelligent program of the One Big Union swept across Canada, these miners of silver were easy victims to its lure. Many of them saw in this burlesque a short cut to better things and the result is that they are now a disorganized community. Even though they acceded to the slogan of the operators for a Canadian union, their first battle under the banner of their "native" union, met with dismal failure and many men were discharged. The One Big Union promises to call a general strike some time in the distant future, when all wrongs shall be righted.

The work of organization in that field will have to be begun all over again when, they, with their fellow-sufferers in other provinces shall have recovered from their One Big Union debauch. It is an indictment of their reason when men throw away, not only their own means of bettering conditions of work and life, but that of their wives and little children.

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

This organization is one of the twenty-four that joined in the steel campaign, and had added to its membership in that industry alone, approximately 20,000 men. Later events in the steel industry have materially reduced this number.

Progress has been made difficult in the western fields, especially in the Province of Ontario and British Columbia, on account of the activity of the I. W. W. and the One Big Union which is substantially the same thing. Real progress has been made, however, in the central and southern states and the membership materially increased.

Agreements carrying the check-off system have been negotiated in the zinc industry in Oklahoma, Arkansas and Kansas and substantial increases in wages and reductions in hours have resulted.

Contracts have been negotiated with mining companies in Alabama and Tennessee.

The phosphate miners of Florida, after an heroic struggle of more than eight months failed to secure a satisfactory settlement but have been able to maintain their organization against terrific odds. They have secured some substantial benefits, notably from the unreasonable twelve-hour shift and now, with few exceptions, enjoy the eight-hour day. The methods of repression in this field are almost unbelievable.

In spite of the fact that in passing through the period of re-adjustment following the war, unusual burdens have been laid on the metalliferous industry, and vicious efforts of so-called revolutionary organizations have been especially aimed at this organization. It has made real progress during the past year, in substantial advances in wages and improvement in working and living conditions, and its influence is recognized today more than ever before, as a real factor in that industry and its possibilities for the future appear more promising than ever.

United Mine Workers

This organization is now at the highest point in influence and membership and financially than it has ever been and it is due to this fact and intelligent methods of procedure, together with its well-known solidarity, that it came through the tremendous experiences of 1919 and the present year in such a creditable manner.

No organization in the history of Labor ever faced such a succession of almost unsurmountable experiences as has this organization, regarding bituminous mining.

In briefly outlining the salient points of this remarkable struggle, it is necessary to go back somewhat into the previous years.

In 1916 a new wage agreement was secured at a joint conference called at Mobile, Ala., February 8, 1916, and reconvened at New York City, February 24, 1916. The agreement was signed March 9, 1916, to run until March 31, 1918. This agreement provided for an advance of 3 cents a ton at the basing points and the universal adoption

of mine run system throughout the Central Competitive Field, and an advance of 5 per cent on the prices of day labor, dead work, yardage and room turning.

Following the adoption of this agreement, the effect of the war began to be felt in this country through acute increases in the cost of living, resulting partly from purchases of all kinds of supplies by the Allied Nations and the rankest profiteering here at home.

As a result of this situation and the increased prices being charged for coal, the miners found as the days went by, the situation becoming more and more unbearable. Wages had become more inadequate than the industry had ever known, bonuses were being paid in some localities, operators were bidding for each other's men, and many miners were leaving the mines for the healthier and better paid vocations above ground.

The joint relationship that had so long been prevalent in this industry became badly strained and, as a result of all this, an informal conference of the miners and operators of the Central Competitive Field met in Indianapolis, April 5-6, 1917. This resulted in an interstate conference of the same parties in the McAlpin Hotel, New York City, April 12-13, 1917, where an agreement was reached to run until March 31, 1918, providing for an increase of 10 cents per ton on pick and machine mining rates and an increase of 60 cents per day on day work, and no advance on yardage and dead work.

Prices continued to soar and, in an effort to bring about a more stable situation, the Committee on Coal Production was formed as part of the Council of National Defense on which committee, the miners, operators and public were represented. This committee called a meeting of coal operators from all parts of the United States and, as a result the prices for bituminous coal were voluntarily substantially lowered, as a temporary measure, till a more thorough survey could be made and more equitable prices fixed. This committee was superseded by the Fuel Administration later.

The situation becoming more acute, a joint conference of operators and miners was held in Washington, D. C., September 25, 1917, which resulted in an agreement providing for an advance of \$1.40 per day for day men, and a 15 per cent advance on yardage, dead work and room turning. This agreement provided for an automatic penalty clause. This agreement carried 10 cents per ton advance in wages and the selling price was advanced 45 cents per ton.

During August, 1918, the situation growing worse, the officials of the United Mine Workers of America appealed to Fuel Administrator Garfield for a conference whereby the situation could be gone over. This was denied them.

At the Cleveland Convention the miners formulated demands for a 60 per cent increase in wages, a six-hour day, and five days a week. The price of coal, since the signing of the armistice, had continued to soar; the war to all intents and purposes was over, and the miners appeared to be the only ones who were held to the war-time understanding. The Fuel Administration had practically ceased to function. The demand for the shorter workday was for the purpose of more equitable distributing the work in an over-developed industry.

These demands were formulated in convention in the regular way, were not arbitrarily fixed, but subject to negotiations, as was the practice for thirty years. A joint conference was held in Buffalo, September 23, 1919, and the miners submitted their demands. For the first time in the history of the joint movement, no counter-demand was put forward by the operators. The conference recessed and met in Philadelphia in October, with the same results.

The strike was called as scheduled on November 1. On the 17th of October, Secretary of Labor Wilson called a joint conference and it adjourned without result.

On October 21, Attorney General Palmer secured an injunction from Judge Anderson of the United States District Court of Indianapolis restraining the miners from striking and ordering the officials of the union to revoke the strike order, but the men did not return to work.

After several conferences, Secretary Wilson made a proposition providing for a 31.6 per cent increase. This was not accepted. On Wednesday, November 26, Dr. Garfield proposed a 14 per cent advance, this to be paid out of the then selling price of coal. He said this could be done, regardless of the fact that he had denied the miners a conference in August, 1918, and the selling price had been maintained since that time.

The miners rejected this offer as most unreasonable but were willing to consider

Secretary Wilson's proposition, which would have placed the wage standard according to government figures barely back to the very unsatisfactory pre-war standards.

On December 6 an understanding was reached that ended the strike controversy, the men returned to work, and the Bituminous Coal Commission was created. The miners received a 14 per cent advance pending the findings of this commission.

On March 10, 1920, the Majority Report of the Commission was rendered, providing for a 27 per cent increase in the tonnage rates and 20 per cent on day wages, after which price fixing by the government on bituminous coal was ended.

The Anthracite Wage Conference is still pending and appearances are favorable for an amicable agreement being reached.

I am not able to report in detail regarding the other affiliated organizations at this time but will cover that in my report to the Department. They have made substantial progress and are in the most harmonious relations with each other.

I have given my time in being helpful to them in such ways as I could, have gone out into the different fields when necessary, have worked and cooperated with the Legislative Committee and other divisions of the American Federation of Labor to what extent I have been able.

There has been complete harmony and cooperation between the resident officials in Washington and the affiliated unions and we can all well feel proud of the year's work, carried on under the strenuous period of re-adjustment following the war.

CANADA

P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, made the following report for the past year:

In accordance with past customs, the following synopsis of the activities of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada along with a brief review of the development in the trade union movement in this country is herewith submitted. The Trades and Labor Congress officially elect a fraternal delegate to address your convention and through that source a more detailed review of the development of the trade union movement in Canada is given.

Last year I was able to submit figures showing an unprecedented growth in the number of trade union members in this dominion. Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts which have been made during the past year by secessionists and others to undermine the strength of the international trade union movement, it is with pleasure that I am again able to report an increase in our membership. Ninety-nine international organizations have now branches in Canada and these report an aggregate membership of 260,247 as compared with 201,432 last year, a gain during the year of 58,815. The number of local unions was increased by 412, there being at the present time 2,309 local branches of the international unions. In addition to the 260,247 members of international unions other forms of combination amongst the workers, including independent, national unions, national Catholic unions and the one big union claim among them an aggregate membership of 100,000. These figures, however, lack corroboration though it would be unwise to underestimate the activities displayed by these bodies in retarding the organization of the workers of the dominion into international organizations.

The affiliated membership of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada noted with satisfaction the action of the American Federation of Labor at its Atlantic City Convention in declaring the complete autonomy of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada in so far as legislative work was concerned and the recommendation incorporated with the declaration that the international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor should lend support to the Trades and Labor Congress by taking similar action. Up to the present time fifty-six international unions out of the ninety-nine having branches in Canada have affiliated their entire Canadian membership to the Trades and Labor Congress, paying their per capita tax direct from their head office. In addition a small number of branches of other international unions are also separately affiliated to the Congress. Up to this time the Congress has consistently refused to accept into affiliation organizations expelled or rejected by the American Federation of Labor and has also, in the past, refused further affiliation to international unions who have been expelled for cause by the American Federation of Labor. It is therefore with regret that we are com-

pelled to report that forty-three international unions still refrain from strengthening our hands in our fight to maintain the recognition and prestige of international trade unionism in the dominion.

With a growing activity of opposing bodies such as the National Catholic Union, Canadian Federation of Labor and the One Big Union it becomes apparent that, if the Congress is to remain the predominant labor body of Canada and the mouthpiece of the organized workers, considerable additional support must be forthcoming from international unions having branches in Canada. We, therefore, wish to bring especially to the attention of this convention of the American Federation of Labor the necessity of some further action on their part to see that in return for the assistance rendered to the international trade union movement that the Trades and Labor Congress is given the full support of every international union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Our request can best be understood by the following figures: Out of 260,247 members of international trade unions in Canada only 160,000 are, as yet, affiliated to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

General Activities

In order to effectively carry on the legislative work throughout the dominion, the Trades and Labor Congress have chartered Provincial Federations of Labor in Alberta, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec provincial executives carry on the duties of presenting legislation under direction of the congress executive. Until the latter part of 1919 British Columbia had a provincial federation of labor. The officers of the Federation, however, took upon themselves to return this charter and since then have declared themselves as a unit of the O. B. U. This has temporarily left the province of British Columbia without any central executive authority. Throughout the dominion there are fifty-eight trades and labor councils chartered by the Trades and Labor Congress and acting as the legislative body in their respective cities.

In addition to presenting to the Federal and Provincial Governments legislation called for by the organized workers the Trades and Labor Congress has spent considerable effort in combating the activities of the O. B. U. and the national organizations. Through the aid of the Congress charters have been secured for several of the international organizations in addition to much assistance in building up the membership of the other established local unions.

Bulletins have been issued to the workers of the dominion at intervals keeping before them the policies of international trade unionism and drawing attention to the progress which has been possible by such organization.

In June last the Congress was requested to name two representatives as members of the Industrial Relations Commission. This commission visited all the chief industrial centers of Canada and issued a report making many recommendations which received the general approval of all classes in Canada.

In September, the Congress was again requested by the Dominion Government to nominate workers' representatives to participate in a National Industrial Conference. Sixty-five workers were selected from the different labor organizations affiliated to the Congress, located in different parts of the dominion, who along with sixty-five employers and a number of others forming a third group, met in Ottawa to discuss and reach conclusions on questions affecting Labor. A full report of this has been issued by the Dominion Government and on the suggestion of the Trades Congress Executive a copy was mailed to each headquarters of international unions for their information.

In accordance with the labor section of the Treaty of Peace the Canadian Government (who are members of the League of Nations and the International Labor Body) called upon the Congress to nominate one delegate and five advisors to represent the workers of Canada at the annual conference of the International Labor Body, held in Washington. Full reports as to the work accomplished at this conference have already been published.

The Trades Congress have again been called upon to nominate the delegate and adviser to attend the second annual conference of the International Labor body to be held in Genoa, in June, 1920, when the question of the general conditions under which seamen work will be the chief subject under discussion.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is officially recognized by the Dominion Government as the authoritative source from which the labor representatives should be nominated for the annual conferences, etc., taking place, and in addition to nominees of the Congress already serving on Government Commissions during the year, we have been able to place members on the Dominion Advisory Council of the Labor Bureaus, Research Committee on Industrial Fatigue, the newly created Federal Health Board, and Commission for the unifying of Provincial Labor Laws relating to compensation, factory legislation, etc., throughout the dominion.

Legislation

Many requests have been placed before the Provincial and Federal Governments for legislation in accordance with the resolutions passed at the annual conventions. We were successful in having passed a Dominion Act providing for the establishment of Federal Bureaus on Technical Education. We also succeeded in securing the creation of a Ministry of Health and Public Welfare, an act to provide compensation for injured federal employes, amendments to the Immigration Act, provision for a literacy test besides other measures indirectly assisting labor, whilst through the various Provincial Governments extensions of the application of Workmen's Compensation Act, improvements to factory legislation and other valuable measures have been secured.

The Eight-Hour Day

Considerable propoganda has been carried on by the Congress for the adoption of the eight-hour day both by industrial activity and legislative enactment. Though we have not as yet secured any legislation providing for this legal limitation of the workday other than for the mining industry it is satisfactory to note that out of a survey covering over 600,000 workers that close to 50 per cent are now working eight hours or less in the Dominion of Canada.

Opposition Movements

The One Big Union has continued its campaign of vilification against the officers of international trade unions, the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and have succeeded in temporarily alienating many members of the international labor movement by these methods. Their policy of general strike, though ending in failure whenever put into operation, nevertheless still finds some favor with workers who have little experience of organized effort. Whilst claiming a membership of 41,000 the figures submitted for the amount of per capita tax paid up to the time of their convention in Winnipeg in January this year their balance sheet shows a per capita tax collected of \$5,200 which can not mean more than 5,000 dues paying members.

Increased activity is also being shown by the National Catholic Unions who are waging an aggressive warfare in the province of Quebec against international trade unionism. They submit a claim to the Dominion Government Directory of Labor of a membership of 35,000, but for the purpose of showing this membership have changed their name from National Catholic Federation of Labor Unions to the National Catholic Union and have included in their aggregate membership many forms of organization which can not by any stretch of the imagination be classed as labor organizations.

The Canadian Federation of Labor is also making strenuous efforts to build up its membership, employing a permanent organizing secretary for this work. There are also existing other independent unions having none but local federations.

The efforts of the Congress have been concentrated towards offsetting these activities and whenever possible steps taken to bring about consolidation of independent or national units with established international trade unions.

Conclusion

Appreciation is expressed of the support extended by the American Federation of Labor by placing additional organizers in Canada, whose work has materially assisted the efforts of the Congress. Many of the international unions have also realized the

necessity of maintaining Canadian organizers and establishing Canadian Districts, with Executive Board Members of vice-presidents in charge thereof and we would respectfully draw to your attention the desirability of each international union carefully considering what steps may be possible to meet the oft-expressed desires of their Canadian membership for national recognition within their international trade unions.

PORTO RICO

Santiago Iglesias, President of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, submitted the following:

In accordance with your recommendation, I submit herewith my annual report:

General Progress

Never in the history of organized labor on the Island of Porto Rico has more progress been shown than was attained by the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico (State Federation), during the fiscal years of 1919-1920.

The members in good standing affiliated to the Free Federation now total 16,606, and there are temporarily suspended for various reasons about 6,000 members, making over 22,000 members affiliated with local unions in Porto Rico. Such progress is remarkable in view of the great opposition and the tremendous hostility shown by the unscrupulous corporations and un-American politicians.

Following a description of industrial conditions in Porto Rico which were originally read into the records of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and more recently laid before the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers appointed a commission to come to Porto Rico and make a thorough investigation of the conditions of the laboring people. Messrs. Peter J. Brady and Anthony McAndrew were appointed as members of this commission.

They came to Porto Rico at the proper time, visiting almost the entire island, seeing cities, towns and villages, speaking with all classes of citizens and gathering a large amount of evidence of the situation and conditions of the people of Porto Rico, especially laborers. As they undoubtedly will render a special report, I will only say that the visit of the two commissioners from the American Federation of Labor has done a great deal of good for our people of Porto Rico.

Strikes

There were three important strikes in Porto Rico during the past year: the tobacco strike, which affected over 15,000 women and men; the railroad strike that stopped the entire means of transportation, which affected over 2,000 machinists, firemen and shop workers, and many thousands of agricultural workers; and the last sugar strike, which affected 150,000 workers, men and women all over the island, and lasted for several weeks.

The railroad strike brought about an injunction against all officials of the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico and the machinist lodges of the island. The injunction was similar to that of Judge Anderson of Indianapolis, but the result in the last analysis has been good, as it resulted in a great success for the workers.

To a letter of Governor Yager requesting us to name delegates to the Arbitration Commission, we answered in part as follows:

With reference to our conversation of last evening and after conferring with the representatives of the machinists lodges of San Juan, Ponce and Mayaguez, they have agreed to follow the suggestions of your letter of December 22, 1919, and also the last proposition of the American Railroad Company of Porto Rico, and therefore, they have sent last night, addressed to Mr. Villiard, manager of the American Railroad Company of Porto Rico, the following preliminary agreement to have effect at 12 a. m. today. The propositions were as follows:

First: All employes who were in the service of and at work for said company on the date of the strike, December 3, shall be immediately restored to their former positions.

Second: The lodges are willing to give the company all facilities to get all classes of extra employes that it may need for the good of the service.

Third: The employes agreed to accept the 25 per cent increase in wages in accordance with the offer of the company in its letter of December 23, subject to a re-adjustment, by both parties, and in accordance with the pending demands.

Fourth: A commission representing the lodges of San Juan, Ponce and Mayaguez, will meet January 2, 1920, at 10 a. m. at the offices of the company to begin the discussion of all the matters contained in the pending demands of the employes.

Fifth: After two weeks of discussion if there is not a possible agreement, then a general vote of the employes of the company will be taken in case that the general vote results unfavorably to a permanent settlement then all the case and matters involved in the dispute will be sent to the Governor of Porto Rico, with the purpose and request that he will submit all the matters in dispute to a Board of Arbitration that shall be constituted in accordance with the plan approved by Hon. Arthur Yager, Governor of Porto Rico, in his letter of December 17 and letter of Mr. W. R. Bennett and letter of the company approving the constitution of the Board of Arbitration, which letter was sent to the Governor.

Sixth: All the employes of the company will continue to work in all the departments of the railroad company, pending the decision of the Board of Arbitration.

If this preliminary agreement is signed by the company, then every machinist and employe of the company will be on duty at the 12 meridian of December 21 and those employes who can not be reached at the proper time, will begin to work at 8 a. m. December 25.

So far as I know the company have not signed this last proposition of the employes. I don't know what the company will do, but I believe that the employes have already done their part to begin their work today.

The railroad company at last signed our propositions and the strike was settled on very good terms for the employes.

The sugar agricultural strike was by far the most important and serious in the history of the labor organization of the island. It is estimated that it has cost over twenty million dollars to the sugar industry and the laborers.

The sugar workers, no matter what the ill-treatment, persecution and brutality of the police decided to win substantially better conditions and better wages, and practically they did.

The gains to the laborers in wages amount to a total of several million dollars. But a more important gain to them is the fact that thousands of strikers have been for the first time recognized as important factors in the sugar business and many official agreements have been signed between the sugar corporations and strike committees.

This fact is a distinct victory not only for the workers directly benefited, but for the entire island. In fact, the sugar strikers passing through so many hardships and mistreatments with the help of the American Federation of Labor have for the first time received increases in wages from 75 cents to \$3 a day, and an average of \$1.50 for eight hours' work.

The great strike of the tobacco industry was declared by all the employes on January 1, 1919, to resist a lockout declared by the firm to compel the cigarmakers and general employes to accept a so-called profit-sharing plan intended to stamp out collective bargaining. This strike was maintained for seven months and reached a compromise settlement at the end of July.

Worthy of mention as well, is the liberal cooperation lent to the strikers by the Cigarmakers' International Union, which paid in benefits to its members something around the neighborhood of \$250,000.

The cigarmakers of Tampa, New York, Key West and Havana in general also contributed to the success of the strike with liberal donations. As there was not any prospect

of any settlement several days before the beginning of July a printed circular was prepared by the Joint Advisory Board of the cigarmakers' unions and mailed to the unions requesting financial assistance to continue the strike and money to the amount of \$860.75 was received, but such amount was returned to all the unions making such donations. For the first time official representatives of the International Union were ordered to Porto Rico to mediate in the strike and they had opportunity to see the general conditions prevailing.

The compromise settlement won for the cigarmakers an increase of \$1.75 on all shapes and all other employes an increase of from 15 to about 25 per cent.

On March 29, 1920, a new agreement was signed between the Porto Rican American Tobacco Company and the officials of the Joint Advisory Board of the cigarmakers' unions. By this new agreement, which will expire July, 1920, all the cigarmakers receive, beginning April 2, 1920, an increase of 75 cents on all shapes, and \$2 and \$3 increase on some of them.

All clerks, helpers and general employes receive considerable increases. The old wages of 80 and 90 cents for men and women employed as helpers in the cigar industry are done away with.

A minimum wage of \$1.50 for all women now receiving \$1 or less is established and a minimum wage of \$2.25 for all men now receiving \$1.60 or less.

The organization is fully recognized by the firm and rules and provisions established to bargain directly with the organization upon the basis of organized labor. In my belief this is the best agreement ever reached by the cigarmakers in Porto Rico and the time is not very far off when the cigar industry in Porto Rico will be organized to the extent of 10,000 members. From data collected by the officials of the Joint Advisory I can report that the actual membership of the cigarmakers' unions has reached 5,035.

Other strikes have occurred in Porto Rico of more or less importance, affecting tailors bakers, carpenters, longshoremen, motormen and conductors, telephone and electrical workers, painters, bricklayers and masons. All have won better conditions, higher wages and less working hours. It may be said that the past year has been one in which more strikes have occurred than in any previous year.

Labor Conventions

The tenth biennial convention of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico was held at Caguas, March 21 to 26, 1920. One hundred and eighty-eight delegates, representing over 200 local unions and central bodies were present. It was the largest convention ever held in Porto Rico.

Many resolutions were approved in behalf of organized agricultural workers looking toward perfection of their unions, especially in connection with the sugar and tobacco industries. There has been created a Joint Committee representing field agricultural workers, sugar factories workers and land and sea transportation workers, to work out a bond of solidarity and to get the best results in their efforts to better conditions.

Resolutions were passed recommending the organization of an international union of sugar agricultural workers and another international covering all the workers in the tobacco industry except the cigarmakers. The resolution of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the political campaign was approved, as was the Bill of Grievances approved by the Labor Conference held in Washington on December 13, 1919. The resolutions of Senator Santiago Iglesias that were introduced in the Senate of Porto Rico in the past session, relative to the land questions, were approved and it was decided to send a Joint Commission to Washington to denounce to Congress and the authorities the depredations and abuses of the sugar and tobacco trusts.

Economic and Political Questions

I want to repeat again that the Congress of the United States should decide what the United States intends to do with the people of Porto Rico. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court show that the highest tribunal considers the position of Porto Rico at present as it was under the Foraker Act, that there has been no change in our status as to the granting of American citizenship to the citizens of Porto Rico, and that therefore

we are still an unincorporated territory. So, after twenty years of American domination, we have not been able to know what the Congress of the United States intends to do with us. According to the Supreme Court we are an organized territory, but not incorporated into the United States. The high tribunal has established a distinction between organization and incorporation. Our status, therefore, is extremely peculiar. Are we foreigners? No; because we are American citizens, and no citizen of the United States can be a foreigner within the boundaries of the nation, but the constitution of the United States is not applicable to Porto Rico and therefore while we are citizens of the United States, we are not under the constitution.

The working people of Porto Rico are convinced that absentee monopolies and financial combinations exercise an entirely disproportionate and reactionary influence over the social, political, financial and governmental conditions on the island. Abuses developed by these influences have placed the greater part of the small proprietors and the agricultural and industrial producing masses at the mercy of arbitrary conditions, which impose upon the former high prices for products and upon the latter the lowest and most miserable wages for their labor, resulting in pauperism.

Affiliated Organizations

During the previous twelve months there have been organized seventy-nine local unions all over the island.

The following list will serve to show the number of local and central bodies that are affiliated to the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico:

Cigarmakers' Unions.....	21
Female Cigarmakers' Union.....	1
Carpenters' Unions.....	22
Typographical Union.....	1
Painters.....	4
Women's Protective Unions.....	4
Barbers' Unions.....	2
Tobacco Strippers' Unions.....	23
Wrapper Selectors' Unions.....	3
Tobacco Leaf Selectors' Union.....	1
Fede al Labor Unions.....	4
Store Clerks' Unions.....	4
Longshore Workers' Unions.....	11
Bakers' Unions.....	18
Longshore Watchers' Unions.....	1
Agricultural Workers' Unions.....	30
Shoemakers' Unions.....	13
Hodcarriers' Unions.....	7
Cigar Packers' Union.....	1
Masons' Unions.....	5
Tailors' Unions.....	1
Hat Weavers' Union.....	1
Cigarmakers' Helpers Unions.....	7
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union.....	1
Meat Cutters and Butchers' Union.....	1
Tobacco Boxes Decorators' Unions.....	3
Boxmakers' Union.....	1
Machinists' Union.....	8
Laborers' Protective Unions.....	2
Tobacco Workers.....	1
Electricists' Unions.....	1
Chauffeurs' Unions.....	1
Plumbers' Union.....	1
Embroiderers' Union.....	1
Total local unions.....	206

State Federation.....	1
Central Labor Unions.....	4
Joint Advisory Board of the Cigarmakers.....	1
Local Trades Councils.....	5
Carpenters' District Council.....	1
Cooperative Institutions.....	2
Labor Temples.....	9
General organization total.....	229

Public Education

Porto Rico has made great and wonderful progress since American occupation. There have been wonderful reforms in everything regarding living conditions, but I maintain that progress has been at a standstill during the past five years. We have not advanced in schools. To show clearly the situation, I give these figures:

Production and commerce according to official reports of 1914.....	\$79,509,549
For schools in 1914.....	155,830
Production and commerce according to official reports of 1919.....	141,896,400
For schools in 1919.....	166,516

As may be seen the productivity of the country has almost doubled and the business increased \$62,386,851 in five years, but facilities for children in the schools have only increased for less than 10,000, leaving out of the schools over 250,000 children. In accordance with the increase of business and richness of the island we should have about 300,000 children in the schools, but the silent opposition and invisible powers prevent the people of Porto Rico from getting justice.

Conclusion

The Governor of Porto Rico, as well as the other officials, should be elected by the people of Porto Rico.

We maintain that the fundamental right of these island people is that each member of the community should have an opportunity to insure his well-being and, further, that the laws should compel the government to defend the masses against exploitation.

In conclusion I should say that a system of hygiene or sanitation has been installed by law, but it has not been enforced by executive offices. School children in rural districts have not benefited from sanitary regulations.

The terrible curse of absentee landlordism cuts deeply into the economic heart of Porto Rico. Hundreds of thousands of the most fertile acres are owned by non-residents. As quickly as the rich crops are collected they are taken out of the country, and the immense supply of sugar, tobacco and almost infinite source of wealth is lost to the island forever.

The labor movement of Porto Rico has made great progress and is fast becoming an important influence in the destinies of the people. It will do its part until we can get standards of living and the civilized conditions that modern times and the epoch are bringing to every people in the world. The workmen of Porto Rico are being led and trained into the practice of national as well as international solidarity.

REPORT OF A. F. of L. COMMISSIONERS, PETER J. BRADY AND ANTHONY McANDREW, ON CONDITIONS IN PORTO RICO

Under authority of resolutions and action taken at the St. Paul and Atlantic City conventions of the American Federation of Labor, you appointed us to conduct an investigation into the working and living conditions of the Porto Rican people, and into the numerous complaints that had been made by the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico against Governor Yager, the police, the judiciary, and other governmental officials, in aiding and assisting the employers and corporations to break strikes, oppress the workers and deny to the Porto Rican people their constitutional rights to

peaceful assemblage, free speech, the right to use the public highways, the right to parade, the right to petition, and to look into the failure of the Porto Rican legislature to enact and provide for the enforcement of legislation which would afford every constitutional protection for the Porto Rican people.

Your commission has made a most careful and searching investigation into the working and living conditions of the Porto Rican people, and into the many complaints of the unfair treatment these people have received from the police, the judiciary, and other public and governmental officials, and we find their complaints more than justified by the evidence submitted, not only to us, but also to the Industrial Relations Commission in 1915. They have received continuous ill-treatment from year to year with greater oppression and curtailment of their rights and denial of their constitutional privileges in more subtle and practical ways than ever before. And the failure of the government to give the workers protection or to make any serious effort to relieve their misery has made their heartless employers bolder than ever before, with the result that the years 1918 and 1919, and January and February of this year, 1920, surpass all others in the oppression and ill-treatment of the workers by the police and other governmental officials, and the open defiance of all the laws of the land by the sugar interests.

We found the government of Porto Rico almost helpless, or unwilling and unable to do anything effective to either help or give protection to the men, women and children toilers from cruel and inhuman exploitation by the corporations and other employers. All the evidence we secured will tend to show that the working people of Porto Rico can not expect either protection or relief from the present officials in charge of its public affairs.

To talk about democracy, freedom, and liberty to the Porto Rican workers, and to say to them that the United States government has taken over the Island of Porto Rico for that purpose, results in the statement being received with suspicion, derision and ridicule, and our administration of the Island's affairs, through the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, is creating for the United States government everlasting enemies within our own gates, which will take very radical legislation and administrative changes to eradicate and prove to the Porto Rican people that the promises made at the time they were freed from the Spanish yoke were made in good faith and will ultimately be carried out.

The failure of the government officials and the legislature of Porto Rico to fully realize their obligations, responsibilities, and duties to all the Porto Rican people as an integral part of the United States is making our system of government a mockery, a sham, and a delusion, and is giving the United States a bad reputation with other South American countries.

In a letter written to Acting Governor Benedicto, we described Porto Rico as a "living graveyard," and our careful study and investigation proves that it is everything which that term implies. Everywhere in Porto Rico, whether in the hills, the low lands, the cities, or in the coffee, tobacco, and enormously rich sugar districts, you will find starving men, women and children, who are unable to get sufficient employment to earn enough money for the barest necessities of life. When they do get employment they are compelled to work for such low wages, and such long hours, that they are living in a state of continuous starvation, suffering, and want and can not send their children to school for lack of clothing or food.

The corporations and unfair employers are permitted to exploit these poor people to the limit; they are denied all right to hold protest meetings and parades, or the use of the roads and the public highways to and from their homes. They are beaten, evicted, and arrested without due procedure of law. The sugar interests seem to dominate the entire Porto Rican situation and they have defied and successfully ignored every law of the land, every law of the United States, and the laws of God and humanity. These people are so poor that a per capita valuation of their entire personal property, including their clothing, would not reach the sum of three dollars.

Upon our arrival we found the workers in the sugar districts endeavoring to meet with their employers in conference. In a few instances they were successful, but the largest companies, Guanica (formerly a German concern), Agguire, Fajardo, and the

Georgetti (he is a member of the Porto Rico Senate) interests ignored them entirely.

The above mentioned companies are the most bitter and vicious in their opposition to the unions of the workers, and they leave no stone unturned in their attacks on trade unions. They feel secure in this attitude, for apparently they find no difficulty in getting the police and other public officials to anticipate their wishes by interfering with and suppressing the workers in every possible way. The Guanica, Agguire, Fajardo, and Georgetti interests are so large, and their influence in Porto Rico and the United States is supposed to be so great, that all others in the sugar industry, with a few exceptions, are afraid to incur their ill-will, and it is in their districts that the laws are most flagrantly violated, and where the public officials and merchants, who are suspected of being in sympathy with the strikers, are terrorized and intimidated by these companies and their representatives, who overlook no person that may be suspected of sympathy with the working people. No person is safe upon the public highways that are adjacent to or pass through their properties.

After devoting three weeks to a careful study of the working and living conditions of the Porto Rican workers, especially in the districts where strikes were in progress, and after taking personal testimony from many hundred witnesses and seeing the unfair attitude of the corporations and employers towards their striking employes, we requested the acting governor, Hon. Jose Benedicto, to call the representatives of the sugar interests into conference and to use his good offices as governor to urge these lawless sugar barons to enter into a fair and just agreement.

We requested that the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico be asked by the governor to appoint a committee to cooperate with him and other government officials in promoting a harmonious relationship between the sugar interests and their unfortunate starving men, women and children employes.

The acting governor called the sugar interests to a meeting, but they flatly refused to enter into any relationship whatever with the trade unions of Porto Rico, defied the government to interfere with their unlawful practices, and denounced the A. F. of L. and its representatives. These companies assume the attitude that they are lords and masters of all they survey, that their ownership of the land and control of their employes is by divine right, and by their flagrant defiance of the law, order and constitutional rights they dominate the government and employers of Porto Rico.

We found the Porto Rican people to be peaceful and law-abiding under the most trying circumstances of bull-dozing, terrorism, and intimidation. The workers are denied their constitutional rights and the ordinary procedure of the courts; their leaders are arrested on the most flimsy charges and are then given outrageous and excessive fines and sentences.

The police issue a proclamation that there shall be no parades, which is a clever way to prevent the people from coming to meetings, for if any two, or three, or greater number appear on the highways to come to meetings, they are arrested. They are never charged with violating the parade or proclamation order; it is always some other charge of riot or disorder, or interfering with policemen or other public officials, for the public officials know that an arrest under the proclamation will not stand the test in court. In most cases the people on their way to meetings are ordered home, and if they do not obey they are beaten up. Arrests are only made when the police can not avoid them. When it is considered that enormous numbers, estimated at over 150,000 persons, were on strike this year, there has been very little trouble, because at every meeting the leaders warned the strikers to be careful, as the secret agents and emissaries of the employers and corporations would make every effort to break the strike, destroy their unions, and bring discredit upon the A. F. of L. by urging and inciting the strikers to riot, disorder, and destruction of property, and by attacks upon their officers and leaders.

The men, women, and children of Porto Rico are employed at such low wages that it is impossible to secure the barest necessities of life. We found men being paid as low as 30 cents for a ten-hour day, and women and children less. On account of lack of proper food and clothing and shelter, tuberculosis, hookworm, and many other contagious and dangerous diseases are ravaging the entire country. Unless radical steps are taken to wipe out this menace, these diseases will find their way into the

United States in the material, goods, and manufactured products coming from Porto Rico.

The people of Porto Rico receive very little medical attention and are so poor they can not get to or consult doctors. The unionist party, which is in control of Porto Rican affairs, is entirely responsible for this inhuman condition because of its failure to provide the necessary relief by proper appropriations. The people are not only paid low wages, but in many cases they are the victims of the company store. They are paid in script, or company money, with the result that they are always in debt for goods and food of the poorest quality.

The educational facilities are deplorable; at least 150,000 children are without opportunities for education on account of the failure of the Porto Rican legislature to provide schools, equipment, and teachers. The educational situation is getting continuously worse; the amount of illiteracy is enormous, and no effort is being made to enforce the educational laws. The child labor laws are almost completely ignored. The larger the employer, or the corporation, the more flagrant the disregard of the laws—children of from seven to fifteen years working in factories, in the cane fields, and on the coffee plantations.

There is a minimum wage law for women and minors of \$1 per day, which is observed in a few places; in other places employers, in order to evade the law, closed their factories and sent the work to the homes. There is no law against home work, and women and girls in a few instances testified that in working from early morning until late at night on lace work, sewing and embroidery, they can not earn more than 25 or 30 cents a day.

Porto Ricans are a landless people. All the fertile and productive land being under the control of large land owners. The homestead law, passed with the intention of providing land and homes for the people, has never been put into effect. For some reason the government has made no effort to give the people advantage of this opportunity, and in any event the enormous majority of the people are too poor to take advantage of it. The housing conditions of the poor people are so bad they are beyond description. The agricultural workers live in shacks which they are permitted to build on their employer's property, usually without even partitions. Families of five, six, seven, and sometimes more, occupy these shacks. They must work for the owner of the property at the low wage he chooses to give or they are evicted. The conditions under which these people live are a constant menace, not only to their health, but also to every sense of privacy and decency. The result is there is no incentive to erect a substantial home, or to improve the existing home or the land in any way. The laborers in the cities are just as badly off as those in the rural sections. Rents are almost prohibitive, and while the government is fully acquainted with this situation, nothing is done to relieve the intolerable conditions. Unemployment is the curse of Porto Rico. There are always thousands out of employment. Employers take advantage of the situation. Under the present agricultural and industrial conditions of Porto Rico, there will always be an enormous over-supply of labor, slowly but surely starving, and with the miserably low wages paid not even those lucky enough to get employment are able to get sufficient food to keep body and soul together.

The employment that is provided is seasonal when the sugar, tobacco, and coffee crops have to be gathered and prepared for market. One woman who was asked how the workers lived after the season's work was over replied that "God only knows." There is a law on the statute books of Porto Rico, which, if enforced, would bring some relief to those poor people as it positively prohibits any person, company, or corporation from owning or holding more than 500 acres of land. No attempt has been made to enforce this law and it is violated in the most outrageous fashion.

In order to offset the splendid work being done by the A. F. of L. through the Porto Rico branch, which is known as the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico, the leaders of the unionist political party organized a fake labor organization and have since made every effort to create dissension and to destroy the legitimate unions. They have failed in every attempt, so that now their fake labor organization is on its last legs, and is only used for political camouflage.

Sugar is king in Porto Rico. The corporations, drunk with prestige and power,

and the enormous and extortionate profits they have derived as a result of the war, apparently dominate all legislation. Either the corporation representatives or large holders of sugar property are members of the Porto Rico legislature, especially Senator Georgetti, who has refused at all times to treat with the trade union representatives, and has joined issues in the fight against the unions with Guanica, Aguirre, and Fajardo sugar interests. These are the largest companies in Porto Rico. Corporation and capitalistic control of the legislature is so great that they adopted an income tax law for Porto Rico that is so favorable to the moneyed interests in the provisions for taxes on large incomes, excess profits, and surtaxes, that companies, individuals, and corporations registered in the United States for millions of dollars are now reorganizing under other names in Porto Rico, dissolving their registration and incorporation in the United States and using their newly organized Porto Rico name and registration to evade the more equitable United States income tax and to take advantage of the favorable tax law passed for their benefit in Porto Rico.

Congress should be urged to conduct an investigation into the adoption of this income tax law in Porto Rico, which gives people with large incomes and corporations such favorable consideration at the expense of the poorer people.

The United States made a serious mistake by the adoption of the Organic Law of 1915, wherein we gave to the Porto Rican people an opportunity to legislate for themselves and administer much of their own affairs. The exploiters and politicians immediately secured control, due to the poverty and illiteracy of the people. Since the act of 1915 was passed by Congress, the Porto Rico legislature and the unionist party have in every way failed to understand or appreciate the duty and obligation they owe to all the people of Porto Rico and to the United States.

In their administration of Porto Rico they have gone rapidly backward. This is demonstrated by their failure to provide schools, teachers, nurses, doctors, clinics; failure to enforce the laws for child labor, education, minimum wage, workmen's compensation and relief, and the enforcement of factory legislation designed to protect the workers; their failure to put into effect the homestead law, and their failure to prosecute the individuals and corporations holding and controlling over 500 acres of land in violation of law.

The unionist party seems to be entirely under the control of unscrupulous politicians and lawless corporations who are more inhuman in their consideration of the starving people of Porto Rico than the pirates who formerly sailed the Caribbean sea. They are directly responsible for making Porto Rico a "living graveyard" and responsible for its continuance, so that when a hungry Porto Rican workman and his starving family want to place the full responsibility for their deplorable condition they can charge it to the unionist party and the corporations and politicians that control and guide its policy.

In answer to these charges and statements the unionist party leaders will proclaim that they have been maliciously maligned and will point to the laws they placed upon the statute books of Porto Rico for the benefit of the working people. They were never sincere in the adoption of these laws; if they had been, they would also have provided for their enforcement.

For the enforcement of all the labor laws affecting a population of one million four hundred thousand (1,400,000) there are only seven persons, including the head of the labor bureau, the office staff, and the field inspection force. The unionist party never intended to enforce these laws; they were merely passed in order to give their campaign orators something to fool the people with at election times, and also fool the members of Congress and other statesmen from the United States who visit Porto Rico from time to time.

No congressional committee or individual member of Congress, Federal official, or prominent citizen of the United States ever got a chance to see the real condition in Porto Rico. From the time they get off the boat until they leave they are continuously surrounded with a series of social functions, afternoon receptions, and teas, dinners, and banquets in the evening. They are taken out on automobile trips to many points of interest; are shown the fertile and well cultivated fields, the growing tobacco on the hillsides, the sugar cane in the lowlands, and the coffee and fruit plantations,

which, along with the beautiful tropical scenery and foliage, naturally make a favorable impression on the visitors. But they are never given a chance to see or visit the shacks of the workers and ask them questions; no public reception is provided where these poor unfortunate people can come forward and make their plea for human consideration. In fact, stories are told in Porto Rico that when members of Congress, or Federal officials are taken out on sightseeing tours the poor people along the route are advised not to show themselves as they might arouse the interest and curiosity of the visitors.

The only permanent hope to relieve the deplorable conditions of the Porto Rican people is through their organization into unions. This is being done to a greater extent than ever before. The skilled trades are in fairly good shape, and the agricultural workers have awakened to the possibilities of trades unionism. Their strikes this year were better organized and they met with greater success. They have secured union recognition and the right to bargain collectively from a large number of individuals and corporations that in previous years resorted to every possible method to destroy them. Their solidarity is greater than ever before, and while many corporation and individual employers have not recognized the unions, the toilers have compelled them to raise their wages. It is safe to assume that wages in the sugar industry have been raised 100 per cent this year (1920) over 1919. Of course, the increased pay in the sugar industry has had a corresponding effect for increased pay for the workers in other industries.

Much credit is due to the cigarmakers and other skilled trades unionists of Porto Rico, as it has been mainly through their contributions, donations, and assessments that the fires of hope for justice, fair play, a square deal, and a brighter and better day have been kept burning in the hearts and minds of the men, women, and children toilers of Porto Rico. Through the sacrifices of these unions the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico has been able to send out speakers and organizers to render assistance to their less fortunate brothers in the rural districts.

Of Santiago Iglesias, organizer of the A. F. of L. in Porto Rico, we can not say too much as to his genius for organization, his ability to understand and interpret the wishes and desires of the Porto Rican workers, his knowledge and understanding of the trade union movement, and his political and legislative standing (he is a member of the Porto Rican Senate). He has since the occupation and freedom of Porto Rico by the United States in 1898 labored continuously for the betterment of the Porto Rican workers. For his devotion and sacrifice to the cause of Labor he has been assailed from every quarter but no matter how bitter or unfair the charges, he has not allowed any of them to divert him from the cause of the workers. Not getting any relief through legislative action from the unionist party, he became a candidate for the Senate, was elected, and while unable to secure favorable legislation for the benefit of the workers, he has accomplished much in demonstrating to the workers the insincerity of the political party in power, and he is also awakening a wonderful interest in the minds of the Porto Rican workers in political action, the result of which will be reflected in a way satisfactory to the working people in the next election.

Santiago Iglesias is today the greatest force for law and order in Porto Rico. Through the most troublesome period of the strikes, with thousands out in every part of Porto Rico with the secret agents and other emissaries of the employers, aided in many instances by the police, the district attorneys, local officials, and judges, resorting to every method possible to urge the workers on to riot, disorder, and destruction of property by the eviction of the workers and their families, by the prevention of meetings, parades, and the use of the public highways, the beating up of the strikers, the unfair and unwarranted arrests and prosecutions, the unjustified fines and jail sentences imposed upon the strikers and their leaders, the terrorism and intimidation against the strikers and their families, Santiago Iglesias' advice for peaceful demonstration and respect for law and order was continuously followed.

His advice and counsel and the fact that he represented the A. F. of L., went a long way toward having the strikers refuse to injure their cause by any act that might be construed by the most poisoned judicial imagination as a violation of law. The workers suffered long and patiently and under his advice their solidarity and determination to suffer hunger and want, and their refusal to resent by unlawful acts the most vicious

attacks of the emissaries of the employers, is a great tribute to the ability of Iglesias, not only as a trade union official, but also as a statesman.

Too much can not be said on behalf of the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico, and the officials and members of all local unions for their cooperation and devotion to the cause of the working people.

To P. Rivera Martinez, organizer and representative of the Cigarmakers' International Union, there is due much credit, for through his organizing ability, the cigarmakers have the strongest trade unions in Porto Rico. They have rendered much financial assistance to the agricultural workers by almost continuous assessments and donations. It is only within the last two years they had to fight for eight months to win a strike. Their loyalty to the cause of unionism finally won for them the right to determine their working conditions and wages and their long battle for freedom and democracy in industry has been a very valuable example to the rest of the Porto Rican workers.

There are many other prominent and loyal trade unionists we could mention, but Santiago Iglesias and his able lieutenant, P. Rivera Martinez, stand above all others in their ability and loyalty to the cause of Labor.

After we had made a careful investigation of living and working conditions in Porto Rico, conferred with hundreds of the workers, interviewed managers of corporations, many employers, men in public office, and people otherwise prominent, we wrote letters to Acting Governor Benedicto, calling attention to the seriousness of the situation and asking him to use the power of his high office to get some adjustment and relief.

We also wrote to the Sugar Growers' Association asking for a conference but they ignored our letter and request entirely.

Then a letter was sent to twelve of the most prominent leaders in the unionist and republican parties, calling their attention to the bad conditions and asking what plans they had suggested for solving them. The republicans have sent a joint reply, while the only acknowledgment we received from the unionist party, who are in power at present, was public denunciation for coming to Porto Rico. The papers printed in Spanish, we were informed, were equally bitter in the attacks made upon us, while the papers printed in English—*The Porto Rico Times*, and the *Porto Rico Progress*, which is a weekly published by the correspondent of the Associated Press—both gave wide publicity to our statements and charges about the neglect and unfair treatment of the men, women, and children of Porto Rico. In their editorial comments they justified nearly every statement we made.

On our return from Santo Domingo we were summoned to the governor's palace to see Acting Governor Benedicto, who informed us we could not go out into the strike districts to confer with the strikers, and that if we insisted we would be sent out of the Island of Porto Rico. We demanded to know by what authority the acting governor was assuming such an attitude and asked for the evidence upon which he based such a statement and which would justify such arbitrary and unfair action. This he would not give us. We then had this matter taken up with Governor Yager, who also stated we could not go out to confer with the strikers. Then it became necessary to inform both the governor and the acting governor that they might have the power but they did not have the authority to deport us; that we would insist upon going out to confer and advise with the strikers, gave them a list of the places we intended to visit and started out the next morning for the strike districts. But, in the meantime, the governor let it be known that we would not be interfered with.

It was very evident that our letters to the acting governor and to the six republicans and six unionists, along with the publicity they had received, and the encouragement our appearance had given to the strikers in other districts, had so affected the corporations' representatives that they made demands for our deportation, and also demanded that we be prevented from going into the districts where strikes existed. However, our determination to uphold the principles of the A. F. of L., no matter what the cost, won for us a complete vindication, and we are sure that our appearance and talks before the strikers and their families in every city, town, and district where a strike was then in effect had good results by giving to the workers more courage, hope, and determination to continue until they won greater consideration from their employers. As the effort to prevent our appearance among them was given wide publicity, our appearance was hailed as a victory for the unions of Porto Rico, and one which only the A. F. of L. could effect.

It was a distinct defeat for the employers' and corporation representatives, who were so loudly clamoring for our removal, and who evidently had succeeded in getting the governor and the acting governor, on the unfair representations they had made, to agree to prevent our appearance among the strikers. It is regretted that either the governor or the acting governor would arrive at such an unfair decision without evidence to justify it, and without giving us an opportunity to place before them our side of the case, and a chance to answer any charges made against us.

We are sure that our visit and investigation have had splendid results in giving courage and hope to the Porto Rican toilers. Our personal appearance in the strike districts to hear their complaints about the inhuman and unfair treatment they received from their employers in low wages, long hours, sickness and want, hunger and poverty, evictions, and beating, and in many cases from the police, local officials, district attorneys, and judges, made them realize that the A. F. of L. was interested in their welfare and would do everything possible to render assistance and relief from the deplorable state in which they now exist.

For many years the Porto Rican workers have been expecting an investigation by Congress, a commission appointed by President Wilson, a committee from the War Labor Board, a sub-committee from the Industrial Relations Commission, representatives of the War Department, and many other governmental agencies to come to Porto Rico to look carefully into conditions and make a report that would give these poor people some relief and hope.

It has remained for the A. F. of L. to take the initiative by appointing this commission to visit Porto Rico, look into conditions, and confer with the people. We visited and spoke to the people in over seventy cities, towns, and villages, in the plazas and meeting halls, on street corners and at crossroads; took personal testimony from over 500 men, women and children, village, city, and state officials, employers, and people in all walks of life, and without exception, they all deplored the present condition and agreed that something must be done, and done quickly, in order to save the Porto Rican people from a "living death."

We make the following recommendations which in our opinion will bring great relief to the people of Porto Rico and will go a long way towards solving their most pressing problems; viz, the enormous over-supply of labor and the over-population of the island in proportion to its present agricultural and industrial development.

1. The transfer of the administration of Porto Rico from the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department to the Department of the Interior.
2. Congressional investigation of the administration of Porto Rico by the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.
3. Demand for the general introduction of a maximum eight-hour day for men, women and children as a means of providing employment and relieving the enormous over-supply of labor.
4. The establishment of a minimum wage for all women and children.
5. That all child labor under 16 be prohibited, and also the employment of children up to 18 years unless they have been graduated from an elementary school; the establishment of compulsory continuation schools for all children up to 18 years; that the American language only be used by all public officers and taught as the principal language in all grades of the schools.
6. The establishment of sufficient schools with every necessary facility and equipment to provide accommodations for every child; erection of additional high schools and schools for industrial and vocational training for boys and girls up to 18 years of age; increased pay for teachers, scholarships for school children who are graduates of elementary and high schools to come to the United States for additional education; lunches to be provided in the schools for the purpose of giving the children nourishing food and demonstrating food values.
7. Establishment of children's courts to care for and handle all kinds of juvenile delinquency; adoption of a system of physical training in health and careful living for all boys up to 21, and girls up to 18 years of age.
8. An amendment to the Porto Rico laws to declare that the labor of a

human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and a law limiting the use of injunctions in strikes and other industrial disputes and prohibiting women from being employed at night and in occupations which may be injurious to their health; elimination of the present sweatshop and unsanitary methods of home-work, on lace, embroidery, drawn work, sewing, and hats which should be done in well-ventilated and sanitary factories. The adoption of a law which will keep women out of the fields and the factories who have other means of support and who would not become a public charge, if denied employment, so that mothers could stay home to look after the children.

9. Enforcement of the law and prosecution of individuals, companies, and corporations for violating the law against the importation of strike-breakers. Appointment of inspectors, experts, and office employes in sufficient numbers to efficiently enforce all the laws for the protection of working men, women and children. Extension of the workmen's compensation and relief law to occupational diseases and establishment of training schools for those crippled in and out of industry.

10. Establishment of a pension for maintenance of widows, children, cripples, and old people having no other means of support.

11. Prisoners and inmates of other state institutions to be used on government farms and in industries for the purpose of training them in agricultural and industrial vocations and for the raising of foodstuffs and the manufacture of equipment and supplies for the maintenance of themselves and the inmates of other eleemosynary institutions; people so employed to be paid for services rendered.

12. Immediate enforcement and application of the Homestead law which will give the people a chance to own their own homes and some land on a self-supporting basis, and enforcement of the law which prohibits individuals, companies, and corporations from owning and controlling more than 500 acres of land; prosecution of all those who have violated its provisions with confiscation to the state of all land they have bought or over which they have secured control since the law was adopted. State-owned lands to be drained, cleared off, and prepared for cultivation under the direction of the Mayaguez agricultural experimental station as a demonstration of the foodstuffs and other products which can be successfully grown and marketed in Porto Rico and for export; this demonstration to be used in such a way as to point out the success and efficiency and community benefits of the small farm and home.

13. Establishment of municipal markets in city, town, and village as a means toward reducing the high cost of living.

14. Enactment of laws which will give the policemen of Porto Rico a living wage, and provide them with uniforms and equipment. The erection of barracks and the necessary jails so that the enforcement of law will be fair and impartial, and they no longer will be obliged to sleep and eat on corporation premises or depend upon employers for the use of horses and automobiles when strikes exist.

15. Amendment to the federal law which will give Porto Rico the benefits of rural credits and vocational and industrial education aid. Amendments to income tax laws by increasing the rates on excess profits, large incomes, and inheritances in such a way as to put the expense of maintaining the island upon those best able to bear it, and especially those companies, corporations, and individuals outside the Island of Porto Rico.

16. A complete survey of the agricultural and industrial resources and possibilities, the health and education, and living and working conditions of Porto Rico and its people, to the end that a plan may be adopted to provide continuous employment and give to every person a chance to live in decency and comfort.

17. That a special session of the Porto Rico legislature be urged to immediately convene and give favorable action to this program for securing relief for the starving and neglected Porto Rican people. If these recommendations

do not receive immediate attention and favorable consideration by the Porto Rico legislature that the United States suspend the Organic Act of 1915, and establish a receivership for Porto Rico.

18. That all international unions, the jurisdiction of which would extend to industries and occupations in Porto Rico, be urged to join with the A. F. of L. and Free Federation of Labor in Porto Rico to assign organizers and representatives for a labor forward movement to thoroughly organize the working people of Porto Rico so that they may be able to protect themselves from the inhuman treatment they now receive at the hands of unfair employers, and biased and prejudiced public officials.

Your commission made a searching inquiry into the working and living conditions of the people of Porto Rico and their just complaints against the police, judges, district attorneys, and other public officials, and we have secured a great amount of evidence, both oral and documentary, which can be submitted in support of our findings and recommendations.

REPORT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR COMMISSIONERS, PETER J BRADY AND ANTHONY McANDREW, ON CONDITIONS IN SANTO DOMINGO

Pursuant to appointment and instructions as Commissioners of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of investigating:

1. The working and living conditions of the Dominican people.
2. The growth and progress of the Dominican Federation of Labor.
3. The complaints made to the convention of the Pan-American Labor Conference in New York City, July, 1919, against the administration of Dominican affairs by the United States Military occupation of the Dominican Republic.

We arrived in Santo Domingo on January 27, and were received with a very enthusiastic public demonstration and parade of the trade unionists of Santo Domingo City, capital of the Dominican Republic, which was repeated in all the other cities we visited: San-Pedro de Macoris, Sanchez, San-Francesco de Macoris, La Vega, Moca, Santiago, Puerta Plata, Azua and Barahona, which are the principal cities of Santo Domingo.

At every meeting, conference, gathering and interview the desire and wish of the Dominican people for the freedom of their country was asked for, and this was emphasized as their uppermost and dominating thought. We conferred with people in all walks of life, and almost without exception they were all of the opinion that, while the United States government might have had good and sufficient reasons for the military occupation in 1916, either diplomatic or otherwise, and for its continuance as a matter of protection for the United States and the Panama Canal, against the central powers of Europe during the war, this necessity no longer exists.

The Dominican Federation of Labor we find to be a practically new organization. While there was evidence of unions being organized from 1900 on, it was only in 1915 that the present Dominican Federation of Labor was organized. At present unions are organized in the following crafts: Shoemakers, cigarmakers, carpenters, machinists, painters, bakers, cab drivers, teamsters, dock workers, farm laborers, tailors, printers, retail clerks, matchmakers, tobacco workers, butchers, cattle drivers, jewelers, surveyors, bricklayers and masons and others. Their total membership is twenty-seven hundred (2,700).

All local union charters are issued direct from the Dominican Federation of Labor, and unions in the same craft do not maintain a separate union along any line similar to the charters and autonomy issued to international unions by the A. F. of L.

Central labor bodies are organized in all the principal cities and provinces. The finances of the federation are provided by charter fees and twenty-five (25%) per cent of all the dues paid by each trade unionist. The central labor bodies receive twenty-five (25%) per cent of the dues paid by all local members which leaves to each union 50 per cent of all dues collected.

Ten (10) hours is the prevailing day's work for men, women and children, except for

government employes where the custom is eight (8) hours. It is only lately, and in fact in some cases during our visit, that the eight-hour day with time and one-half for overtime was put into effect for some government employes.

The wages paid in every occupation are miserably low, the prevailing rates for the agricultural, farm, and unskilled labor ranging from 30 to 50 cents per day. The military government is now paying 80 cents, and in some sections where labor is scarce the workers are paid 80 cents to \$1; but these places are few.

The Dominican Federation of Labor is justified in its complaint against immigration, for laborers procured from the English West Indies and Haiti are brought in on public contracts and for the sugar plantations at very low rates of pay, few getting as high as 80 cents, and most of them much less. In many cases they are housed and fed on company property and have to work eleven and twelve hours a day. After the seasonal work, or after the contract is completed, they are returned to their own country. This system should not be permitted to continue, for if the sugar interests of Santo Domingo and the contractors on public works and other employers using immigrant and contract labor are prevented from securing help in this way they will meet the demands of the Dominican working people for a wage sufficient to keep themselves and their families in decency and comfort.

It is the contention—and not without, in many instances, ample justification—that the standards of living of these immigrants are far below those of the Dominican workers. And they are justified in their protests against immigration for the additional reason that the wage paid immigrant and contract labor is not even sufficient for the individual. The military government should not permit any worker to come from any country to work under contract for any wage unless such wage is based upon a decent standard of living for a family, and then only after it has been conclusively proven that labor can not be procured in Santo Domingo.

The rates of pay for skilled labor are somewhat higher, and while most of these unions have neither recognition nor agreements with their employers, the very fact that they are organized is showing results in the better treatment and wages they receive—the latter being from \$1 to \$3 for a workday of ten hours. The higher wage is rare, and practically all workers are paid according to the employer's judgment of their individual ability and their own success in forcing better wages. Union labor up to the present has received little recognition from the employers, who carry on a bitter and aggressive warfare against every effort to organize and in any way secure improved working conditions and wages. The large sugar interests are the most vicious in their efforts to destroy the unions, resorting to every method to prevent organization among their employes, and overlooking no opportunity to bring discredit upon the trade union movement.

Some employers have been likened to feudal lords in their treatment of the men, women and children on their plantations. They are accused of maintaining private police forces, of having their own jails, and meting out their own ideas of justice. They are grabbing land in every direction, adding to their already enormous holdings, and if steps are not taken soon to get back some of this land the Dominican people will be landless and at the mercy of these selfish and greedy interests.

Then the lot of the Dominican toilers will be even worse than the starving people of Porto Rico who are almost without a future, and almost without hope, due entirely to the land grabbing of the sugar interests, for many of the sugar interests which so ruthlessly exploit the Porto Rican workers follow the same practices, on a larger scale, in Santo Domingo.

The sugar interest should be regulated and controlled, and further efforts on their part to secure additional land should be prevented at least during the military occupation by the United States. One of the companies is now reported to own and control almost 300,000 acres, and another over 50,000 acres, with both of them reaching out for all the land they can get. It might be a good plan to have an investigation made as to how these companies and other sugar interests acquired their holdings, particularly as clear land titles have been a very doubtful thing in the past. It has been said that the land has been taken and is held more by force than by legal process, and a careful and rigid investigation would at least allay the suspicion in the minds of the Dominican people as to where

the responsibility for these concessions lies. Now that the Dominican people are beginning to realize that freedom, and particularly industrial freedom, lies in their own efforts, an investigation would point out to them the defects of the past and the solution of many problems of the future.

Mercantile employes—clerks, salesmen, bookkeepers, salesladies, and house workers and domestic help of all kinds—are paid very low wages, so that it might be advisable for the military government to issue a decree stating that eight (8) hours and a wage of \$2.50 should constitute the minimum at which any able-bodied person could be employed. It is the popular opinion in the United States that the Dominican laborer does not have to work in order to secure food enough to live. This is a mistaken impression. Farms or land where native food grows in such abundance are the exception and nearly all of the people have either to purchase or raise all the food they use. On the farms, plantations, and public work contracts where the laborers are fed and housed, we were informed that food is not abundant nor of the most nourishing kind.

In San Domingo City the Central Labor Body presented to us a petition of the reforms and changes they desired, and in all the other cities visited by us we received similar petitions. Many others we received by mail. It was suggested that many of the changes desired could be taken up with Admiral Thomas Snowden, who is acting as the military governor of Santo Domingo. We therefore prepared a number of recommendations which follow, together with the answers of Admiral Snowden to each one.

Recommendations Made by P. J. Brady and A. McAndrew, Commissioners of the American Federation of Labor, Appointed by President Gompers to Investigate Working and Living Conditions in the Dominican Republic, to Admiral Snowden, Military Governor of Santo Domingo, and His Replies Thereto.

1. The appointment of a committee by the Military Governor from the Dominican Federation of Labor to assist and cooperate with the Military Government in the preparation, enactment and application of the following program, not only for the benefit of the Dominican working people, but so that a stronger friendship will be made between the Dominican people and the United States government and the Dominican Federation of Labor and the A. F. of L. and for the promotion of joint cooperation between the employers through their associations and their employes through their unions in the operation of mutually beneficial agreements.

A committee has been nominated by the Dominican Federation of Labor to confer with a committee on the part of the government and the combined committee will act under the general supervision of the Labor Bureau of the Department of the Interior.

2. The establishment of the eight-hour day for all civil service and other public service employes.

An eight-hour day with pay for time and one-half in case of overtime work is now in force by administrative regulation covering the Public Works and the Dominican Central Railroad. Public office employes only work from five to six and a half hours at present. This seems to be too little, but it is due to considerations of climate.

Working hours in private employ will improve due to the example and efforts of the government, but this will require time.

3. A wage sufficient to give the civil service and other public service employes an opportunity to support themselves and their families in decency, health and comfort.

The wage question is constantly improving; in fact, the labor unions are using every effort to force wages away beyond the economic possibility, but no doubt a just means will be arrived at. It would be better if their demands were less exacting and to let time gradually increase the wage instead of seeking an unnatural and inequitable jump in labor wages.

4. The adoption of the principle of the eight-hour day for all private employers with time and one-half for overtime, especially in the sugar industry, where the wages

paid are outrageously low and in violation of all the laws of humanity, as the sugar interests are exploiting the workers and gouging the consumers.

The government will use its best efforts to urge private employers to adopt the eight-hour day with time and a half for overtime and no doubt the example and encouragement of the government will tend to improve this condition, but this will require a little time, as it must come somewhat gradually. It is believed to be true that at present the sugar industry is not dealing fairly with either the laborers or consumers. The nation has a paramount proprietorship in the land and it is not equitable for foreigners to exploit the land for their own interest and to also exploit the nation.

5. The establishment of a living wage for all the workers of the Dominican Republic and especially in the sugar industry and industries of a similar nature, where the wage rate is established by the importation of cheap labor from other countries to the demoralization and detriment of the Dominican people and seriously interfering with their development and progress.

It is not a fact that cheap labor is imported to the detriment of the Dominican laborer. We try to get Dominican labor and only import foreign labor when the available amount of Dominican labor will not fill our unavoidable requirements. We prefer Dominican labor to foreign labor, as it is national and more intelligent and efficient. The amount of Dominican labor available is insufficient to meet the large demand and even the government is forced to import Haitian labor and labor from the neighboring British Islands to work on the national public works.

Private employers will be encouraged to employ Dominicans when available and no doubt the improvement in laborers' living conditions which is part of the government's policy will tend to this end.

6. The elimination of any tariff or customs duties on food, clothing, etc., and if necessary to make up any deficit caused by this reduction, to place it on imported machinery or exported sugar.

To tax imported machinery is to hinder development and production. The tariff on foodstuffs has already been reduced where the reduction would help the consumer. No further reduction at present is practicable. Frequent tariff legislation upsets business and is undesirable. No doubt a further reduction of duties on food articles will be made when an income or other new taxes can be laid.

7. The appointment of a "fair price" committee to regulate the selling price to the consumers of food and other necessities of life.

It is believed that fair price recommendations would have no effect on Dominican merchants; direct competition is the only way to reach them, and regulation by law is too difficult of enforcement. This question has been the subject of much study by the government which has tried several methods of forcing this. In the interests of the poorer classes, the government has opened a store where the prime necessities of the poor are sold at cost, and it is hoped that this will have a tendency to lower general prices or at least to check the increase.

8. The adoption of a compulsory education school law that will keep the children in school until they have reached the age of 16 years or until they have at least graduated from an elementary school.

There is now in effect a compulsory education school law, promulgated soon after the establishment of the Military Government, and it has been vigorously enforced.

The age of 14 years is fixed in said law and children of above that age are encouraged to continue in school. Of course, from the point of view of

educational needs it is desirable to extend the age limit above 14 years; some educationalists hold that it should go as far as 18 years, because, they say adolescence may extend to that age and adolescence is a period of life which every human being ought to expend in acquiring an education, but it is the opinion of the educationalists of this country that social conditions here require 14 years as the limit for compulsory attendance. The main trouble is that children after 12 years of age are needed to help support the family; in many cases the school authorities have been compelled to waive the school obligation for children under 14, because they are needed for work at home. With the age limit as it stands now we have about 100,000 children without schools for lack of funds; if we add two more years to the compulsory school attendance period, naturally the time when those who are at present out of school shall be provided educational facilities would be retarded, for it would be necessary to meet new problems in the existing schools before new ones could be opened. The conditions of lack of schools to cover all children of school age is being met as rapidly as funds and teachers can be provided.

9. The establishment of compulsory continuation schools for all children up to 18 years for at least 8 hours a week, the courses of study to be vocational, industrial and agricultural, and such as will give to the pupils every opportunity to take advantage of and develop the resources of the Dominican Republic.

It is admitted that continuation schools offering vocational training would be greatly beneficial to the Dominican people. But no child can enter a continuation school until it has completed its elementary schooling. Until sufficient elementary schools are provided for all children of school age, it would be a bad and an unjust policy to devote any part of the school money to continuation schools.

10. The establishment of night schools for illiterates and the creation of courses of study in mechanics, arts and sciences for adults, so they may become better artisans and also receive such other information on the duties of citizenship and the functions of government as will fit them for higher and richer opportunities, and the responsibilities of a nation.

The above remarks cover the establishment of night schools for illiterates and courses for adults in mechanics. These matters will be taken in hand as soon as practicable.

11. The adoption of a workman's relief or compensation law which will afford medical and surgical treatment and wages paid to those workers injured or becoming sick due to causes inherent in the occupation, this workman's relief insurance to be administered as a state fund, but that it be carried as special taxes against the occupations insured, according to their several classified risks.

The government is now collecting information from the best sources with a view to enacting well founded laws covering workmen's relief or compensation laws and kindred laws for the betterment of labor conditions.

12. The establishment of a rehabilitation and training school for those people injured while working or otherwise that will fit them for some occupation that will give them a chance to earn a decent living without suffering as a result of this injury, or leaving them to become beggars or dependent on charity.

The remarks of paragraphs 9 and 10 cover the prescriptions of this article. These activities will be taken up as soon as it is practicable to do so.

13. The establishment of a minimum wage law for women and children in all gainful occupations. The limiting of their hours of employment and the protection of women workers before and after childbirth.

The question of a minimum wage law for men, women and children has

been in contemplation for some time. It has met with serious opposition from persons consulted by the government, but it is believed that it will come in a short time. It is somewhat tied up with the general wage question, which is in a state of evolution towards better compensation.

14. The adoption of a sanitary program that will provide sufficient health officers and nurses to adequately take care of the general health and the living conditions of all the people in the cities and rural districts.

A new sanitary law has recently been promulgated and a sanitary program covering the entire country has been begun to function. This will comprise the provisions of health officers and nurses and take care of health and living conditions generally. The program is being expanded as rapidly as possible. The American Red Cross and the Rockefeller Institute have promised aid in these directions.

15. The promotion of a regular system of health supervision for all the school children either by regular nurses and dentists, doctors, and optical specialists, or by resident members of these professions, so that physical defects may be discovered and remedied as soon as possible.

We have medical supervision of school children in some of the more important comunas; it is considered advisable and as rapidly as possible this service will be extended to cover all schools.

16. The enactment of labor laws that will protect the working people in all lines of employment against injury and occupational diseases.

The remarks under paragraph 11 cover this question. This recommendation will be attended to during the enactment of general labor laws.

17. The enforcement of the immigration laws of the Dominican Republic and exemptions permitted only when such immigration will not be detrimental to the working and living conditions of the Dominican workers.

The immigration laws of the Republic are now being enforced and other laws have been recently enacted to restrict the entrance of undesirable elements.

18. The right of unions to strike if necessary in order to secure a just wage and fair treatment from their employers.

The right of unions to strike is not recognized by Dominican law. The right of any man to work or not as he desires is recognized, but they must not interfere with the progress of any work or with other laborers engaged on it. Both employers and employes must submit their controversies to an impartial tribunal.

19. The preparation of rules and regulations for the conduct of pickets and the conduct of strikes or of lockouts by employes.

Pickets, strikes, and lockouts are not favored. These questions should be handled through boards of arbitration and conciliation. These questions will ultimately be settled by courts of industrial relations. ■

20. Rules and regulations defining the rights and the constitutional privilege of unions and their members of free speech, assemblage, and publicity and peaceful demonstration by parades, petitions and meetings and the right to organize into unions.

Unions and their members have now the right of free speech, assemblage, publicity and peaceful demonstrations by parades, petitions and meetings and the right to organize into unions. This, however, is such as long as peaceably conducted; the rights of the general public must also be respected.

21. The creation of a bureau of mediation and conciliation and investigation in whatever department of the Dominican Government that should handle labor problems, this department heads and assistants to be persons who have had practical experience as trade unionists and of sufficient standing to have the confidence and be able to secure the cooperation of the employes and their employers, this office to collect statistics having to do with the wages and living conditions of the working people and to recover wage claims for working people and to enforce the laws enacted for the protection of men, women and children in their places of employment.

The creation of a Board of Mediation and Conciliation has been ordered under the Bureau of Labor of the Department of the Interior. This department will at once take under its cognizance all questions between employes and employers and will endeavor to regulate these activities.

22. The adoption of health regulations and sanitary facilities in factories and workshops that will safeguard the health of the workers.

The matter of health regulations and sanitary facilities in factories and workshops that will safeguard the health of the workmen will at once be taken in hand by the Department of Sanitation and Beneficence. This idea is already in effect in some industries.

23. The urging of all industries to organize thoroughly the employers into their association and the employes into their unions, so that the industries may be standardized for efficient production and general conditions of wages and employment and so that capital and labor in any industry may progress together to their mutual advantage and to the benefit of the consumers of their products as a result of efficient management through their mutual cooperation.

The question of the combined organizations of employers and employes for mutual advantage will be favored by the government and steps will be taken to encourage this. In the province of La Vega a similar organization, a union in which the governor and city council join the workmen is being tried.

24. The working out of a plan for the inauguration of a system of income taxes that will secure the greater amounts from those best able to pay it, such as excess profits and the largest incomes and an export tax on the resources of the Dominican Republic that goes to forcing markets.

It is at present not the policy of this government to lay export taxes, but to meet this in other manners. An income tax is now under consideration by the government, but this must await the result of the functioning of the recently inaugurated property tax law. It is not good policy too frequently to add new taxes, but to first see if the people can carry it.

25. The adoption of rules that will keep a percentage of the export products of the Dominican Republic for the use of people at a reasonable price in comparison with production costs instead of foreign market values.

This matter is now in hand by the government. The sugar exporters have been informed that the government would demand a reserve of about ten per cent for the consumption of the Dominican people. The exporters have agreed to sell such amount to the government at New York prices less costs of freight, etc., but the matter is still under negotiation. This intention also covers other exports where a scarcity is likely.

26. The adoption of rules and the necessary changes of laws that will speed up the courts in their consideration of people and cases brought before them for trial.

If necessary ask them to work longer for the time necessary for them to catch up with the cases on hand.

Under the present code of laws and procedure, which is the only code known by the Dominicans, reasonable speed in the trial of cases is now the case. The Department of Justice, through its administrative officers, is gradually overcoming the present delays in bringing cases before the courts for trial. It is firmly believed that in order to thoroughly overcome the very slow court procedure it would be necessary to form a commission of American and Dominican lawyers to study and report on a reorganization of codes and procedures, and this will probably be done. The government has now for over a year been urging on the clearing up of the cases pending before the several courts with some success.

27. The enactment of a law which will declare that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.

The recommendations of this paragraph will be covered in the new labor laws soon to be enacted.

28. The prohibiting of the use of injunction in labor disputes, and the adoption of a law similar to the Clayton Act.

The Clayton Act will be studied. The undersigned is not at present sure that the injunction is not a necessary act of government. At times the injunction supplies the only means by which the interests of the general public can be protected.

29. The enactment of a law which will in every way prevent provinces, cities, towns and districts through their local officials from interfering with the legitimate rights of unions to meet, to strike, to protest, to parade, to petition, and to organize in a lawful peaceful way, for the improvement of their living conditions and the educational advancement.

This question is covered under paragraph 20. The general rules of the Republic permit people and unions to exercise all constitutional rights in a peaceful manner.

30. The removal of any and all United States forces from the property of sugar interests or any other industry to a location where their appearance can not be used by scheming employers and corporation representatives to intimidate the workers, especially those who can not read, and who use the appearance of the troops as a means to keep the workers in subjection and prevent their requests for better wages and improved living conditions, and by this subtle and pernicious practice create everlasting enmities for the United States government.

All United States forces have been removed from the property of sugar interests and other industries.

31. An immediate investigation into the cost of living and working and living conditions of the employes of the sugar interests with the end in view of reducing the cost of foodstuffs, increasing the wages so that the workers can live in health and decency and the compulsory establishment and maintenance by the sugar interests of healthful surroundings and sanitary facilities in the homes and the filthy back yards and streets of their centrales where the exploited workmen and their families live on the property of these companies.

The Board of Mediation and Conciliation or other board under the Department of the Interior will as soon as possible take up the investigation of working and living conditions on the sugar estates.

32. The pushing of all the good roads to an immediate completion at the earliest possible date, the securing of the necessary road building material; rollers, stone crushers, mixers, material and labor and other necessary equipment.

Every effort is being made to push to completion the roads and other public works.

33. Plans for the securing of funds by local assessment, general taxation or a bond issue to meet the additional expenditures needed for these improvements, and developments not only of the roads, highways and railroads but for the educational improvement of the children and the establishment of hospitals, clinics and the training of doctors and nurses to adequately care for the Dominican people.

Funds are being provided for the needs of the general public up to the possibilities without making taxes burdensome. Public instruction can not be rushed beyond a certain rate even if unlimited funds were available, as teachers must also be provided. The establishment of hospitals and clinics and the training of doctors and nurses is being proceeded with.

34. The working out of a plan for the construction and maintenance of the state highways by the state and the giving of state aid to the provinces, the cities, towns, and other political districts for the construction, development and maintenance of the additional highways needed for the growth and facility of the provinces, cities, towns, and districts.

Plans have already been made and are being followed in providing state highways, and state aid is now given to provinces, cities and towns in the construction, development and maintenance of additional highways; but the cities and towns must be self-helpful with their own funds.

35. The erection of two or three colleges for the Dominican school children to which they can be sent and maintained free if they sufficiently advance in their studies to warrant their entrance. This can be done by scholarships and competitive examinations or some other plan.

The erection of two or three colleges for the Dominican school children may be managed in the not distant future, after a complete outfit of primary schools has been provided and the proper intermediate schools have also been provided.

In acting upon all such requests for advanced legislation, it must be borne in mind that the administrative departments must be given the time to catch up with the changes in laws which we have already enacted. We have had a good deal of new legislation the past year for the departments and the people to digest, and our systems are still behind the legislation.

Some time must elapse before all the recommendations contained in this paper can be carried into effect.

The undersigned has endeavored to cover all the points recommended and to show what is now being done and the prospect of an early carrying into effect of recommendations not feasible at the present moment.

(Signed) THOMAS SNOWDEN,
Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy,
Military Governor of Santo Domingo.

It will be noted by Admiral Snowden's replies that our visit to Santo Domingo, and our meetings and conferences with the trade unionists in the many parts of the Republic we visited, are bearing good results.

A committee of the Dominican Federation of Labor is assisting the military government in the formulation of laws for the protection of the workers in their places of employment and in their homes, and our visit has strengthened the cause of trade unionism; our discussions and advice have given new life, new hopes, and greater

impetus to the labor movement, for it will be noted in Admiral Snowden's reply, which is dated two months after our visit to Santo Domingo, that the wage-earners of that country are demanding and insisting on greater and fairer consideration from their employers.

We also had conferences with the military governor and the principal members of his staff, and with the Dominican officials in charge of the various departments, and we received from them every assurance that our recommendations would get immediate consideration. In fact, it was shown to us that many of our recommendations were under consideration, especially workmen's compensation and sick relief, prohibition of child labor and a minimum wage law for women and children.

Every place we went we found a great deal of misunderstanding among trade unionists, relative to the rights of unions under military occupation to hold meetings and parades, to conduct strikes, and to place pickets. We took this matter up first with Admiral Snowden, then with the military commanding officer in every city we visited, and were assured that at no time was there any intention or thought of interfering in any way with the rights and legitimate practices of trade unions. In those places we were able to bring the trade union officials and military officers together for conferences, when local and general matters could be gone over in detail. All these meetings served a good purpose and the hearty response and cooperation given by the military officials to the suggestions of the A. F. of L.'s commissioners we are sure went a long way to dispel from the minds of the Dominican people the idea that the United States was in any way opposed to trade unions or the suspicion that our military occupation of Santo Domingo was to be used to prevent the workers from organizing.

These conferences between the military officers and the trade unions we found necessary for the reason that unfair employers and their emissaries, especially on the sugar plantations, would point to the soldiers and inform their exploited working people that if they would attempt to strike or join a union the military forces would punish them. We are convinced also that bringing the union officials and the military officers together in mutual understanding will go a long way towards cementing a stronger friendship between the peoples of the Dominican Republic and of the United States.

We pointed out to all these trade union officials, and also informed the people generally through meetings and in general talks, that the military officers had no power to leave Santo Domingo, as that was a matter for consideration and for negotiation between the Dominican Republic and the United States government, but that in the meantime, and without in any way jeopardizing their rightful claim for the return of the Dominican Republic to its people, the trade union officials could by cooperation with the military officials help to improve the living conditions of the people. In every instance a successful and harmonious understanding was arrived at, and many little differences smoothed out, and in all cases the military and trade union officers promised to cooperate in the future.

We gave attention to the complaints made by Mr. J. E. Kunhardt and others of the ill treatment of the Dominican people by the military forces, and as all of these complaints cover the entire period of the military occupation and some under the military governors who preceded Admiral Snowden, we assume they will be answered in due time and an account of their nature will come through official government channels. Our letter to Admiral Snowden embodying these complaints together with other documents in connection with this report will be filed at the A. F. of L. Headquarters.

In the matter of the complaint against the Clyde Steamship Company we found this company carries on the practice of taking cheaper labor from other ports and having them unload their cargoes in the Dominican ports to the detriment of the Dominican dock workers. This is a practice which should be prohibited, either by the enforcement of the Dominican immigrator laws, or the application of the American Seaman's Act requiring that a certain percentage of crews on American vessels should be American citizens. The Clyde Steamship Company tactics have been a menace to the development of Santo Domingo, as their policy is to drive out competition and then to raise rates when their competitors are beaten, so that both American and Dominican merchants have been at their mercy. A short time ago, in order to kill a competitive line, the Clyde Company

advertised in the Dominican papers that their freight rates would be a degree lower than any other line touching Santo Domingo.

It would be good policy for the United States Government to have the Shipping Board establish a regular line to Santo Domingo, if only for the purpose of protecting American and Dominican merchants from exorbitant freight and passenger charges.

Along with our careful investigation into the living and working conditions of the Dominican people, we also consulted with many Dominican officials and men of public standing as to their plans for the future of the Republic, and what their position as men of affairs on much needed reforms would be when the United States would return the Republic to its people. Most of them discussed the freedom of their country but expressed only a general interest in the advocacy of such reforms and plans as would give better education and provide opportunities for better health, greater comfort, and helpful progress for the working men, women and children. We therefore deemed it both practical and advisable to submit definite and adequate questions to some of those with whom we talked and to several others of prominence, whom time and lack of opportunity prevented us from seeing personally. We prepared and submitted a questionnaire regarding wages, hours and conditions of employment as well as the right of workers to organize. This questionnaire was sent to about twenty employers and business men. Only two, however, made answer. The questionnaire and the answers are filed at the A. F. of L. Headquarters with other documents in connection with this report.

We found in Santo Domingo that when elections are held, the candidates do not run on platforms or programs of political parties. Their campaign appeals are entirely along individual and personal lines. The Dominican Federation is preparing to take an active part in future elections by the preparation of a political program upon which the various candidates will be asked to express their attitude and opinions.

This action will have a most beneficial effect upon the many candidates seeking political office. The present system of election laws is defective in that the principal offices, such as the governors of provinces and the president of the Republic, are filled by indirect methods. A system of election similar to that of the United States, we are sure, would prevent the unrest and internecine quarrels which in the past have prevented the rapid progress of the Republic of Santo Domingo.

Changes and provisions should be made in the election laws for the organization and creation of political parties which will appeal to the people for support on programs and platforms instead of the present method of leaders and personalities.

We took particular pains to warn the Dominican people that their hope for permanent relief was not merely through the return of the Dominican nation to its people, if it was not accompanied by industrial freedom for the people, with the right to free speech, free assemblage, the right to organize into unions, to bargain collectively through trade union agreements, and to see to it that the labor of a human being was not considered a commodity, and that human rights should be considered before property rights. We urged and warned them not to permit any person seeking public office to divert them from these fundamental and important issues.

We advised that the campaigns which would be conducted with political parties having their candidates seeking office on platforms and programs and the discussions and explanations which the various candidates would give as to their position on the issues before them would be beneficial in the educational effect it would have upon the people and the enlightenment they would secure thereby on domestic and foreign problems.

We therefore make the following recommendations:

1. That the suggestions we submitted to Admiral Thomas Snowden, military governor of Santo Domingo, be forwarded to the secretary of the navy and that he be urged to endorse and approve them, and to give whatever assistance is necessary to help put them into effect.
2. That a conference be arranged between the state and navy departments with the view to determining the date at which the military occupation of Santo Domingo shall come to an end.

3. That representatives of the state and navy departments, and a committee of senators and representatives be urged to visit Santo Domingo to look into the military occupation, and the United States government's administration of Dominican affairs, and also for the purpose of entering into reciprocal trade agreements.

4. That our government be urged to make known to the Dominican people that we in no way approve of the exploitation of the Dominican people by large land owners, especially the sugar interests, either residents of Santo Domingo or of the United States, or of any foreign country.

5. That pending the removal of the military occupation the United States government assign experts from the departments of labor, commerce, interior, agriculture, and army, and any other governmental departments which would be helpful; the services of these experts and whatever equipment they may need for their work to be given without charge. In this way the United States government will demonstrate to the Dominican people and to all Latin-American countries that we had no ulterior motives in the temporary occupation of that country.

We believe some action of this kind to be necessary in order to offset the bad reputation the people of the United States have received as a result of the land grabbing tactics of the sugar interests and others and their cruel exploitation of men, women and children. These corporations are doing continuous and lasting damage to the prestige and standing of the United States which can never be eradicated by all the diplomacy of our department of state. Work such as these various departmental experts can render without cost to the Dominican people would help to restore that necessary confidence in the people of both countries, and have its beneficial effects upon the other countries of Latin-America, and furthermore would give additional prestige to the Pan-American Labor Conference.

6. We recommend that the shipping board be urged to establish a regular steamship passenger and freight service to the ports of Santo Domingo in order to offset the exorbitant charges which American and Dominican merchants now have to pay the Clyde Steamship Company.

It is admitted on all sides that the military forces of the United States have fully established peace throughout the island and have rid the people of a horde of bandits who preyed upon them at will. As a result, they are looking forward to the most prosperous and progressive period in their history, and to the time which they hope is not far distant when they can take their place among the progressive nations of the world. Merchants in several cities informed us that since the United States forces had established peace throughout the land, their business, especially in farming implements, increased greatly. This, they explained, was due to the fact that the small farmer was now raising foodstuffs for market, when formerly, on account of the bandit raids on his land, he raised only enough to maintain himself and his family.

Out of our visit we are sure will come a strengthened trade union movement, and in the future progress of the Dominican nation we believe the Dominican Federation of Labor will take a large and prominent part in shaping the government's policies. The working people now fully realize that their only safeguard and protection from the exploitation of unfair employers is first, through strong unions and then by the adoption of the A. F. of L.'s policy of defeating its enemies and electing its friends. We are of the opinion that the A. F. of L. by sending a commission to Santo Domingo to demonstrate our interest in the working and living conditions of the Dominican people, and our effort to get for them some relief, will be of great help towards making the work of the Pan-American Labor Congress of greater benefit to the people of all Latin-American countries.

The reception and enthusiasm manifested by the people made a deep impression on both of us, for not only did the trade unionists turn out to receive us, but all classes of citizens, and especially public officials, showed the high standing and prestige of the A. F. of L. in the hearts and minds of the Dominican people, who are looking forward

with great hopes to the day when through our assistance their ideals and the administration and control of their country will be returned to them.

The area of the Dominican republic is almost 20,000 square miles. It is a land of wonderful opportunities because of its resources and the richness of its soil. The principal exports now are sugar, cocoa, tobacco, coffee, beeswax, bananas, cotton, hides, goatskins, fustic lignum-vitae, and mahogany. The imports are iron, steel and cotton goods, rice, wheat, flour, meat, and dairy products; wood, machinery and oils. With proper governmental development the people of Santo Domingo could be self-sustaining in so far as foodstuffs and clothing are concerned, for the country is rich in opportunities for the growth and development of these products, which could be sold at a much lower rate than present prevailing high prices.

Employers of course were found who told us the Dominican working man was lazy and irresponsible. We made a careful study but could not find any evidence to justify this accusation, for we found the Dominican to be a good mechanic if given opportunity to learn, and always industrious and independent, and sometimes willing to go hungry rather than work long hours for starvation wages. When the Dominican working people fully realize their possibilities through trade union organizations they will be able to set a splendid example to other Latin American countries.

We herewith desire to extend our sincere thanks to Admiral Thomas Snowden and his staff, for without their cooperation and assistance in placing at our disposal facilities for traveling, we could not have visited so many important places of interest or had such close contact in securing the views of the Dominican people. We especially thank Manuel De Jesus Lluveres, civil governor of the province of De La Vega, who not only gave to us his personal assistance and cooperation, but followed it up by sending in writing his views for suggestions to improve the conditions of his people.

We are deeply indebted to Mr. J. E. Kunhardt, the delegate of the Dominican Federation of Labor to the Pan-American Labor Conference, for his assistance and guidance, all of which was of great help in our mission. And we herewith extend to Mr. Kunhardt and all the officers, and to members of the Dominican Federation of Labor and the officers of the central bodies and their friends, our sincere thanks for the cordial receptions given to us as representatives of the A. F. of L.; their sincerity and enthusiasm made a deep impression upon us and will always remain a pleasant memory. We hope that out of our visit there will come greater, better, and richer opportunities for the Dominican people in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness.

In the demand for the return of the Dominican republic to its people we join with them in urging the A. F. of L. to do everything in its power to bring this about at the earliest possible date.

SECOND DAY---Tuesday Morning Session

Montreal, Quebec, June 8, 1920.

The session was called to order at 9:30 a.m., Tuesday, June 8th, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Absentees—L. M. Andler, Chas. Anderson, Madge Argo, Albert Adamski, Frank Barnack, J. M. Barnes, Edward Barton, S. E. Beardsley, Peter Beisel, R. E. Billinger, A. P. Bower, R. F. Bond, Bert Bowen, W. K. Boyer, John Bradley, P. J. Brady, Albert Bridges, H. W. Brown, Sam Brown, W. H. Brown, M. J. Browne, J. P. Burke, P. E. Butler, Sam Caddy, F. A. Campbell, W. F. Canavan, E. J. Cantwell, J. T. Carey, M. A. Carney, T. C. Cashen, John Clark, John Coefield, J. J. Connolly, J. B. Connors, H. J. Conway, M. J. Cunnane, R. H. Curran, T. J. Curtis, F. H. Darr, William Dodson, John Dohney, Chas. Dold, A. C. Dougherty, C. D. Duffy, J. F. Dunachie, T. E. Dunwoody, J. H. Duly, Stephen Ely, Thomas Enright, J. R. Evans, Frank Farrington, J. T. Fennell, Grant Fink, Anna Fitzgerald, E. H. Fitzgerald, John Fitzgerald, H. B. Fitzgerald, J. W. Fitzpatrick, T. F. Flaherty, Omer Fleury, James Flynn, P. F. Flynn, S. W. Freund, W. L. Funderburk, A. V. Gabrio, W. E. Gagnon, E. J. Galnor, L. E. Gerrity, J. M. Gillespie, George Gies, Samuel Gompers, E. E. Graves, Frances Gray, J. A. Gray, R. J. Green, William Green, Abraham Greenstein, Frank Griffard, C. C. Grove, R. H. Harlin, E. A. Harrell, J. F. Hart, Grace Harte, Henry Hassard, A. F. Hastie, J. H. Hatch, F. J. Hayes, Timothy Healy, S. E. Heberling, W. K. Heck, G. F. Hedrick, Donald Heywood, W. O. T. Hodge, J. P. Holland, Alex. Howatt, T. L. Hughes, J. T. Hurley, T. P. Hyland, J. J. Hynes, Santiago Iglesias, Dan Ingraham, R. O. Jaggers, J. L. Jasper, William Jenkins, C. J. Jennings, G. B. Johnson, W. H. Johnston, D. M. Jones, J. W. Jones, Frank Kasten, William Kavanaugh, Thomas Kearney, C. D. Kearney, F. L. Kelley, Thomas Kennedy, J. W. Kline, R. C. Lacey, Joseph Lacouture, Milford Lane, E. F. Langdon, Edward LaRose, Martin Lawlor, G. W. Lawson, E. W. Leonard, J. C. Lewis, J. L. Lewis, A. R. Linn, Willard Longe, J. J. Lynch, S. H. Matland, Maud Malone, L. G. Mound, Geo. Mercier, J. F. Mezzaacapo, J. T. Moriarty, P. J. Morrin, F. L. Morse, C. A. Moyer, W. C. Murphy, J. F. Murray, Philip Murray, J. J. McAndrews, P. J. McCarthy, S. W. McDaniel, J. J. McDevitt, Wm. J. McGregory, J. F. McLaughlin, J. E. Queeny, Wm. J. McSorley, J. W. Nelson, J. A. Norrington, J. Obergfell, S. O'Brien, J. O'Connell, J. S. O'Connor, Thos. V. O'Connor, H. O'Neill, S. P. Ophiinger, J. G. Owens, M. H. Parker, A. Peter-

son, W. G. Powlesland, J. Proebatle, J. H. Pruett, W. F. Quesse, W. Quinlan, C. M. Rau, W. N. Reddick, G. Reynolds, L. Robins, R. E. Rogers, F. J. Roth, P. J. Ryan, T. F. Ryan, V. Sauve, B. Schlesinger, R. C. Schneider, J. A. Schoonover, P. Schwartzkopf, M. G. Scott, P. S. Shaugnessy, C. C. Shay, C. P. Shay, J. J. Shine, W. Shurtleff, J. L. Sims, J. C. Skemp, R. J. Smallwood, W. L. Smoot, M. Snellings, H. L. Spencer, N. J. Stanley, F. Stansberry, J. C. Steele, W. Stewart, P. S. Stevens, R. G. Stewart, R. H. Stichel, J. C. Strain, J. Sullivan, J. Tait, J. Talbot, C. O. Taylor, J. J. Thomas, T. Thompson, J. F. Thomson, S. P. Tobin, W. Tracy, M. V. Tyler, J. F. Valentine, J. A. Voll, W. E. Walcott, J. H. Walker, B. Walsh, C. P. Weber, Frank J. Weber, A. Weinstock, A. O. Wharton, J. P. White, J. T. Wilkinson, J. W. Williams, J. Wilson, W. B. Withereil, M. Woll, O. E. Woodbury, R. E. Woodmansee, D. H. Wright.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Brotherhood of Railroad Patrolmen — A. C. Berndt, 26 votes.

London, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council — Donald H. Wright, 1 vote.

Richmond, Ind., Central Labor Council — Richard J. Green, 1 vote.

Temple, Texas, Labor and Trades Council — Harry L. Spencer, 1 vote.

Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union — Philip Rohr, 1 vote.

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

SPECIAL REPORT

Your Committee on Credentials had a special meeting arranged to hear the case of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, with all interested being present and after thorough investigation of all angles in this case, such as the action of their last convention and the votes cast in said convention, unanimously recommend the seating of Brother R. N. Stichel to represent the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America in this Convention.

PATRICK F. O'BYRNE, Chairman,
WM. SCHOENBERG, Secretary.
JOHN H. ARNOLD.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Cunningham opposed the recommendations of the committee and urged that Mr. Jacobs, the contesting delegate, be seated.

Secretary Schoenberg stated that the committee had carefully considered the question and had reached the conclusion that Mr. R. N. Stickel had been elected international president of the organization in question, and by virtue of his office was entitled to sit as a delegate.

Delegate Evans contended that to seat Delegate Stickel would set aside the laws of the international organization, and objected to that procedure.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison announced that Mrs. Daisy Houck had been appointed an additional member of the committee on Labels.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Montreal, Canada, June 5th, 1920.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

We, the undersigned, having been appointed in accordance with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor to examine and audit all books and accounts of the American Federation of Labor for the past twelve months, beginning May 1, 1919, and ending April 30, 1920, herewith submit for your consideration and approval the following report:

The total receipts and expenditures for the general funds and several special accounts during the twelve months closing April 30, 1920, are given in the following tables:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand April 30, 1919	\$192,490.16
Per capita tax	562,608.13
American Federationist	168,079.32
Defense fund for local trade and Federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals	\$52,069.23
Refund of strike benefits	198.00
Refund on loan for A. F. of L. Building	25,000.00
	77,267.23
Initiation fees	60,834.51
Reinstatement fees	1,452.47

Interest:	
Bank deposits	\$4,089.75
U. S. Liberty Bonds	1,000.00
Canadian Victory Loans	825.00
	6,514.75
Supplies	30,870.69
One-cent assessment	5,837.26
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	13,285.93
National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee	903.85
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	1,801.81
Total receipts for year...	\$ 929,255.95
Grand total	\$1,121,746.11

EXPENSES

General	\$603,581.63
American Federationist	150,919.67
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions	\$67,912.95
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax	5.83
	67,918.78
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	11,121.00
One-cent assessment	5,837.26
Refund of initiation fees	54.00
Paid to trustee for A. F. of L. Building Fund	75,000.00
National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee	903.85
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.	2,429.40
Total expenses	\$917,765.05
Balance of funds on hand April 30, 1920	\$203,980.46
RECAPITULATION	
In General Fund	\$ 39,906.12
In Defense Fund for Local and Federal Labor Unions	164,074.34
Balance of funds on hand April 30, 1920	\$203,980.46

Where Funds are Deposited and Invested

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor safely disposed of as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in Union Trust Company, Indianapolis, Ind.	\$100,000.00
On deposit in Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check of Treas. Tobin	36,980.46
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison	\$20,954.64
Outstanding checks	18,954.64
	2,000.00
Invested in Liberty Bonds	50,000.00
Invested in Canadian Victory Bonds	15,000.00
Total	\$203,980.46

A. F. of L. Building Fund**RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand, April 30, 1919 \$	2.34
Received during the year	103,278.71
Total receipts	\$103,281.05
Total expenses, May 1, 1919,	
to April 30, 1920	102,065.87
Balance on hand, April 30,	
1920	\$1,215.18

We have examined the bank record of this account, and find same correct, and the balance of \$1,215.18 deposited in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

Fund for Promoting and Advancing Co-operation**RECEIPTS**

Receipts, April 1, 1918, to April 30th, 1920	\$ 4,037.08
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EXPENSES

Expenses, February 6th, 1919, to April 30th, 1920	2,009.88
Cash Balance on hand April 30th, 1920	\$2,027.20

We have examined the bank record of this account and find same correct, and the amount, \$2,027.20, is deposited in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

Contributions to Cigarmakers' Fund**RECEIPTS**

Receipts, Sept. 13, 1919, to April 30, 1920	\$ 12,645.22
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EXPENSES

Expenses, amounts forwarded to George W. Perkins	12,645.22
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We have examined the bank record of this account and find same correct.....Account Squared

Contributions to Steel Workers' Strike Fund**RECEIPTS**

Total Receipts, October 22, 1919, to January 18, 1920.....	\$426,823.79
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EXPENSES

Total of Checks drawn, November 3, 1919, to February 18, 1920	426,823.79
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We have examined the bank record of this account and find same correct.....Account Squared

Contributions to National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee**RECEIPTS**

Receipts, February 24, 1920, to April 30, 1920	\$ 29,545.42
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EXPENSES

Expenses, March 18, 1920, to April 30, 1920	11,066.25
Cash Balance on Hand April 30, 1920	\$ 18,449.17

We have examined the bank record of this account and find same correct, and the amount, \$18,449.17, is deposited in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. Your Committee takes this opportunity to request the delegates to the Montreal Convention of the American Federation of

Labor as well as the officers and members of the American Trade Union Movement to carefully read and study the several financial statements given by Secretary Frank Morrison in the report of the Executive Council which is in the hands of the delegates to this Convention, amongst which the most remarkable is the fact that the membership of the affiliated organizations and those in the local trade and Federal Labor Unions have passed the 4,000,000 mark. The membership in the local trade and Federal Labor Unions for the month of April, 1920, has passed the 114,000 mark, although several of the local trade and Federal Labor Unions had to wage many defensive strikes to maintain conditions and wages established during the time of the World's War, and while the strike benefits to the members of the local trade and Federal Labor Unions during the preceding twelve months period amounted to \$7,650.50, it necessitated the expenditure of \$67,912.95, or about \$60,000 in excess of the strike and victimized benefits expended for the previous year.

We further note with great satisfaction that the American Federation of Labor building was paid for in full during the term just concluded, and is now free from all encumbrances which indeed is a most remarkable achievement, as we may now truly say that the building of the American Federation of Labor, built and paid for by the trade unionists of North America, stands as a monument to the Workers of America, of which we may all be proud.

In auditing the special account of the Steel Workers' strike fund, in as far as it was handled by Secretary Frank Morrison, and which shows that the appeal sent out by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was most generously responded to by the Labor Movement of America, as almost a half million dollars was received for this cause by the Secretary of the Federation.

We note with great pleasure and admiration, the several large amounts contributed by some organizations, amongst which we have found several amounts ranging from \$500.00 up to \$100,000. This is indeed a splendid showing of solidarity and cooperation which is so necessary, especially in a struggle of the magnitude of the recent steel strike.

In conclusion, we desire to make mention that your committee has carefully and thoroughly examined the office equipment of the American Federation of Labor in its headquarters at Washington, D. C., and found same to be up to date and as efficient as found in any large business institution in America.

We further wish to state to this Convention that we desire to commend Secretary Frank Morrison for the efficiency manifested in conducting the duties of his office. Your committee further takes great pleasure in commending to this Convention the office employes of the Federation for their zeal, efficiency, courtesy, and assistance rendered to your committee, as well as for their ability and trustworthiness.

Respectfully submitted,
PATRICK F. O'BYRNE, Chairman,
JOHN H. ARNOLD,
WM. SCHOENBERG, Secretary.

The report of the Auditing Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Cannon, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Rules, recommend the adoption of the following rules to govern the convention:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12.30. Convene at 2.30 p.m. and remain in session until 5.30 p.m. except Saturday on which day the session shall be from 9.30 to 12.30 p.m.

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

Rule 3. 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 call to 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 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 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 delegations 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.

Rule 21. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

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

2. Report of Committee on Credentials.

3. Report of Officers.

4. Report of regular committees.

5. Report of special committees.

6. Unfinished business.

7. New business.

8. Election of officers.

9. Selection of next meeting place.

10. Good of the Federation.

11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

W. G. POWLESLAND
THEODORE THOMPSON
JOS. D. CANNON
T. J. CURTIS
ED. MENGE
GEO. A. GRUBB
MICHAEL J. BROWN
JAMES H. HATCH
J. T. CAREY
J. V. MORESCHI
O. A. ANDERSON
ANDREW J. HUGHES
R. E. EVANS.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

The chairman asked for reports of committees. No other committee had a report prepared for submission.

Announcements of committee meetings were made and the Chair stated that Tuesday was the last day for submitting resolutions, which would be received at the President's office, room 1510, Windsor Hotel, until 10 o'clock p.m.

Resolution No. 1—Delegate Patrick F. O'Meara, of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is an organization in Willimantic, known as the "Works Department" of the United Textile Workers of America, that has in its membership building trades mechanics that do not belong to the local unions of their respective trades, which is in direct violation of Article 16, Section 1, of the constitution of the United Textile Workers of America, which reads as follows:

"In places where there are unions of the different crafts in the trade no textile worker will be allowed to join any union outside of their own craft if there is a union of their craft in the place;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct its delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention to bring this matter before said Convention and have the international officers of the United Textile Workers of America force these members referred to above into their respective local unions, by August 1st, 1920.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Patrick F. O'Meara, Connecticut State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Legislature of the State of Kansas has enacted a law known as the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Law, which is in defiance of all our concepts of freedom and justice and democracy, and which nullifies the Thirtieth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which prohibits involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime, and

WHEREAS, Legislation of this character is futile as well as wrong in spirit and principle and makes law-breakers of workers who exercise their rightful activities in the struggle to improve human life and the conditions surrounding it, a fact already abundantly proven in Kansas, where more than 2000 men are now on strike in protest against the law; and

WHEREAS, There is a tendency toward the enactment of similar legislation in other states of the Union—legislation which the experience of other countries as well as our own has proven impotent and wrong; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn without qualification the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Law and pledge our support in securing its repeal; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the American Federation of Labor and all national and international trade unions to exert every effort in aiding to carry into effect the spirit and purpose of this resolution, warning the labor movement that vital principles of human liberty, freedom, justice and democracy are in jeopardy and that the rights of the workers can not be made safe until the concept underlying the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations is destroyed finally and completely.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Patrick F. O'Meara, Connecticut State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Baker Drivers of Bridgeport have organized under the charter of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Stablemen and Helpers Local No. 665; and

WHEREAS, This industry is a part of the bakery industry that is chartered under the name of the International Bakers and Confectioners of America; and

WHEREAS, Experience has proved to

us the necessity of being affiliated with International Bakers and Confectioners to have the support in full of that organization and industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Connecticut Federation of Labor to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to urge upon that convention the necessity of changing the Baker Drivers from the organization known as International Bakers and Confectioners of America where they properly belong.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, Chas. Alder of the Tobacco Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, The paramount issue of today in the American labor movement is the political propaganda of the American Federation of Labor, namely "Elect your friends and defeat your enemies" and the same principle should be applied to the demands of the Union Label Trades, "Remember your friends and defeat your enemies," through your purchasing power, demonstrating to our adversaries that the great American Labor Movement is united on the issues confronting the organized forces of our country today.

And, to further promote the production of Union Labels products, there must be a spirit of mutuality and co-operation among organized workers, and a consistent demand, thereby, giving employment to the organized men and women in preference to those who seek to destroy the organized labor movement in the Label Trades industry; and

WHEREAS, There are indications of a movement on the part of manufacturers in the tobacco industry to discontinue the use of the Union Label on their products. There is also an effort on the part of the jobbers and retailers to discourage the purchasers from buying Union Labeled tobaccos, cigarettes, and snuff, using the statement that Union Labeled brands manufactured under Non-Union products are inferior to the Non-Union conditions with cheap labor; and

WHEREAS, The brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union are not receiving the patronage to which they are entitled, when a greater demand would be the means of inducing unfair firms to adopt the Union Label, whereby many thousands of tobacco workers could be organized in the United States and Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in Montreal, Que., June 7th, 1920, pledge our united efforts in creating a greater demand for tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff bearing the Union Label, and on our return to our respective home towns we will make a special effort in our membership of the local union for a greater demand for tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff bearing the Union Label.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Robert E. Burford, of the Freight Handlers, Station and Express Employes' Union No. 10220, Richmond, Va.:

WHEREAS, The B. of R. C. having jurisdiction of all Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the B. of R. C. says only white people are eligible to membership; and

WHEREAS, There are about one hundred thousand (100,000) colored employees that come under their jurisdiction and are barred from membership in the B. of R. C., on account of color; and

WHEREAS, The B. of R. C. is affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the A. F. of L. does not bar any worker on account of color or race; and

WHEREAS, The Grand President, Mr. J. J. Forrester, of the B. of R. C., stated to the 39th annual convention of the A. F. of L., in Atlantic City, that he would not relinquish jurisdiction over these employees, and that he would arrange everything satisfactory with these employees at his next executive meeting; and

WHEREAS, This meeting was called in Washington, D. C., in July, 1919, and our committee attended that meeting and stated their case before that board, and Mr. Gompers and Mr. Morrison addressed the board in our favor; and

WHEREAS, The Board gave every assurance that this matter would be speedily adjusted, and we would hear from them as soon as it could satisfactorily be adjusted; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the B. of R. C. met in Cincinnati last February or March and discussed this question, and not having any of our committee present, they tabled the matter for further investigation of the so-called "Negro Problem" as handled by the older organization; and

WHEREAS, We are not trying for, nor do we want what is called "social equality," as some are trying to insinuate; and

WHEREAS, We only want equal protection and representation in all of the matters that concern us; and

WHEREAS, We are not looking for charity, nor do we want anybody to bear our burdens, but we are willing and ready to bear our part; and

WHEREAS, our loyalty cannot be questioned, and as we believe that the fate of our organization is in the balance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the 40th convention assembled will use every means in its power to have the words "only white" members stricken out of the constitution of the B. of R. C., and admit the colored workers to full membership in their Brotherhood, or have them relinquish jurisdiction over the Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes and allow them to establish a Brotherhood of their own.

Referred to Committee on Organization,

Resolution No. 6—By Salem (Mass.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There is a strike in existence at the plant of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation, situated in Beverly, a strike which involves the Machinists, Local 948, Federal Labor Union 16554, Federal Labor Union 16608, and Foundry Employes, local union 91, a strike which is not for better wages or shorter hours, but a strike for a principle; and

WHEREAS, The Molders' Union has taken a stand in favor of the employers by remaining at work while over 3000 men and women are struggling for the very existence of their organizations, in their fight against "Individual Contract," and for the principle of collective bargaining; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Salem and vicinity protest against the stand taken by the International Officers of the Molders Union, by remaining passive to the existing conditions and thus encouraging the employers to prolong this battle; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we do hereby petition the convention of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon the international officers of the Molders' Union the necessity of their co-operation with the other organizations involved in this struggle.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.
Resolution No. 7—By Herrin (Ill.) Central Trades and Labor Council:

RESOLVED, That all officers of the A. F. of L. be elected by a popular vote of the membership of the A. F. of L.

RESOLVED, That we do not approve of the system whereby our officers of the A. F. of L. are elected by a delegate vote.
Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Fred A. Campbell, St. John, N. B., Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, In the Province of New Brunswick during the past few years, through the efforts of resident officials of International Unions, volunteer organizers, a number of unorganized workers have been brought within the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, there is still a large field to cover, and many workers yet unorganized who can only be reached by the employment, for as long a period of time as possible, of a permanent organizer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be urged to arrange for the placing of a permanent organizer in the Province of New Brunswick; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor request affiliated International Union executives to arrange to render all possible assistance by devoting all possible organizing effort to this province in the interest of men of their own crafts.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate R. J. Smallwood, of the Railroad Shop Workers' Union No. 16,797, Houston, Texas:

RESOLVED, That where there is an organization of (colored) that is not eligible to membership in the various white locals (internationals) and have the affiliation with the A. F. of L. that said organizations will co-operate together and said internationals will give them all of the desired support with reference to the six crafts internationals. We want to say further that we believe we can do more to further the interest of this and other (colored) organizations if we can handle our difficulties through the internationals; and be it further

RESOLVED, That when the internationals get out an agreement the colored union should be included in the agreement, and should have the same recognition, as you know the greatest problem before the American people today is the labor question; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we the Railroad Shop Workers Union No. 16,797, composed of colored mechanics and helpers of the six crafts, namely machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, carmen, painters, and all other trades of wage earners, do solely believe that such step taken as an amendment to the constitution of the A. F. of L. will get us to the four million mark; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we place ourselves on record before the American Federation of Labor to have them to get the recognition of our Union from the companies in order to remove doubts that may exist in the opinion of the railroad world and general public that this union is a labor organization in the common acceptance of the word.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 10—By Christopher (Ill.) Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Sentiment has been aroused all over the United States among the rank and file in regard to "political action," and the sentiment is justified by the attitude of the federal judges in the recent coal miners' strike and other craft strikes; and

WHEREAS, We believe that some of our prominent officers of the A. F. of L. do not believe in injecting politics into labor organizations, thereby throwing us upon the mercy of these men, who are diametrically opposed to the principles of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Christopher Trades Council, representing the membership of local unions Nos. 232, 1421, 2376 and 2408, U. M. W. of A., 1219 U. B. C. and J. of A., U. B. P. P. and D. No. 854, Boot and Shoe Workers No. 582, Hod Carriers and Common Laborers No. 389, Barbers' Local No. 234, Teamsters Nos. 696, 434 and 457, Maintenance of Way Local No. 1321, Franklin County Teachers Lo-

cal No. 137, I. B. of E. W. No. 702, B. of R. W. Clerks No. 1315, and Plumbers and Steam Fitters Local No. 551, do most earnestly appeal to the Convention, that the Constitution be so amended that all officers be elected by a referendum vote of the members of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 11—By Miami (Florida) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to enter into non-partisan politics and elect the friends of organized labor, has brought before us the necessity of being prepared to cast our vote; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That every member (male) affiliated with the American Federation of Labor throughout the United States and Canada who has reached the age of 21, and who has resided the required period of time in the state, county and city, must qualify as a legal voter in said state, county and city, and place himself in a position to exercise the rights of an American citizen.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Alex. Howatt of the Kansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State Legislature of Kansas has recently, at the behest of Governor Henry Allen, passed what is known as the Court of Industrial Relations Law, which law gives to the Governor of the State the power to appoint the said Industrial Court and which law also gives to the said Industrial Court arbitrary powers in the fixing of wages and working conditions of the workers within the State of Kansas; and

WHEREAS, Governor Allen has appointed on this Court two corporation lawyers, who have no sympathy with organized labor or any knowledge or conception of labor's problems, and as a third member of said court, the Governor's former Private Secretary and which so-called Industrial Court, on the face of it, has no interest in the welfare of the working class; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the purpose of this law is to chain the working class to their jobs and place them in the position that the negro workers were in before the abolition of chattel slavery; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the passage of the said Law is a part of a preconcerted movement upon the part of Big Business and the profiteering interests in general to crush labor in order that plutocracy may march on to its goal of world conquest without international interruption; and

WHEREAS, We believe that if this so-called Court of Industrial Relations becomes fixed and established in the State of Kansas, that it will rapidly spread to the other States of the Union, and that organized labor and labor in general will thus lose all of the progress which they

have struggled for and achieved in the last one hundred years; and

WHEREAS, District No. 14, of the United Mine Workers of America, in Kansas, have seen fit to challenge the validity of this modern fugitive slave law, passed at the behest of Governor Allen and the corporate interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemn without reservation the Court of Industrial Relations Law; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention condemn Governor Henry Allen of Kansas and his despicable efforts to enslave the working class of Kansas and finally the working class of the United States in prostituting his office as Governor of Kansas to the work of crucifying the working class; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn the efforts upon the part of the corporation interests through the State administration to fasten government by injunction upon the people of Kansas, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge to the United Mine Workers of America, District No. 14, and all organized labor in Kansas, the loyal and undivided support of the organized labor movement in the stand which they have taken in challenging the efforts of Governor Allen and his subservient tools to enslave the working class of Kansas.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Eighteen months after the signing of the armistice which put a virtual end to the world war, thousands of men and women, among whom a distinguished Presidential Candidate, are still held in the federal penitentiaries under exceptional laws passed in a moment of national hysteria; and

WHEREAS, None of these prisoners is guilty of any crime or of any overt breach of the law, save that of dissenting from the national and foreign policies of the Democratic administration, and entertaining unorthodox views about war and government, none of which is, or ought to be punishable in a nation truly based upon freedom of thought and conscience; and

WHEREAS, All such similar political dissenters, conscientious objectors and philosophical opponents of the war, including prisoners of war, have been released in every civilized nation of the globe, thus singling out America for the unenviable distinction of being the only country that still keeps harmless political idealists in jail; and

WHEREAS, In addition to this most grievous lack of equanimity, foresight

and clemency, the Federal Administration still continues to search, arrest, jail, disband, suppress and deport entire labor bodies and regularly constituted political parties; without any regard whatever to our constitutional guarantees, the very foundations of free government; and

WHEREAS, Pleadings, entreaties, protests and exhortations on the part of public spirited citizens, civic bodies and societies both in America and abroad have failed to obtain a cessation of this reign of administrative and judicial terror; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in National Convention assembled in Montreal, Canada, feels in duty bound to, and now does emphatically protest against any further useless and inhuman incarceration of social idealists and demands their immediate release as well as the complete restoration of the freedom of speech, press, assemblage and association without any restrictions, qualifications or judicial interpretations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to attain these ends which aim at the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the Constitution of the United States over the dictatorship of the Capitalist class, the American Federation of Labor is determined to use any and all lawful means at its disposal, including a general cessation of work throughout the land.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Luigi Antonini of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The People of Russia, having arisen from their millennial oppression, have overthrown the old Czarist government as well as the oligarchy of the capitalist class and have established a free and equitable government based on the universal duty to work and the right of all toilers to have and enjoy the full product of their labor, thereby doing away with industrial slavery and economic injustice, the elimination of which we hold to be the ultimate aim and finality of the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The imperialistic nations of the world, terrorized at the thought of this most glorious example spreading through the earth, have encircled the Russian nation with an iron ring of bayonets and are attempting to starve our Russian brothers into failure, submission and humiliation, through a most inhuman, brazen and cowardly economic blockade; and

WHEREAS, The government of the United States has openly been, and now still covertly is, an accomplice and an abettor in this most heinous crime against a free sovereign people with whom the American people have always been at peace and for whom they never felt but

the warmest feelings of sympathy and friendship; and

WHEREAS, The downfall of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic would mean the defeat of the age-long aspirations of the workers throughout the world and would inevitably redound to the everlasting shame of organized labor whose indifference and apathy alone would be held responsible for such a monstrous offense against humanity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention Assembled in Montreal, Canada, goes hereby on record as favoring and urging most earnestly and emphatically the complete, final and thorough lifting of all blockades, obstacles and barriers, of any character whatever, that in any way encroach upon the natural rights of the Russian people to travel and take their goods through all the land and sea routes of the earth; while, at the same time it calls upon the Government of the United States to take at once the necessary steps to re-open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia and officially recognize the Soviet Government as the only true expression of the will of the Russian people, chosen by their free suffrages defended and hallowed by their blood.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate F. A. Campbell of the St. John (N.B.) Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Conditions are such in the Province of New Brunswick, particularly in seaport cities, owing to the seasonable character of work, that working men in order to keep themselves in line with the trade union movement, find it necessary to carry membership cards in two or more International Unions. For example in the city of St. John, called the Winter port of Canada, workmen in order to procure employment, during the winter months on the docks, affiliate themselves with the various branches of the International Longshoremen's Association, I. e., Longshoremen, Freight Handlers, Scow Men, Coal Handlers, Ship Liners, etc. In the summer months, when very little longshore work is being done, these same men, or a large percentage, are in the saw-mills or work as brick-layers, carpenters, painters, etc.; and

WHEREAS, No system of interchanging card exists it means these workmen must carry cards in more than one organization to assure themselves of fairly steady employment. This condition of affairs in many of its phases, causes and is causing considerable dissatisfaction to the organizations concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming Executive of the American Federation of Labor to urge on the various International Unions concerned the need of giving immediate

consideration to an adjustment of this matter by means of a system of transfer card of adjustment of per capita payment, or some feasible arrangement, guarding at all times the trade autonomy of the International Unions concerned, and the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate John J. Manning, of the Union Label Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The union label deserves the support of all men and women, who believe in the development of higher and better economic and social conditions, and well-being of the great mass of our people; and

WHEREAS, The purchasing power of the organized workers of our country is of tremendous proportions, reaching into billions of dollars in the course of one year, and

WHEREAS, The union label is an important factor in the maintenance of the union shop, hours, wages, and healthful working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its organizers who are organizing the workers of our country, city central bodies, and state federations, are using their best efforts to build up the American Labor Movement, and we find in some instances that union labels, shop cards and buttons are not given the consideration and prominence they deserve in this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Union Label Trades Department in convention assembled hereby instructs its officers to present this resolution to the American Federation of Labor in the coming convention, containing a request that the officers of the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers when visiting central bodies and local unions and wherever possible to devote on each such occasion a part of their talk to union labels, and to urge central bodies and local unions to appoint committees to secure information and keep it posted in meetings, designating where union label products can be purchased, and that such instructions be given at least every four months.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Jacob Middleton, of Janitors' Helpers and Laborers Union 16034, Charleston, S. C.:

WHEREAS, We, the Janitors and Laborers of Local 16034, are not being paid the scale of wages that is being paid at Norfolk, Philadelphia and all other Northern yards; and

WHEREAS, The high cost of living is no lower upon us in Charleston than those in the Northern yards; and

WHEREAS, The scale of wages that is accorded us at the Charleston Navy Yard is not sufficient to provide for ourselves and families; and

WHEREAS, This Local has made protest against the unjust discrimination made against the ratings of Laborers and Janitors in the Charleston Navy Yard; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record as being willing to assist in the cause of Local 16034; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a thorough investigation be given our cause before the Convention assembled at Montreal, Canada.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate John G. Owens, of the Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, That nearly two years of peace, following the World War, finds in American Civil and Military prisons, or under bail pending trial or appeal, large numbers of men and women whose offence or alleged offence is of a political nature; and

WHEREAS, The sole justification for such prosecution and imprisonment was that of war-time necessity, which no longer exists, and that no useful purpose can be served by continuing to inflict punishment upon men and women who have no criminal instincts; and

WHEREAS, That without exception every democratic country in Europe which was associated with us in the prosecution of the war, full amnesty has been granted to the political, industrial and religious war opponents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of Local Union No. 11, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, of Cleveland, Ohio, believe that the further prosecution and imprisonment in the United States of a body of political offenders is contrary to the democratic idealism and traditions of freedom to which our country is committed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we accordingly urge upon the President of the United States, and upon the Attorney General of the United States, the Secretary of War, and upon the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor, with all the earnestness at our command, the necessity of granting an immediate amnesty to all prisoners whose religious, political or economic beliefs formed the basis of their prosecution, trial and imprisonment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 19—By the Building Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes has attempted to establish jurisdiction over construction work in motion picture studios by either requiring members of the several unions of the building industry to affiliate with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes or requiring the

members of that union to infringe upon the construction work that properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, An effort was made at the Atlantic City Convention to bring about an understanding between the representatives of the Building Trades and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes so as to avert contention and misunderstanding between the two organizations, to which the officials of the Theatrical Stage Employes agreed; and

WHEREAS, In attempting to work out the tentative agreement entered into at Atlantic City we find the officials of the Theatrical Stage Employes averse to an adjustment of any character, to the extent that the said tentative agreement has been willfully ignored and repudiated; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes to cease further encroachment upon the jurisdiction claims of the Building Trades Department, cancel such agreements as may have been entered into with the Motion Picture Producers that affected employes of the building industry, and cause the members to be restored to their right organizations. For failure to carry out the spirit of this resolution within sixty days, the charter of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes shall be suspended.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Fred. W. Baer of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Buffalo, New York, November 1917, granted jurisdiction to the International Association of Fire Fighters over all men engaged in Fire Fighting and Prevention; and

WHEREAS, There exists, by virtue of charter from the International Association of Fire Fighters, a local of same, being known as Local No. 2, which Union has sole jurisdiction over all Fire Fighters in the City of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, There exists in the City of Chicago a local union of Fire Engineers, chartered and known as Local No. 577 of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, who are engaged wholly in Fire Fighting and Prevention; and

WHEREAS, The existence of two locals engaged in the same occupation chartered under different internationalists, works for the detriment of the International Association of Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, Letters from the International Association of Fire Fighters bearing upon this matter have been ignored by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-

eration of Labor recommend that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to revoke Charter of Local No. 577, and turn over to the International Association of Fire Fighters the Chicago Fire Engineers known as Local No. 577; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor re-affirm its declaration of Resolutions Nos. 17 and 106, at the Buffalo Convention as regards to jurisdiction of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate N. A. James of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia, numbering approximately 450,000 are denied the right of any form of participation in the affairs of their government, a condition which is contrary to the principles of our forefathers, who fought the Revolution that this country might be the greatest of free people the world has ever known, and which was founded upon the theory that there shall be no taxation without representation; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the United States provides that Congress and the President shall legislate for the District of Columbia, which gives them the power to pass legislation which will give to the District residents a voice in their own affairs, and the affairs of their country; and

WHEREAS, There is an organization known as the National Press Committee, Inc. for D. C. Suffrage, composed of the foremost and influential newspaper writers of the country, the Washington Central Labor Union, Civic and Veterans Organizations, and on whose Advisory Council President Gompers is a member, who are waging a campaign to get some form of suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia through the passage of legislation by Congress; and

WHEREAS, The condition of disfranchisement at the nation's Capital is not only un-American and inimical to the best interests of manhood and womanhood but it is the only Capital of any country which pretends a democratic form of government which denies the right of the residents to a voice in their own affairs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates to the fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor deplore this un-American condition, and that we indorse the efforts being made by the Washington Central Labor Union by pledging ourselves to render all the assistance possible that the residents of the District of Columbia shall be given a voice in the affairs of our government, which will give to them the same rights accorded to the citizens of the various states.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Robert Dunlop of the Omaha (Neb.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, At the recent Constitutional Convention held in the State of Nebraska, beginning December, 1919, and ending March 25th, 1920, was submitted as one of many proposed amendments a new provision permitting the creation of an industrial commission to administer laws relative to labor disputes; and

WHEREAS, Said proposal is to be voted on at a special election to be held throughout the State of Nebraska, on the 21st day of September next; and

WHEREAS, The text of said proposal is as follows:

"Laws may be enacted providing for the investigation, submission and determination of controversies between employers and employees in any business or vocation affected with a public interest and for the prevention of unfair business practices and unconscionable gains in any business or vocation affecting the public welfare. An Industrial Commission may be created for the purpose of administering such laws and appeals shall lie to the Supreme Court from the final orders and judgments of such commission;" and

WHEREAS, The said Constitutional Convention expressly voted down a proposed amendment to said proposal to the effect that nothing in said proposal would abrogate rights of labor guaranteed elsewhere in the constitution and by that act declared it to be its intent that laws passed under the proposed amendment would supersede the constitutional guarantees, such as freedom from involuntary servitude and the right of private contract for one's labor; and

WHEREAS, The passage of such a constitutional provision by any state would be more far-reaching than the passage of a mere law for such a court as has already been done in the State of Kansas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the matter of the said proposal be referred to the Executive Board of the A. F. of L., with power to act in the premises, and in particular to take such action in its own behalf or in co-operation with local labor organizations as may be calculated to defeat said amendment at the said proposed September election.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate W. J. Hall of the Federal Labor Union No. 16786 Lúdington, Mich., and C. F. Foley of the Journeymen Barbers International Union of America:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of workers engaged in the House Wrecking Industry, at the present time unorganized; and

WHEREAS, No jurisdiction over this vast army of wage earners is ceded to any of the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Certain specialized skill is demanded because of the precarious nature of House and Industrial Wrecking; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and they are hereby authorized to issue a Federal Charter to this class of workers, when duly applied for, covering jurisdictions where a sufficient number of men are so regularly employed.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates C. L. Shamp and Joseph W. Morton, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers; Edward I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers, Rammersmen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters; William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists; Joe N. Weber, of the American Federation of Musicians; Benjamin Schlesinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; W. E. Bryan, of the United Leather Workers' International Union; J. A. Franklin, of the Boiler Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The signing of the Peace Treaty finds in American civil and military prisons, or under bail pending trial or appeal, numbers of men and women whose offense is of a purely political nature; and

WHEREAS, The sole justification for such prosecution and imprisonment, that of war-time necessity, no longer exists;

WHEREAS, In all democratic countries of Europe which have been associated with us in the prosecution of the war, full amnesty has been granted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor, in forth convention assembled, that the further prosecution and imprisonment in the United States of political offenders is contrary to the democratic idealism and the traditions of freedom to which our country is committed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we accordingly urge upon the President of the United States, upon the Attorney-General of the United States, and the Secretary of War to make all efforts possible to secure the granting of amnesty to all prisoners whose political beliefs formed the basis of their prosecution, trial and imprisonment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we accordingly urge upon the United States Senators and Representatives to support Senator France's Joint Resolution S. J. 171 for amnesty and S. 1233 to repeal the Espionage Law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 25—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Labor Movement of America has had to contend during the last few years, as evidenced in the steel workers' and miners' strikes, against an unprecedented use of injunctions which have hampered the legitimate attempts of the workers to improve their conditions, and which constitute a positive threat to the normal development of organized labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to launch a nation-wide movement, in conjunction with the National, International and Central bodies affiliated with the Federation, against this dangerous and unwarranted judicial recrimination; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to organize at the National Headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, a legal department to serve as a clearing house for the defense of all labor organizations connected with the Federation, against whom the use of the injunction is directed in the course of their legitimate trade union activities.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 26—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Owing to the profiteering, greed and speculation of millmen, jobbers, manufacturers and retailers, women's garments have become so abnormally high-priced that a large portion of the population of this country cannot afford to buy new clothes, a situation which threatens unemployment and misery to the great masses of workers engaged in the women's wear industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call upon Congress to start an immediate investigation of the deplorable conditions of the women's garment industry and to enact effective legislation to cope with such speculation and profiteering as prevail in that industry.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 27—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in conformity with its whole-hearted endorsement of the labor educational work carried on by its various affiliated bodies, to instruct the Executive Council to found a National Labor University as a central educational place for the entire labor movement of the country.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 28—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we urge upon Congress and upon our Government, in conformity with the principle of national free self-determination and the spirit of fair play, the lifting of the blockade against the much-suffering people of Russia, and the renewal of commercial relations with that country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate James P. Holland, of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The cost of living has continued its upward climb and the salary of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor is insufficient to meet the increased cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The toilers in every craft have received substantial increases in wages in order to meet the increased cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor are compelled to travel from place to place and must therefore meet the enormous increase in the cost of hotel bills, clothing and incidentals: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the salary of organizers be increased from \$8 per day, or \$48 per week, to \$60 per week, or at a rate of \$10 per day, Sunday not included, and that the hotel allowance be increased from \$6 per day to \$8 per day in order to meet the increased cost of travel and home.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate John Coefield of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters:

WHEREAS, The splendid growth and high standing of the American Federation of Labor has been brought about jointly by the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and the International Unions; and

WHEREAS, The salaries paid the officials of the American Federation of Labor should be increased at least in proportion to the added labor, responsibility and growth of the organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That on and after July 1, 1920, the salary of the President of the American Federation of Labor be made \$12,000 and that of the Secretary \$9,500.

Referred to the Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Alexander F. Hastie, of the Quincy (Mass.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, A condition prevails in the crafts whose occupation is being rapidly expanded because of changing methods of manufacture, namely the welding and burning processes by electricity and oxy-acetylene gas; and

WHEREAS, It is for mutual protection of all employed in metal work, irrespective of craft or calling, that all be organized to the greatest possible extent; and

WHEREAS, Because of the prevailing conditions in this craft many workers cannot be organized owing to jurisdictional claims of various national and international bodies in the organized metal crafts; and

WHEREAS, The workmen following the electric and oxy-acetylene welding industry are employed at their trade in shipyards, foundries, auto manufactories, repair shops, machine shops, blacksmith shops, copper shops, sheet metal shops and structural operations, in fact, in all the industries where metals of any nature are used; and

WHEREAS, All these trades or crafts claim jurisdiction necessitating the electric and oxy-acetylene welders to carry cards in as many different organizations as there are trades involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the electric and oxy-acetylene welders be recognized as a separate trade and that a Charter recognizing this fact be issued by the American Federation of Labor, because the electric and oxy-acetylene welding process is a distinct trade apart entirely from the other trades in the metal industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That committees composed of men following the electric and oxy-acetylene trade be given an opportunity to appear before the committees at the above named conventions to show reasons why the request for Charter should be granted, or if the matter is referred to Executive Council of American Federation of Labor that the committee referred to be given the same opportunity to present its case before the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Chas. M. Moore of the Colorado State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of Colorado has an Industrial Commission Law known as the "Can't Strike Law," and for many years no attempt was made to enforce said law; and

WHEREAS, The recent Miners' Strike in November, 1919, said law was enforced, and members of the Miners' Union arrested. Some of the cases have been tried in the District Court of Denver County, and Judge Butler of that district rendered a decision in favor of the Miners, said decision is being appealed to the Supreme Court of Colorado, by the Attorney General of that State. Balance of cases have been argued in the District Court of Weld County, two months ago,

and at present writing no decision has been rendered; and

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers of America, through their Representative, Robert Foster, has made arrangements to carry these cases through the Supreme Court of Colorado, involving between \$5000.00 and \$6000.00 expense; and

WHEREAS, The final decision in these cases will affect the entire labor movement, of that State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the event the decision of the Supreme Court upholds said law that we request the American Federation of Labor to define some policy of carrying said cases to the Supreme Court of the United States, with the understanding that the entire labor movement shall bear their pro-rata share of said expense.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Wm. C. Bush, of the Central Labor Union, Poplar Bluff, Mo.:

WHEREAS, That the non-partisan political plan of the American Federation of Labor within the time it has been tried has proven to be an instrument of great worth to the worker, and has welded together such a compact body that, if carried further, will be the means of giving to the workers a liberty, untouched by the means of industrial methods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That there be created within the body of the American Federation of Labor a permanent department known as the non-partisan political educational department of the A. F. of L.; and

FURTHER, The Committee now serving shall continue to serve, and in case of any vacancy, such vacancy shall be filled by the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor, and a fund shall be created by setting aside for this purpose two cents from every dollar collected through per capita payments from international, national and direct affiliated bodies within the United States of America; and this fund to be used to carry on a continuous campaign of education that the workers may become fully acquainted on such political matters as will be of worth to them as workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates W. M. Carlock, No. 16579, Knoxville, Tennessee; Wm Shaw, Freight Handlers, No. 17165, Wm. Carter, Freight Handlers and Stationary Employees, Local 16381; W. E. H. Wilcox, Freight Handlers No. 16738, Wichita Falls, Texas; Matt Lewis, Freight Handlers; James J. Pugh, No. 165559, Philadelphia, Pa.; D. E. McKnight, No. 16700, Petersburg, Va.; E. D. Rhone, Central Labor Union, of Mobile, Ala.; Robert E. Burford, of the Freight Handlers,

No. 16220, Freight Handlers, Station and Express Employees;

WHEREAS, The B. of R. C. having jurisdiction of all Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the B. of R. C. says only white people are eligible to membership; and

WHEREAS, There are about one hundred thousand (100,000) colored employees that come under their jurisdiction and are barred from membership in the B. of R. C. on account of color; and

WHEREAS, The B. of R. C. is affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the A. F. of L. does not bar any worker on account of color or race; and

WHEREAS, The Grand President, Mr. J. J. Forrester, of the B. of R. C., stated to the 30th annual convention of the A. F. of L. in Atlantic City, that he would not relinquish jurisdiction over these employees, and that he would arrange everything satisfactorily with these employees at his next executive meeting; and

WHEREAS, This meeting was called in Washington, D. C., in July, 1919, and our committee attended that meeting and stated their case before that Board, and Mr. Gompers and Mr. Morrison addressed the Board in our favor; and

WHEREAS, The Board gave every assurance that this matter would be speedily adjusted, and we would hear from them as soon as it could satisfactorily be adjusted; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the B. of R. C. met in Cincinnati last February or March and discussed this question, and not having any of our committee present, they tabled the matter for further investigation of the so-called "Negro Problem" as handled by the older organization; and

WHEREAS, The Negro Problem is a myth and only exists in the minds of those that do not want to deal justly with them; and

WHEREAS, We are not trying for, nor do we want what is called "social equality," as some are trying to insinuate; and

WHEREAS, We only want equal protection and representation in all of the matters that concern us; and

WHEREAS, We are not looking for charity, nor do we want anybody to bear our burdens, but we are willing and ready to bear our part; and

WHEREAS, Our loyalty cannot be questioned, and as we believe that the fate of our organization is in the balance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th convention assembled will use every means in its power to have the words "only white" members stricken out of the constitution of the B. of R. C., and admit the colored workers to full membership in their Brotherhood, or have them relinquish jurisdiction over the Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, and allow them to establish a Brotherhood of their own.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Joe C. Campbell, of the Police Union 16668, Oklahoma City, Okla.:

RESOLVED, By the Policemen's Union No. 16668, of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in a regular meeting assembled upon the fourteenth day of May, 1920, as follows:

First. We hereby renew our allegiance to the principles of Organized Labor, and pledge anew our fidelity to the American Federation of Labor, and all the humanitarian measures and practices for which it so nobly stands and has ever stood.

Second. As a practical test of that allegiance and of that fidelity, we hereby send a duly accredited delegate, our brother, Joseph Campbell, to this annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Montreal, Canada, upon the seventh day of June, 1920, and to bear to it this message from our Union,—the first Policemen's Union in the United States to affiliate therewith.

Third. Despite calumny, sinister capitalist influences, and pressure from selfish and powerful sources, we have continued to grow until Policemen's Union No. 16668 is now one hundred per cent organized, with no danger of a break in its solid and loyal ranks.

Fourth. In this connection, our heartfelt appreciation goes forth to our Mayor, Honorable Jack C. Walton, for his constant and courageous encouragement and defense of our principles and our Organization. Nothing has swerved him from the path, but from the beginning to this auspicious day he has been our uncompromising champion and fearless defender, and to him, more than to any other agency, do we owe the prosperous and splendid condition of the Organization.

It is but just, meet, and proper that this appreciation should be made a matter of public record, to the end that every Union woman and man in the republic may know that there is a real Mayor in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, whose friendship and championship of Unionism are among the most self-sacrificing and splendid of which we have knowledge. Be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be made a part of the proceedings of this convention.

Passed unanimously at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, this fourteenth day of May, A. D. 1920.

MICHAEL F. SULLIVAN,
President.

H. W. MEDES, Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Joe C. Campbell, Policemen's Union 16668, Oklahoma City, Okla.:

WHEREAS, We as a joint body of local Policemen's Union 16668 ask that you endorse our request to organize all Policemen's Unions into an International Union, that such a Union in affiliation with the A. F. of L. can act more harmoniously

in our dealings with the parent organization, the Policemen's Union 16668 of Oklahoma City, do herein extend our greetings to the officers and delegates in convention, their feelings of gratitude for what organized labor has and is doing for them and which is impossible for us to express in words.

We secured our charter through the assistance of the State Federation of Labor of Oklahoma City, in joint action with the A. F. of L. in convention at Atlantic City, 1919.

Other than the financial benefit which our organization has received, there has been a unity of harmony established among its members that never would have been accomplished otherwise. Family ties, one family with another, have been strengthened. Organized Police Union was at first something unique, but today we know of nothing that can dissolve it.

We hope that your honorable body will approve of our request by granting the same.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 37—By J. W. Chambers, Railway Coach Cleaners, Union No. 16088:

WHEREAS, The interest of the Trade Labor Principle can only be protected by the effort put forth by the wage earners, who are not prejudiced on creed, sex or color; and

WHEREAS, The Colored workers have become a factor in the labor world and perform one-seventh of the labor performed in the United States, he is appealing to the trade and labor unions of America in the Convention assembled to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles whereby he can secure the rights and recognition that he is justly entitled to; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen claim jurisdiction over the Coach Cleaners' classification of work, and the International Brotherhood, Boiler Makers, Blacksmiths and Machinists deny Colored workers the right to membership on the grounds or racial lines adopted in their constitution. This in itself creates an unrest and distrust among the workers, which will never be removed until such discriminative laws are repealed; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled take immediate action on enactment of such resolution that will prohibit any International Organization from adopting racial lines in their constitution.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Jordan W. Chambers, of the Railway Coach Cleaners 16088, St. Louis, Mo.; Eugene Posey of the Coach Cleaners 16331, Kansas City, Mo.; E. L. Rhone of the Central Labor Union, Mobile, Ala.; J. C. Steele, No. 16626, Cincinnati, Ohio; R. Eugene Bellinger, No. 16771, New York, N. Y.;

Frank M. Phaire, No. 16702, Philadelphia, Pa.; John H. Smith, No. 15980; Edmund Turner, No. 16199, Mobile, Ala.; Frederick Wilson, Local 16685, Cleveland, Ohio; Robert E. Buford, No. 1120, F. H. & Sta. Employees 16381:

The prosperity, development, advancement and security of a Union under democratic constitutions rests almost wholly upon the contentment of the people they govern, regardless of color, creed or class.

In the matter of opportunities, the National Charter makes no distinction as to color, nor does that charter withhold from any organized body the right to advance educationally, materially or otherwise, and no organization operating under that charter should allow its growth and development to be stultified by a Union seeking only the advancement of its own ends.

The state of unrest which now prevails in the labor world is due almost entirely to the arrogant manifestations of selfishness shown by one Union over another.

The Coach and Car Cleaners of the country have grown to that point in life where they are capable of maintaining themselves independent of any other body, and it is now their firm purpose to assert their right to do so. They will not be cowed down; they will not feed from the hand, nor be pushed into a corner, but will contend on equal terms with the rest for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Hence the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The Coach and Car Cleaners' Local Unions, located in various centers thru-out the United States, have banded themselves together without regard to race, color or sex, to form a Union which alone will have the jurisdiction over Coach and Car Cleaners of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of this organization is to promote in the most efficient manner the welfare of Coach and Car Cleaners; and as this end can be attained only thru those competent to know the needs and understand thoroughly the conditions necessary to such promotion, the Union reserves the right to select from among its own members, officers and representatives of every degree whatsoever; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That an International Charter be granted to the Railway Coach and Car Cleaners' Union that will have the above jurisdiction and seek to organize, according to the principles of the American Federation of Labor, all workmen of this class, regardless of creed, color or nationality; and, be it further

RESOLVED, And it is resolved, that at each and every Convention which has to do with the wage scale and working conditions of the Coach and Car Cleaners department, the Coach and Car Cleaners shall have a delegate or delegates to represent Coach and Car Cleaners at each of such Conventions, and that each of such

delegates be a member of a Coach and Car Cleaners' Local Union and a workman in the Coach and Car Cleaners' department.

THEREFORE, In order to form a more perfect Labor Union, establish an insured justice, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare of ourselves and our employ, we do affirm and adopt this resolution.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate J. E. Blair, Albany—Decatur, Ala., Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Convention at Montreal, Canada, June, 1920, go on record as favoring the widest and fullest publicity in regard to the production costs of all commodities and goods offered for sale.

Referred to Committee on State Bodies.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Jesse G. Francis of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, Henry F. Broening, Edward D. Bieretz, of Maryland, District of Columbia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has championed the cause of the workers in demanding for them the right of collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing and the education of the toilers to the necessity for unity of action in order that we may have freedom, both industrially and politically; and

WHEREAS, Believing that the injury to one is the concern of all, and that such unity of action properly directed will assist in solving some of the industrial questions confronting us; and

WHEREAS, For eighteen years prior to 1918 the seventeen crafts employed and working under separate agreements at the Crown Cork and Seal Company plants, Baltimore, Md., were enjoying conditions brought about by their organizations in the plants of this concern, whose business grew to be the leaders in their particular industry through the patronage and co-operation of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, During the past two years, as craft agreements expired and the officials of this concern refused to renew them or meet with the representatives of the crafts involved, resulting in hundreds of men of various crafts being discriminated against and forcing hundreds of others to cease work in protest against the unfair and arbitrary attitude of the company; and

WHEREAS, The Crown Cork and Seal Company of Baltimore, Md., in their attempt to disrupt organized labor in this locality, have repudiated or abrogated all working agreements with the following organizations: Federal Labor Union No. 1076, Sheet Metal Workers Union No. 122, United Association of Plumbers, Steamfitters and Helpers No. 438, Painters Local Union No. 1, Carpenters and Joiners Local No. 101, Metal Polishers No. 11, Iron Moulders No. 19; and

WHEREAS, The following organizations are on strike because of agreements abrogated and refusal on the company's part to consider renewal: Carpenters and Joiners No. 101, Iron Moulders No. 19, International Association of Machinists, District No. 12, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers No. 28, Stationary and Operating Engineers, Patternmakers; and

WHEREAS, The crafts discriminated against and on strike, through the Baltimore Federation of Labor have used every legitimate method to drive the products of this concern off the market by circulating letters to local unions and central bodies, setting forth the true conditions. The success of this move has been curtailed by reason of the fact that an agreement exists between this concern and Federal Labor Union No. 14204, an organization of girls who operate machines putting cork in crowns, and while the letters put out by the Baltimore Federation of Labor are bringing ready response, letters are being sent out by the Crown Cork and Seal Company stating that they are fair to organized labor, basing this claim that their goods are manufactured by labor with whom they have an agreement, signed by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor and Frank Morrison, Secretary. These letters are very misleading in character and misrepresent the entire situation. While pleading fairness they are doing everything possible to break down the conditions of organized labor even to the extent of hiring gunmen to intimidate pickets and attack labor representatives; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, do herewith abrogate the existing agreement with the Crown Cork and Seal Company, and that this concern be declared hostile to organized labor: and be it further

RESOLVED, That this action be made known to all International Unions, State and Central bodies, with a request that this firm and its products be placed on the "Unfair" and "We don't patronize" lists, and with a further request that all local unions, State and City federated bodies appoint committees to wait upon breweries, bottling establishments, etc., in all localities to drive their goods from the market until such a time as the Crown Cork and Seal Company changes their attitude towards the crafts affected and the Trades Union Movement.

Referred to the Committee on Boycott.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Ross Copeland, Georgia Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government employs thousands of employees who, during the emergency and at present, are called upon from time to time to work overtime and on Sundays; and

WHEREAS, Said employees have always faithfully performed such duties without complaint or additional compensation for the same; and

WHEREAS, Said employees are being granted a half holiday only from June 15th to September 15th of each year; and

WHEREAS, A large majority of the commercial employers of the United

States are now granting their employees a half holiday on Saturday throughout the entire year; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the United States Government have been reliably informed that it is within the power of the President of the United States by proclamation to declare Saturday afternoon a half holiday for Government employees throughout the entire year: be it therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that they go on record as being in favor of the United States Government granting Government employees a half holiday on Saturday throughout the entire year in so far as it does not affect public service.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 42—By Harbor Employees Union No. 16298 of Montreal, Quebec:

WHEREAS, There have been numerous complaints from certain craft organizations that we have craftsmen in our Local; and

WHEREAS, These craft organizations demand the transfer of these craftsmen to their own Locals; and

WHEREAS, The transfer of these our members would disrupt our Local; and

WHEREAS, Our charter granted by the A. F. of L. gives us permission to retain these our members in these words:

"And the Union being duly formed is empowered and authorized to initiate into its membership any person or persons. In accordance with its own Laws, and to conduct the said Union in compliance with the best interests of the Trade and Labor in general, the autonomy of the Union is hereby ordained"; and

WHEREAS, The granting of our Charter was accepted by us as proof that we were not trespassing on the Jurisdiction of any affiliated Unions, as expressed by Article 9 Section 11 of the Constitution of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It expressly states in the constitution of the A. F. of L., Article 11, Section 4, that it is our duty to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization; and

WHEREAS, We believe that we have conformed to all rules laid down by the A. F. of L. and only used the power invested in us by our Charter; and

WHEREAS, By outside interference all electrical workers on the Port of Montreal have left our Local, and absolutely refuse to join any other organization; and

WHEREAS, We believe that other crafts will follow the example set by the following resolution:

That the Harbor Employees Union Local 16298 be allowed to continue to exercise their powers invested in them by their charter, and as long as they act in conformity with the Constitution of the A. F.

of L. they shall not be interfered with by any local influences whatever.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 43—By John Donlin, of the B. T. D., A. F. of L. and Wm. J. Spencer, of the B. T. D., A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The Sheet Metal Workers' Local, No. 105, has for years been engaged in an attempt to organize the Sheet Metal Workers of the City of Detroit and to unionize the various shops; and

WHEREAS, A firm known as the R. C. Mahon Co., doing business in the City of Detroit, of which Russell C. Mahon, Orlande L. Mahon and Ida M. Buskin, children of Wm. D. Mahon, International President Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, and a member of the executive council of the A. F. of L., are the principal owners, managers and stockholders; and

WHEREAS, Said firm, employing union sheet metal workers up until the year 1914, decided in that year to employ non-union men, thus compelling the union workers and dues-paying members of the organization to cease work to uphold their union principles; and

WHEREAS, W. D. Mahon at that time a stockholder in the R. C. Mahon Co., was requested on numerous occasions by the officers of Sheet Metal Workers' Union Local 105, and the officers of the Detroit Federation of Labor, to adjust matters, to return to a union shop basis and to use his influence with his children, the principal stockholders and owners, to that end, and that these efforts proved futile; and

WHEREAS, Orlande L. Mahon, son of Wm. D. Mahon, is employed as secretary by the latter in his capacity as president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, while at the same time running a non-union shop and employing non-union men in preference to dues-paying members of the organization, thus casting grave reflection upon the organized labor movement of this city and this country; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of W. D. Mahon, member Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, in the controversy between the Sheet Metal Workers' Local Union No. 105 and the concern owned and managed by his children principally, and of which W. D. Mahon was a stockholder at the time the dispute took place, and for some time afterwards, has been and is one of general indifference and even hostility to the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, thus betraying a spirit which is in violation of his oath of office and contrary to all recognized practices and professions among union men, not to wrong a fellow union man whenever it is possible and to prevent such wrong and injury; and

WHEREAS, It is incompatible with the principles and declarations of the A. F. of L. to have in its midst a man who so callously and heartlessly treats with his brother unionists and declines to assist them in their righteous struggles for union principles and recognition when it was in his power to render them incal-

culable service without inflicting any injury upon himself and members of his family; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit Building Trades Council, in regular meeting assembled, does hereby go on record instructing its delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in June, 1920, in the City of Montreal, Canada, to bring this resolution before the delegates to this convention, calling their attention to this abominable state of affairs existing on account of the unfair, unheard-of and anti-union attitude assumed by W. D. Mahon, in the controversy above described, which has worked incalculable harm to the labor movement of the City of Detroit; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor use its influence and disciplinary power to compel W. D. Mahon, or any other officer in its ranks, to have greater respect for the good name and reputation of organized labor and to so conduct his private business and his dealings with labor as not to interfere with the legitimate workings of labor organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No 44—By William F. Quesse, Chicago Flat Janitors' Union, Local No. 14332; S. E. Kelleher, Chicago Janitors' Union Local No. 1541; Chas. MacGowan, Bollermakers; E. W. Leonard, United Association; J. H. Walker, delegate Illinois Federation of Labor; Thos. Redding, Sheet Metal Workers; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers:

WHEREAS, The workers known as Janitors, Janitresses, Scrub Women, Window Washers, Watchmen, etc., are yet to be organized in most of the cities of North America; and

WHEREAS, Where these workers insisted upon a better wage and living conditions, the employer would show that workers of the same kind in other cities where they were not organized were receiving far less; and

WHEREAS, Whenever it became necessary for the workers to strike to obtain better working conditions and wages, the employer would import workers from cities that were not organized to take the place of the strikers; and

WHEREAS, There are now sixty or more locals of these workers scattered out with a small membership in some cities that have expressed their desire to form an International Union.

WHEREAS, These workers believe that organizers who are workers in these crafts are better able to explain to the workers of the same crafts in the unorganized cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That when these different crafts can show a membership of ten thousand or more, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call a convention of such workers for the purpose of forming an International Union of Building Service Employees of America.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Madge Argo, of the Will County Trades and Labor Council, Joliet, Ill., and Ben F. Parker, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The workers in the food and catering industry of America are separated into various organizations such as cooks, waiters and waitresses, general hotel employees, bakers, ice cream makers, flour mill workers, egg inspectors, butchers, stock yard and packing house workers, milk, bread, grocery, butcher and ice wagon drivers, and many other divisions, most of them under the charters granted by and under the control of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, To unite these workers into a food producing and distributing department, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, is the only real and effective way to procure justice for the millions of toilers engaged in the important work of producing and distributing the food for the American people; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has already established a building department and a mining department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to request the Convention of the A. F. of L., held in Montreal, Canada, commencing June 7, 1920, to appoint a special committee for the purpose of investigating and recommending to the Convention or to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. a plan and a programme to establish a food-producing and distributing department under the banner of the A. F. of L., with the view of bringing about better relations of all workers engaged in the production and distribution of food products.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates Matt Lewis, Jonesboro, Ark., Freight Handlers' Union No. 16738; Wm. Shaw, Cleveland, Ohio, Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165; Joe H. Wilcox, Wichita Falls, Tex., Railroad Freight Handlers' Union No. 16810; Frederick Wilson, Railroad Coach and Station Cleaners and Porters' Union No. 16685, Cleveland, Ohio; James J. Pugh, Philadelphia, Pa., Baggage Handlers, Freight Handlers and Stationmen's Union No. 16550; W. M. Carlock, Knoxville, Tenn., Federal Labor Union No. 16579; F. Phaire, Philadelphia, Pa., Coach and Car Cleaners' Union No. 16702:

WHEREAS, As a result of the European War, the world is passing through a period of unrest never before known in the annals of history; and

WHEREAS, During this period of unrest citizens are clamoring and pleading for justice from those in power; and

WHEREAS, The American negro fought

in the World War for the freedom that is due every human being; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the freedom and democracy thus won by the sacrifices of all should be dispensed regardless of race, creed or color; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the national committees of the dominant parties.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates John Donlin, B. T. D., A. F. of L., and Wm. J. Spencer, B. T. D., A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American citizens protest against Oriental Coolie Immigration; and

WHEREAS, The ground for their protest is rooted in the cheap standard of living and the ability of the Coolie workers to live on less; and

WHEREAS, We desire very properly to preserve the population of America in hope of advancing American workers and American standard of living; and

WHEREAS, Exclusion legislation has been established as a National American policy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Building Trades Council of California, in twentieth annual session assembled, that we hereby endorse United States Senator James D. Phelan's Constitutional Amendment and pending exclusion bills; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask of Congress as follows: First, cancellation of the "gentlemen's agreement;" second, exclusion of "picture brides" by action of our government; third, absolute exclusion of Japanese, with other Asiatics, as immigrants; fourth, confirmation and legalization of the principal that Asiatics shall be forever barred from American citizenship; fifth, amendment of Sec. 1 of Art. XIV. of the Federal Constitution, providing that no child born in the United States of Asiatic or Oriental parents shall be eligible to American citizenship unless both parents are eligible to such citizenship; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we petition both Houses of Congress, the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, and the President of the United States in behalf of this legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor, its affiliated departments and international organizations, to co-operate and press the above legislation until it is successfully attained.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates Frederick Wilson of Coach and Car Cleaners' Local 16685; Edmund Turner, of the Boiler Makers and Blacksmiths' Local No. 16600; Jordan W. Chambers, of the Coach Cleaners' Union No. 16088, St. Louis, Mo.; James J. Pugh, of No. 16550, B. H. F. H. and S. Men; John H. Smith, of No. 15980 Boiler Makers' Helpers; Noah Allen, No. 16351,

Chicago (Ill.) Coach and Car Cleaners; William Sharon, No. 17185, Freight Handlers, Cleveland, Ohio; Frank Phaire, No. 16702, Coach and Car Cleaners, Philadelphia, Pa.; Abraham Lefkowitz, A. F. & T. Local No. 5:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has taken a firm position on the claims of negro labor to fair and impartial sharing of the benefits of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Despite this attitude of the American Federation of Labor, encouraging results have not followed, and millions of negro workmen continue ignorant of the benefits of collective bargaining, thus militating against the successful operation of the Federation in its fight for a square deal for labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor enter upon a campaign of education among both white and colored working men to convince them of the necessity of bringing into the ranks of labor all men who work, regardless of race, creed or color; and be it further

RESOLVED, That with this end in view there be called into periodical conference with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor white and colored leaders who can suitably represent and express the point of view of negro workmen and can convey to negro workmen the good will and sympathy felt by the American Federation of Labor towards them; and be it further

RESOLVED, That there be employed in headquarters at Washington a competent negro agent, taken from the ranks of labor, who will express the hopes and yearnings of negro workmen to the American Federation of Labor, and in turn be the mouthpiece of the Federation for such messages and information as the Federation may from time to time wish to convey to the negro workers throughout the country; said agent to be the executive secretary and official representative in the interim of meetings of said special committee on negro workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the appointment of negro organizers in all states and for all crafts in which negroes are or may be employed, whose duty will be to build up negro membership.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates John Donlin, B. T. D., A. F. of L., and Wm. J. Spencer of the B. T. D., A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, One of the greatest projects ever undertaken by the United States Government was the building of the Panama Canal, and now the Canal is in operation and its revenue equal or nearly so to its operating expense; and

WHEREAS, This project is a monument to the American skill and industry, and we cannot conceive of any reason why its Operating and Mechanical De-

partments should not be manned by American citizens. During the building and actual digging of the canal emergencies may have existed to cause the employment of alien labor, and provision was made for such emergencies in the Manual of Information concerning employment for Panama Canal Service "Form 151." We feel, however, that advantage is and will be taken of those emergency clauses by the further employment of alien labor in the Operating and Mechanical Departments; and

WHEREAS, "The Panama Canal Record" (the same being a Report of the Governor) shows the working force in the Canal Zone to be 22,478, of which 4,247 are Gold Employes and 18,231 Silver Employes—Aliens. This continued and increasing employment of Alien Labor, in our opinion, is a menace to the success of the operation of the Canal, especially so when alien labor is predominant in the Operating and Mechanical Departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take up with the proper authorities the amending of the aforesaid Manual of Information in order to eliminate the emergency clauses that now permit the employment of alien labor in the Operating and Mechanical Departments, and further to take up with the Panama Canal Commission the proposition of employment of American citizens only in the Operating and Mechanical Departments.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Seymour C. Butler, City Policemen's Union 16807, Boston, Mass.:

We the officers and members of the City Policemen's Union No. 16807 of Boston, Mass., do hereby present for your consideration and such appropriate action as your honorable body may deem fit and proper, the following:

WHEREAS, At the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Atlantic City, N. J., in May, 1919, said organization did after due deliberation decide to admit members of Police Departments of cities to the ranks of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Boston Police Department under the said decision did apply for, and was granted a charter on the 2nd day of August, 1919; and

WHEREAS, The Police Commissioner for the City of Boston on the 11th day of August, 1919, promulgated the rule known as Rule 35, Section 19, of the Police Department of the City of Boston, and reading as follows:—

"No member of the force shall join or belong to any organization, club or body composed of present or past members of the force, which is affiliated with or part of any organization, club or body outside the department, except that a post of the Grand Army of the

Republic, the United Spanish War Veterans and the American Legion of World's War Veterans, may be formed within the department"; and

WHEREAS, The Police Commissioner of the City of Boston did in accordance with the above rule summon before him the officers of said City Policemen's Union No. 16807, nineteen in number, for violation of said rule in that they joined an organization outside of the Police Department, namely the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said rule is retroactive and in violation of the principles of the constitution of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, The Police Commissioner by virtue of said rule did dismiss from the Police Department nineteen officers aforesaid; and

WHEREAS, Members and officers of said Policemen's Union went on strike September 9, 1919, by reason of the oppressive and tyrannical methods and tactics of Police Commissioner Edwin U. Curtis, and also by reason of the intolerable conditions with respect to their employment, and are still on strike; and

WHEREAS, Twelve hundred and sixty members of City Policemen's Union No. 16807 are now victimized for joining and belonging to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, All the conditions complained of by the Union that were directly the cause of the strike have been changed, and all those concessions granted the present members of the Police Force of the City of Boston, who were appointed to fill the places of the members of the Union who were obliged to strike in order to better their conditions as hereinbefore recited; and

WHEREAS, A great many of the old men of the City Policemen's Union No. 16807 are in destitute circumstances and are unfit for any other kind of employment; be it

RESOLVED, That we the officers and delegates to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby pledge to said City Policemen's Union No. 16807 our moral support and financial assistance to its cause until a satisfactory conclusion of said strike is reached.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, An agreement was entered into by the International Longshoremen's Association and the Coopers' International Union relating to Dock Coopers' Local No. 6 of New York City; and

WHEREAS, This contract has not been lived up to by the International Longshoremen's Association, but has been, on the contrary, broken and abrogated on many occasions; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has transgressed and are still transgressing on the rights of Dock Coopers' Union No. 6, regardless of said agreement; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at convention assembled, demand that the International Longshoremen's Association immediately stop trespassing on the rights of Dock Coopers' Local No. 6 and that the International Longshoremen's Association recognize the agreement entered into; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if the International Longshoremen's Association does not stop trespassing upon the rights of Dock Coopers' Local No. 6, by revoking Cargo Repairers' Local No. 908 of New York City, their International Charter shall, at the expiration of thirty days from the close of this convention, be automatically revoked.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, and Chas. M. Moore, Colorado State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We believe the time ripe for intensive organizing effort in the Intermountain West; and

WHEREAS, Owing to heavy demands made upon the American Federation of Labor for organizers, it has been impossible for the officers to accede to past requests of these States for the services of a salaried organizer; and

WHEREAS, These States have endeavored in every way to further the interests of organization within their boundaries and in this way have rendered substantial service; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in the 40th Annual Convention assembled, that the Executive Council be directed to delegate a representative to co-operate with State Federations of Labor in Colorado, Utah and Wyoming in extending the scope of organization work, and in making clear the program of our movement. Services of such organizer to be extended over such time as conditions warrant.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Jas. P. Noonan, of I. B. E. W.; Martin T. Joyce, of I. B. E. W.; C. L. Love, of I. B. E. W.; H. V. Gould, of Federal Local No. 15255; Fred D. Ferguson, of San Pedro and Wilmington C. L. C.; H. L. McDougall, of Federal Local No. 14451; John M. Hourigan, of Schenectady Trades Assembly; Wm. A. Dermont, of Hartford C. L. U.; Edw. J. Evans, of Lake County Central Union; John Noble, of Kingston; John F. Teevan, of No. 3, New York City; Joseph Lawler, of No. 3, New York City; A. Bas-

tien, of No. 561, Montreal, Canada; W. J. Colley, of No. 568, Montreal, Canada; Oliver Myers, of No. 245, Toledo, O.; W. E. Wolcott, of Office Employees No. 15251; C. A. Adams, of the Central Labor Union, San Barbara, Cal.; M. J. Boyle, Electrical Workers No. 134, Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, In the near past many employers of labor are on record as adopting the so-called "American Plan" of organization thereby creating individual units of workers in each particular plant and, in many cases, a number of organizations in the same plant, each separate, distinct, free and independent of all the other workers in that industry, without any connection, federated or otherwise, with the workers in like industries outside of their particular plant; and

WHEREAS, The Bell Telephone Company in particular, as one of the largest employers of labor, has within the past year spent vast sums of money and great effort in organizing their employees along the lines laid down by the advocates who in all cases are the employers, known as the "American Plan"; and

WHEREAS, These associations, wherever installed, have, without exception, proven to be fostered under and controlled by the employing interests, and as such cannot possibly serve the best interests of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This evil is spreading continuously and will be adopted by all large employers, if the employers now attempting to force it on their employees, are successful in their efforts to foist on the workers this spurious form of organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby voice its disapproval and protest against the plan of organization known as the Association plan or the American plan; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated organizations be requested to give their support in every manner possible to any of the organizations affiliated with it on which the employers are forcing, or attempting to force the American plan; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor stand directed to lend their full assistance to any organization in its efforts to resist the attempts of employers to disrupt the Trades Union movement by the introduction of this mis-named "American plan."

Referred to the Committee on State Organization.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia, numbering more than 450,000, and the Canal Zone, numbering 3,350, are the only peoples in this country who do not enjoy the privilege of exercising the franchise, who are taxed without representation, and who have no voice in electing representatives of Congress and the Electoral College; and

WHEREAS, To secure this privilege which should be a right, it is necessary to have a constitutional amendment adopted, which requires a two-thirds vote of Congress and a ratification of three-fourths of the states; and

WHEREAS, There is now before Congress a joint resolution, H. R. No. 32, which provides by constitutional amendment for representation in both houses of Congress and electors for President and Vice-President; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the 40th annual convention of the A. F. of L. favor the passage of H. R. No. 32 and will render every assistance possible to the Washington C. L. U. in their efforts to secure universal suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia and the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, H. R. No. 32 does not include the Canal Zone in accordance with the action taken by the 39th convention of the A. F. of L.; be it further

RESOLVED, That in conformity with said resolution a bill be introduced in the Congress of the United States to cover this omission from H. R. No. 32.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The campaign of misrepresentation concerning the objects of the bona fide trades union movement, as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National and International Unions, that has been carried on by those antagonistic to our progress, both by employers and the advocates of other forms of labor organizations, offers a serious menace to our further development; and

WHEREAS, We believe the principles underlying our movement to be in harmony with the ideals of democracy, upon which our Governments are founded and worthy of the widest knowledge and publicity; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in the 40th Annual Convention assembled, that we authorize our Executive Council to establish at the earliest date possible a lecture bureau or corps of lecturers, well informed as to the history and purposes of our movement, whose duty it shall be to address local unions and public gatherings, called under the auspices of our movement for the purpose of presenting the ideals and orderly program of labor, these lecturers to be selected from the membership of our affiliated National and International Unions.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The residents of the Canal Zone, numbering more than 7,000, are the only people in the United States or its territories, who do not have representation in Congress, who are taxed regardless of this lack of representation; and

WHEREAS, The residents of the Canal Zone are compelled to pay all indirect and income tax to which all residents of the United States and its territories are liable, they are compelled to pay besides excise and transportation tax, etc., from which Alaska, the Philippines, Hawaii and Porto Rico are exempt; and

WHEREAS, It has been found necessary on numerous occasions, during the American occupancy of the Canal Zone, to send delegations of employes to Washington in order to secure much needed reforms in our local government; and

WHEREAS, The fact that the Canal Zone is located 2,500 miles, or about ten days by land and water from the seat of our National Government, the necessity of sending delegations to Washington is a serious financial burden to Canal Zone residents: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the representation in Congress, by a delegate elected by a popular vote from among the electorate of the Canal Zone; this delegate to have the same powers and privileges enjoyed by delegates from other territorial possessions of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every effort to secure this reformation in the Canal Zone government.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, Wm. Neer, James Wilson, of the Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs have had during their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor absolute jurisdiction over all men loading and unloading all kinds of material on wagons, trucks and automobiles; and

WHEREAS, This is one of the important parts of the work of teaming and transferring of merchandise and machinery; and

WHEREAS, The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers claim jurisdiction over Riggers and insist on loading heavy machinery, etc.: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirm the jurisdiction originally granted to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs by giving them the absolute right of loading and unloading wagons and automobiles on which the membership of that organization are daily employed, and that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be instructed by

this convention not to interfere with the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs in the loading and unloading of heavy machinery and merchandise.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate D. B. McKnight, of the Freight Handlers' Union No. 16700:

WHEREAS, Freight Handlers' Union No. 16700 of Petersburg, Va., after suffering various hardships and abuses, has united its efforts to fight our enemies continually, until the objects as pertaining to our rights have been accomplished; and

WHEREAS, We urge the American Federation of Labor to give us its sincere support and attention: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we apply for our organization known to embrace three divisions, viz.: Norfolk & Western, Atlantic Coast Line, Seaboard Air Line; whereas, we are rejected and refused by employers on grounds that they are not obliged to grant us our privileges, pertaining to Labor, as we have no contract with the railroads who employ us; whereas, we apply to you that such action as necessary be used to furnish Freight Handlers contract to establish our fundamental rights with employers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we consider such action of representatives in refusing to co-operate and deal justly by investigating Freight Handlers' affairs, and to withhold certain reports for reasons personal, are unconstitutional, and should cease to exist; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we object to laying off of Freight Handlers' employes and thereafter place the clerks and checkers against their craft or calling to perform said work of employee who is laid off; whereas, Freight Handlers are not allowed to take the clerk's position and perform his tasks, nor does the clerk be laid off any day and substitute any freight handler in his place; and be it further

RESOLVED, That eight hours constitute a day's work and a 48-hour week. To work in emergency calling, 8 hours on Saturday; otherwise four hours should constitute a day's work on Saturday, for reason that the laborer is human. It is the day to consider preparations for his home and establish a basis to better qualify him to render to industry each week a more perfect satisfactory production.

Propositions to Be Considered

1. That time and a half for overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays without discrimination, the right of passers and free speech, more freedom, liberty and justice.

*Granted.

That employees be given fair trial and not discharged by employers without cause, and legal proof should be shown, prohibiting dismissals for personal and sentimental reasons.

2. That duly authorized representatives of this union be granted privilege to meet employers when needed to co-operate and discuss matters affecting interests of both.

3. Recognition, and that the A. C. L. division receiving 34c per hour and the S. A. L. division receiving 31c per hour should be equalized with the same rate of pay as N. & W. at 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ c, as our organization shows nearly 100 per cent and each division is subject to same class of work.

4. That the present system of paying quarterly on the Norfolk & Western division has never been satisfactory and should be abolished, and each Saturday established as a regular pay day.

5. That ten days' vacation be given Freight Handlers in each year without reduction of pay.

6. That the case involving the discharge of our Brother, John Dally, without a fair trial and justice be declared unconstitutional and should be repealed, and a further hearing granted.

7. That the Seaboard Air Line refuses Freight Handler employees of No. 16700, A. F. of L., the right of a pass for transportation over any other road, except the Seaboard, be considered, and efforts to certify same privileges to S. A. L. employees for pass over any route he may apply for seem legal and abolish such discrimination.

Referred to Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Chas. J. MacGowan, William J. Brennan, Geo. L. Berry, A. R. Linn, Thomas Cameron, S. E. Gerrity, W. L. Funderburk:

RESOLVED, That Section 1, Article 5, be amended to read as follows:

"The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, twelve 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."

Referred to the Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 60—By Luther C. Steward and Chas. S. Wiegand:

WHEREAS, The wage scale in the United States Civil Service was established more than sixty years ago and has never been systematically revised;

WHEREAS, This scale is now inadequate, inconsistent, unequal and without just relation to the skill of the work performed, or to the increased cost of living;

WHEREAS, The inefficiency of the government service is suffering by reason of high turnover and actual vacancies in hundreds of positions, for which the wages offered are insufficient to attract any workers; and

WHEREAS, The continuance of the existing condition is wasteful of the public money and unjust both to the workers

and to the tax payers; therefore, be it RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, calls upon the Congress of the United States immediately to re-classify the Civil Service and adopt a wage scale commensurate with the skill, training and responsibility involved in the work performed, and with just relation to the increased cost of living; be it further

RESOLVED, That a central agency be provided to administer the reclassification and that the employees shall have representation in the membership of such administrative body; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the candidates for President at the coming election.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate A. M. Huddell, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The Quarry Workers' International Union have claimed jurisdiction over engineers working in quarries; and

WHEREAS, They have tried to get engineers chartered by our International Union to join Quarry Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, They now have engineers in some parts of the country in their local union; and

WHEREAS, Engineers who were members of their local unions have been refused withdrawal cards, in order to join our organization; and

WHEREAS, Our International Organization has had for years local unions whose engineers are exclusively employed in quarries, and are now working under agreement with their employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby instructed to notify the Quarry Workers' International Union that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, by virtue of their charter rights, have jurisdiction over engineers employed in quarries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council notify the above-named organization that engineers who are now in their different local unions have a right to apply for withdrawal cards for the purpose of joining our International Union, and that the above-named organization be instructed to grant such card for such purpose.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, International Association of Machinists, Robert Fechner, Wm. Hannon, John J. Connolly, H. W. Brown, C. F. Grow, Wm. Schenber, J. A. Taylor, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There are no banking and credit agencies in the United States controlled and operated in the interest of the worker and the farmer, to which these groups can go for cheap and easy credit, in emergency, in sickness and in need; and to which they can apply for credit to develop their talent and initiative; and

WHEREAS, The wages of labor and the wealth of the farmers constitute a great part, possibly two-thirds, of the credit resources of America, which wages and agricultural wealth are often used by the banks against labor, against the farmer, against the producing classes; and

WHEREAS, Practically every other country in the world has banks and credit agencies owned and operated by the workers in their own interest; and

WHEREAS, Such banks have increased the power of organized labor, have given it a sense of solidarity and resourcefulness, and have improved the standard of life of the people: now therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the banking and credit agencies of the nation be socialized, so that the collective deposits of the people shall be used for the benefit of the people. Banking like transportation should be impressed with a public trust; it should be made a public utility, subject to control by the national Government and by the states, to the end that the credit resources of the nation shall be used for productive purposes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That labor should own and control its own funds and the funds of its members through banks organized as nearly as possible on the co-operative model; that such banks should have a widely distributed stock ownership; that there should be a limitation on dividends, and an obligation upon the managers to use the resources of labor for the benefit of labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend the establishment within lodges, labor unions and central bodies of credit unions or peoples' banks such as have been developed in the other countries of the world, in which individual members of the union will be stockholders and depositors, and through which they will receive aid and assistance in case of necessity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the enactment of laws by the nation and by the individual states that will permit of the organization of co-operative or peoples' banks and of credit unions along the lines of laws heretofore enacted by the States of Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Oregon, Utah and Wisconsin; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor mobilize its money, its deposits and its resources, and use them for increasing the economic power and the solidarity of labor.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Luther C. Steward and Chas. L. Wiegand:

WHEREAS, The Nolan minimum wage bill for employes of the United States Government providing a minimum rate of \$3.00 a day for such employes has failed of passage in the United States Senate after passage in the House by an overwhelming majority; and

WHEREAS, The failure of the Senate to act upon this measure upon adjournment of the recent session of Congress, has again registered the unresponsiveness of the Upper House to the needs of the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled calls upon the Senate to pass this Bill immediately upon the re-assembling of Congress for the next session; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the candidates for President at the coming election.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Chas. J. MacGowan, Louis Weyand, Chas. F. Scott, Luther C. Steward, Chas. L. Wiegand, Chas. B. Stillman:

WHEREAS, We believe that the cause of Labor is advanced by the acquisition of knowledge and of skill in its effective use, for the welfare of mankind; and

WHEREAS, We see no limit to the kinds of knowledge and skill which it is in our power to acquire and develop; and

WHEREAS, The employment of experts trained in the sciences connected with industry and production would increase our knowledge, skill and power, and so be a valuable aid to the success of our cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend for the consideration of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the establishment of a Bureau for the compilation of statistics in accounting, cost-accounting, engineering, scientific research, advertising and publicity, co-operative organizations, etc., as well as statistics covering law, and labor organizations; the American Federation of Labor to employ experts in these lines in addition to those experts covering the above subjects who may now be employed by the various labor organizations.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 65—By Luther C. Steward and Chas. L. Wiegand:

WHEREAS, Official records show that

of total expenditures of more than five and one-half billion dollars by the United States Government during the current fiscal year, 93 per cent was disbursed for expenses of recent and previous wars, and the maintenance of the War and Navy Departments; less than 6 per cent for the maintenance of the Civil Government and public works, and only 1 per cent for human welfare, educational and developmental purposes, including the study of labor problems, agriculture, mining, forestry, fisheries, markets, public roads, foreign commerce, general and vocational education, public health, and the needs of women and children; and

WHEREAS, The progress and well-being of the people of America depend upon thorough understanding of the direct human needs and conditions of life, as well as upon military defence, and the promotion of property interests; and

WHEREAS, Scientific research is necessary to increased production and better distribution of the necessities of life, as well as the physical protection of the workers at their jobs: be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, calls upon the Congress of the United States henceforth to provide liberally for the study of social and industrial problems and technical research in all branches of sciences, touching the welfare of the nation's people: be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the candidates for President at the coming election.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, Louis Weyand, Chas. J. MacGowan, Chas. F. Scott, D. P. McKillop, John Dohney, of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders; Wm. H. Johnston, International Association of Machinists; Martin F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; Jas. P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; S. E. Heberling, International President Switchmen's Union of North America; E. H. Fitzgerald, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Thos. Redding, V. P. Sheet Metal Workers I. A.:

WHEREAS, All standard recognized railroad labor organizations have been and are now doing everything possible to educate the American people to the seriousness of the railroad situation, and the necessity for adopting some other means for operating the country's transportation systems in order to provide more adequate and cheaper transportation and to eliminate the sinister influence of railroad corporations from our national life; and

WHEREAS, The railroad question is an industrial question, it is also a social question, and it is far more than a ques-

tion of dividends to stockholders or the wages of employees, it is a question that involves every industrial activity of the nation; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the continued operation of the railroads under the provision of the Transportation Act of 1920 neglects all these questions and makes their solution impossible, and we believe further that the provisions of this Act providing for a subsidy and the utilization of public funds by private individuals is a betrayal of the public interest and is subversive of the traditions of our country; and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned recognized railroad labor organizations have, after careful deliberation and by instructions of their respective memberships, adopted and are advocating a plan providing for Government ownership and democratic operation of the railroad properties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as indorsing the movement to bring about a return of the systems of transportation to Government control and democratic operation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Transportation Act of 1920 repealed and legislation enacted providing for Government ownership and democratic operation of the railroad systems and necessary inland waterways.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 67—By Wm. H. Johnston, C. F. Grow, J. A. Taylor, Robt. Fechner, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The power of the daily press has been fully recognized for many years and the necessity for having a medium of this character through which Labor could voice its desires and aspirations has been keenly understood; and

WHEREAS, The policy of leaving the upbuilding of such an important asset to the local initiative of individuals or organizations has not proved to be entirely successful; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to devise a plan which will secure the control of a number of daily papers located in various sections of the country, such papers to be conducted as independent news oratories, whose main purpose will be the fair presentation of matters in which Labor is interested; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated organizations be called on to subscribe their proper quota for financing this important matter.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 68—By J. A. Franklin, Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders; T. W. McCullough, I. T. U.; Thomas F. McMahon, U. T. W. of A.; R. W. Burton, International Molders' Union:

WHEREAS, Congress has made no statutory provision for the establishment of a Federal Employment Service, and the present service exists only through appropriation of meager sums secured with difficulty from year to year; and

WHEREAS, The uncertainty of its continued existence renders impossible its full efficiency and adequate development; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urges the Congress of the United States immediately to enact the necessary legislation to establish the U. S. Employment Service as a permanent bureau in the Department of Labor, with ample appropriation.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Earl D. Parker, of the Elkhart Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor body of Elkhart, Ind., has struggled to organize the workers of various crafts into organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at this convention, recommend to the Executive Council the necessity of placing an organizer in the Elkhart District, with a view of organizing the unorganized workers at the earliest opportunity.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers International Union:

WHEREAS, The Excelsior Motor Cycle Company, manufacturers of the Excelsior and Henderson Motor Cycle, and the Arnold Sechwin Bicycle Co., manufacturer of the World Bicycle, located in Chicago, Ill., owned and controlled by the same parties, have for the past nine months, and are at present, waging a fight against organized labor, they have refused to grant the shorter work-day, and the union scale of wages, and have secured an injunction which prohibits our members, or their friends and sympathizers, from in any way conducting peaceful picketing, or from telephoning, writing or speaking to any of the strike-breakers employed by these concerns. The members of the Polishers International Union and their officers have done all in their power to bring this unfair firm to a sense of fairness, but they have been unable to do so. Also attempts have been made by the Chicago Federation of Labor to adjust these differences, but have also failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Convention condemn the arbitrary stand of these two concerns, and that the Executive Council be requested to endeavor to make an adjustment of this affair; failing to do so, that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify all central labor unions, all State Federations of Unions, all labor

papers and all internationals of the action of these concerns.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Because of the inadequate wage standards in the Federal Civil Service, the efficiency of governmental institutions is being seriously impaired through large numbers of resignations with resultant economic loss to the people; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming increasingly difficult to secure and hold competent employees through regular civil service channels, by reason of these low wage standards and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Joint Congressional Wage Commission, appointed at the suggestion of the A. F. of L. has made a report on re-classification and wage adjustments in the postal service that is unsatisfactory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives and officers of the affiliated organizations of Postal employes in securing a higher wage standard than that now existing in the postal service and in perfecting the legislation to secure better working conditions and classification.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Robert G. Ewald of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Sheet Metal Workers Local Union No. 105 has for years been engaged in an attempt to organize the sheet metal workers of the city of Detroit and to unionize the various shops; and

WHEREAS, A firm known as the R. C. Mahon Co., doing business in the city of Detroit, of which Russell C. Mahon, Orlando L. Mahon and Ida M. Buskin, children of Wm. D. Mahon, International President Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are the principal owners, managers and stockholders; and

WHEREAS, Said firm employing union sheet metal workers up until the year of 1914 decided in that year to employ non-union men, thus compelling the union workers and dues-paying members of the organization to cease work to uphold their union principles; and

WHEREAS, W. D. Mahon, at that time a stockholder in the R. S. Mahon Co., was requested on numerous occasions by the officers of Sheet Metal Workers' Union Local No. 705 and the officers of the Detroit Federation of Labor, to adjust matters and to return to a union shop basis and to use his influence with his children, the principal stockholders and owners, to that end, and that these efforts proved futile; and

WHEREAS, Orlande L. Mahon, son of Wm. D. Mahon, is employed as Secretary by the latter in his capacity as president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, while at the same time running a non-union shop and employing non-union men in preference to dues paying members of the organization, thus casting grave reflection upon the organized labor movement of this city and this country; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of W. D. Mahon, member Executive Council of American Federation of Labor, in the controversy between the Sheet Metal Workers Union No. 105 and the concern owned and managed by his children principally and of which W. D. Mahon was stockholder at the time the dispute took place and for some time afterwards, has been and is one of general indifference and even hostility to the Sheet Metal Workers Union, thus betraying a spirit which is in violation of his oath of office and contrary to all recognized practices and professions among union men, not to wrong a fellow union man whenever it is possible to prevent such wrong and injury; and

WHEREAS, It is incompatible with the principles and declarations of the American Federation of Labor to have in its midst a man who so callously and heartlessly treats with his brother unionists and declines to assist them in their righteous struggles for union principles and recognition, when it was in his power to render them incalculable service without inflicting any injury upon himself and members of his family; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit Federation of Labor, in regular meeting assembled, does hereby go on record instructing its delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in June, 1920, in the City of Montreal, Canada, to bring this resolution before the delegates to this convention, calling their attention to this abominable state of affairs existing on account of the unfair, unheard of and anti-union attitude assumed by W. D. Mahon, in the controversy above described, which has worked incalculable harm to the labor movement of the City of Detroit; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its influence and disciplinary power to compel W. D. Mahon, or any other officer in its ranks, to have greater respect for the good name and reputation of organized labor and to so conduct his private business and his dealings with labor as not to interfere with the legitimate workings of labor organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Various duties are required of railway postal clerks in connection with the services rendered; and

WHEREAS, While the major part of their duties is in the actual distribution, handling or supervision of the mails, yet a considerable amount of study is required of them while at home; and

WHEREAS, Railway Postal Clerks contend that the day of service should be definitely apportioned and allotted to the duties required of them; and

WHEREAS, The Joint Commission on Postal Salaries recently recommended to the Congress, who on June 5th, 1920, enacted into law a provision establishing a standard not to exceed an average of eight hours per day, "including proper allowance for all service required" of them, thus leaving the apportionment of the time indefinite; therefore, it is

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to assist the affiliated postal organizations to maintain the right to participate in determining the proper allowances and apportionment of the eight hours to the various duties required of them; and be it further

RESOLVED, That if such right is not accorded to the employes every assistance will be given to secure definite determination of the status and hours of service of railway postal clerks by the Congress of the United States.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates John Donlin, George F. Hedrick, Milton Snellings, William J. McSorley, John J. Hynes, William L. Hutcheson, William J. Spencer, B. T. D., A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes has attempted to establish jurisdiction over construction work in motion picture studios by either requiring members of the several unions of the building industry to affiliate with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes or requiring the members of that union to infringe upon the construction work that properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, An effort was made at the Atlantic City Convention to bring about an understanding between the representatives of the Building Trades and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes so as to avert contention and misunderstanding between the two organizations, to which the officials of the Theatrical Stage Employes agreed; and

WHEREAS, In attempting to work out the tentative agreement entered into at Atlantic City we find the officials of the Theatrical Stage Employes averse to an adjustment of any character, to the extent that the said tentative agreement has been wilfully ignored and repudiated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes to cease further encroachment upon the jurisdiction claims of the Building Trades Department, cancel such agreements as may have been entered into with the Motion Picture Producers that affected employes of the

building industry, and cause the members to be restored to their rightful organizations. For failure to carry out the spirit of this resolution within sixty days the charter of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees shall be suspended.

Your Executive Council is keenly appreciative of the friendly advice, assistance and co-operation that has been so freely bestowed by the officials of our several International Unions, as well as those of our local councils throughout the country, and the present occasion is embraced as an opportunity to express the earnest and heartfelt thanks of the several members.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The eight-hour law, regulating the hours of work for post office clerks, city letter carriers and railway postal clerks, provides that only the regular rate of compensation is paid for overtime work; and

WHEREAS, It is the trade union principle now almost universally in effect in private industries, on Government contract work and in many branches of the Government service, that overtime work must be compensated for at a higher rate of pay; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of any such penalty for work in excess of eight hours in the postal service, the practice has developed of imposing excessively long hours of work daily upon the experienced men instead of keeping the working force recruited to a proper standard; and

WHEREAS, This excessive overtime is breaking the health and morale of the men in the service, causing many of them to resign, thus impairing the efficiency of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th Convention of the A. F. of L. pledges its support to the affiliated postal employees in their efforts to insure a more strict observance of the letter and spirit of the postal eight hour law by securing legislation establishing a rate of time and one half for all work in excess of eight hours.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, International Association of Machinists; Alex. Ironside, International Association of Granite Cutters; James Simpson, Toronto District Labor Council; L. E. Gerrity, I. B. F. Employees Union; Dan P. McKillop:

WHEREAS, The moving picture screen, with such wonderful possibilities, truthful and artistic, is every day being put to more and more vicious service as an instrument of misrepresentation in the American-wide campaign against labor and labor organizations, all of which is

evident in both news and feature pictures. Large open meetings of union men or strikers are shown as "mobs," their parades are termed "riots" and their cause is both ridiculed and falsified—to all of which Labor is without proper answering medium; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the fortieth convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Montreal, Canada, that the Executive Council take cognizance of the situation and file protests with the leading producing, distributing and exhibiting picture concerns and demand in behalf of organized labor the truth and a fair deal for all.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department has in operation systems to measure the speed and efficiency of the postal employees; and

WHEREAS, These systems are calculated to force the employes to maintain a speed and standard that is unreasonable and detrimental to their welfare and health; and

WHEREAS, In practice, these systems have resulted in unreasonable punishment and discrimination against the employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemns this policy, and asks the Executive Council to render all possible assistance to abolish present unreasonable speed tests, time-measuring devices and present unreasonable standards of personal efficiency in the postal service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Patrick J. Cahillane, Local 15951, City Employees, Manchester, N. H.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is expressive of labor for freedom and has ever raised its voice in protest at oppression and misrule; and

WHEREAS, The Atlantic City Convention of this Federation went on record as demanding for all subject peoples the right to determine for themselves the government of their choice and, in particular, recognized the rights of the Irish people to their freedom, and

WHEREAS, Each week that has elapsed since then has been a recurrence of oppression and repression, of indignities, outrageous abuse, massacre and assassination, visited upon Ireland and Irish people by the misguided officials of Great Britain, in their policy of despotic misrule; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the 40th Convention assembled, reaffirm our declarations for the freedom of all subject people; that we extend to British labor our cordial sympathy and support in their effort to establish the freedom of Ireland; that we call upon our Government to recognize the

Republic of Ireland as a Sovereign State.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Robert G. Ewald, Detroit Central Body:

WHEREAS, For several months an attempt has been made to develop a general organizing campaign for the working people of Detroit and vicinity, for the purpose of getting the non-union workers into our ranks and have met with a fair degree of success; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that we have a more general representation from the International and National Headquarters for the usual necessary things attached to campaigns of this character, and so far the most of the General Representatives have come here to serve some routine mission of a temporary nature and they have been afforded no chance to be of service to us; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this General Trade Union Organization Committee of Detroit requests the delegates from this city to the American Federation of Labor Convention at Montreal, to visit the Executive Council at its preliminary meeting and request that special mention and effort be made by the Executive Council on the convention for the purpose of having all International Officers appreciate this situation and send the assistance asked for, so that we may secure the very best results obtainable.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Federal Civil Service laws are defective in not making provision for granting employees the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, Lodging arbitrary power in the hands of officials frequently results in injustice being inflicted upon employees and tends toward the upbuilding of a bureaucracy in our Government institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 40th Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employees in securing the enactment of legislation granting civil service employees the right to a hearing and to an appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates M. Snellings, H. M. Comerford, A. M. Huddell and E. L. Edgerton, International Union Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 61, introduced by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers at the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor asking that the brick-makers

be instructed to respect the Charter Rights of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, which resolution, after strenuous objection by the brick-makers was concurred in; and

WHEREAS, The Representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers during the past year have repeatedly tried to hold conferences with the brick-makers to adjust this trouble, with the result that the brick-makers would not meet us or treat with us in any way; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council call a conference between these two organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this Convention, and in the event that the brick-makers refuse to attend or refuse to respect the charter rights of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, their charter shall be suspended.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postal employees throughout the Postal Service are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The affiliated postal employees are endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the service by securing a reduction in the daily working schedule of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m., and prior to 6 a. m., a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the efforts of affiliated postal workers to minimize night work in the service and instruct the Executive Council to cooperate in securing from the 65th Congress the needed legislation.

Referred to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate E. L. Edgerton, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, It is now nearly two years since the Armistice was signed and hostilities ceased; and

WHEREAS, During all this time the Congress of the United States has enacted no remedial legislation for reconstruction or to reduce the high cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The prices for the commodities of life are at the highest level ever known and are still being raised by the manufacturers, operators and profiteers; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has demonstrated its power to advance the wages of the workers and will continue to advance them if this price-boosting continues; and

WHEREAS, It seems like utter folly that these transactions should continue, thereby causing strife and struggles be

tween employer and employes: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we may try to help bring about a more harmonious relationship between the employers of our country and their workers, the Executive Council is instructed to extend an invitation to the Associated Industries and such other representative bodies of business men as in their judgment are necessary to meet with them for the purpose of devising ways and means of and creating a voluntary arbitration body to settle labor's grievances in the future.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates William P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien and John F. Carbre of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union:

RESOLVED, That Section 1 of Article 3 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be changed by substituting the word "first" for the word "second," and thereby provide that in the future the conventions convene the first Monday in June.

Referred to the Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate N. A. James, of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, There has been started at Washington, D. C., a union broom factory, where any member of organized labor who may be so unfortunate as to lose the sight of their eyes are eligible to learn the trade of broom-making, thus giving them an opportunity to earn a livelihood, so that they may not become a public charge or exploited by selfish interests; and

WHEREAS, This institution which has for its guiding force a member of organized labor, Brother John B. Kroell, who lost his eyesight while pursuing the trade of a photo engraver, and who is now a member of the Broommakers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The enterprise is conducted on a strictly co-operative basis; be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the 40th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the project and pledge ourselves to render all assistance possible that it may be a huge success.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate George Mercier, of the Central Labor Union of Shawinigan Falls, Que.:

WHEREAS, The man generally wishes to unite and organize but cannot do so due to lack of organization system as well as lack of proper means to execute same; and

WHEREAS, Shawinigan Falls is one of the liveliest business towns in the Province of Quebec by its great industries and capital, and as per resolution unanimously accepted at our regular meeting May 17, 1920, the delegate is requested to

put forth a resolution to this convention that a special appointment be made to have an organizer right in Shawinigan Falls until such time as the town is well organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention here assembled make an appointment to cover our most urgent need.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates William P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien and John F. Carbre of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, it being practically impossible for the delegates comprising the American Federation of Labor Conventions to give that degree of consideration to the report of the Executive Council that it merits due to insufficient time after the reports are distributed at the convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this Convention that the reports of the Executive Council be prepared in ample time to enable the secretary to mail one copy to the address of each delegate whose duplicate credential has been received by the secretary, said copy to be mailed ten days previous to the convening of the Convention; delegates failing to present their duplicate credentials within the time that will permit of the secretary conforming to this change then they to receive their copy of the report at the Convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates E. J. Evans, of the Lake County Central Union; John H. De Young of the Calumet Joint Labor Council; Thos. L. Gregson of Blue Island Central Labor Union; E. H. Metz, of the South Bend C. L. U.; Vernon B. Vaughan, of the Framingham, Mass., C. L. U.; H. W. Raisse, of the Lorain Central Body:

RESOLVED, That Section 1, Article 5, be amended to read as follows:

"The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eleven 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."

Referred to the Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate N. A. James, of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, There are several local unions in the city of Washington, D. C., that are chartered by international organizations, do not affiliate with the Central Union; and

WHEREAS, Section 2 of Article 11, in the Constitution, provides that international unions shall instruct their local to join Central Labor Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention request all international unions to comply with the section of the Constitution and have their local become part of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.: and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to all international unions.

Referred to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Frank J. McNulty, William J. Brennan, James P. Noonan, Thomas R. Preece, Peter S. Shaughnessy, John T. Owens, John J. Lynch, Walter V. Price, John Dohney, Thos. A. Malloy, Geo. Myers, Arthur C. Doherty, W. Snow, J. T. Teevan, Steve Kelleher, Jas. J. Ryan, John A. Durkin, A. P. Johnson, Richard P. Walsh, Martin T. Joyce, Jeremiah Hurley, Chas. Winthrop, Thos. Walsh, Timothy Healy, Matthew Woll, A. H. McNulty, T. F. Walsh, Andrew Eagan, R. Patterson, A. E. Zusi, Paddy Doyle, Dan P. McKillop, John J. Sullivan, Thos. F. McMahon, E. Cooney, Chas. F. Scott, Jos. Franklin, Chas. MacGowan, A. R. Linn, E. M. Pollock, C. F. Grow, Jas. A. Duncan, Jos. D. Cannon, Wm. Schoenberg, A. Fitzgerald, P. J. Flannery, Emanuel Koveliski, Geo. Leary, Thomas S. Farrell, Edward Flore, James B. Connors, Peter J. Brady, Sara A. Conboy, Lawrence McDunnough, James L. Gernon, John Golden, S. G. Gebhardt, John Coefield, T. J. Brady, John O'Hara, Jas. P. Holland, Jeremiah Sullivan, N. A. James, C. F. Farley, H. Carr, A. Greenstein, James William Fitzpatrick, Wm. F. Canavan, Dick J. Green, Harry L. Spencer, H. M. Gilletly, E. M. Andler, Jas. Lemke, Louis Krouse, Martin F. Ryan, John W. Hayes, Wm. Young, Benj. Schlesinger, Jos. P. Ryan, J. P. Morrin, Wm. P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien, John F. Carbery, James T. Moriarty, Bernard Cavanagh, Michael J. O'Donnell, Frank Feeney, A. W. Leonard, A. J. Kugler, J. J. Manning, Robert Dunlop, John Rader, C. A. Adams, J. J. Quinlavin:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has approved the efforts of the Irish people on the exercise of their right to self-determination, have by an overwhelming majority established the Irish Republic; and

WHEREAS, The English Government is now seeking to destroy through military process the republican form of government already established by the Irish people; and

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives, the Senate of the United States, the

British Trade and Labor Congress, the Labor Movement of Australia, the American Federation of Labor, as well as the liberty-loving people of the world, have repeatedly urged the British Government to fully recognize the rights of the Irish people to self-determination: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirm its endorsements of the Irish Republic, and demand that the military forces of occupation in Ireland be withdrawn from that country and that the Irish people be allowed to guide their own destinies as proclaimed in the manifesto issued by the President of the United States, the same as all other nations recently given their freedom, comprising his 14 points, and agreed to by the British Government and its Allies in the recent world war, and that all possible aid be rendered to the people of Ireland in their efforts for freedom, through the American Federation of Labor, to the end that Ireland be permitted to take its place amongst the free nations of the world: and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in the interest of freedom, justice and democracy, expresses its appreciation to the peoples of the world who have come to the defense of Ireland and other nations fighting for freedom.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for many years advocated the promotion of vocational education to meet the needs both of the large group of employed men and women and of those preparing to enter wage-earning pursuits; and

WHEREAS, A Vocational Education Act providing large sums of public money to promote this much needed kind of education in schools under public control has been in operation in the United States since August 1, 1919; and

WHEREAS, It appears that some educational administrators are not only willing but eager to organize so-called day vocational schools as departments in existing high schools or in State institutions giving instruction of less than college grade, but in many cases are unwilling to so modify the character of the instruction and the qualifications of the teachers in these departments so as to meet the need of the worker for a more practical understanding of the technical drawing, science, and mathematics and for additional shop experience necessary to the development of a capable workman; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that the subject matter or character of the instruction which should be included in practical courses of study organized for the self-improvement and better theoretical understanding of those engaged in occupations such as mining, pulp and paper, pottery,

textiles, and other similar fields is not available in suitable form, and

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that courses of instruction suitable for purposes of giving a general education to those who have not yet entered upon or chosen their employment, are not suitable for the vocational school where, because of time limitations, and the exacting requirements of modern methods of production, the course must be specific in character and must include both the shop experiences and technical instruction required for effective service and for promotion; and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that instructors cannot impart to others information which they themselves do not know, or skill in workmanship which they do not possess; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in previous reports recognized that advisory committees composed of representatives of employers, employees, and the public, when properly organized, are indispensable in any State or community in promoting and conducting vocational education; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon both State and Federal Boards for Vocational Education and upon local boards of education the necessity of maintaining effective standards that will be of practical value in giving vocational training, standards which will insure an equal opportunity for the large number who have left school and who are entering employment in industrial occupations or who though already employed desire to attend evening or part-time schools for self-improvement with that much smaller group who are able to remain through high school or college; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That this body believes that the success of vocational education will depend largely upon the degree to which men and women from the trades are chosen as instructors and upon systematic analysis of industries and the occupations included in order to determine the specific character of the instruction which should be given; and further be it

RESOLVED, That we favor intensive instructor training courses organized for the purpose of assisting men and women from the trades to become efficient instructors in vocational schools, and that we recommend cooperative understandings between State Boards for Vocational Education, the Committees on Education of the State Federations, the City Central Bodies, and the several trades that may be now or in the future will become interested whereby sufficient instructor training classes may be organized to meet the needs of vocational schools for practical instructors; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor again urge upon State Federations of Labor the necessity for providing, preferably through State legislation, for the appointment of advisory committees to advise with State Boards for Vocational Education and local boards of education in the administration of vocational education, and that these advisory

committees include representatives of employers, employees, and the public schools.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 92—By Ann Hogan, B. S. & A. U. No. 12646; Jesse M. Sharon, S. T. B. A. No. 11597; Edward J. Tracy, S. T. B. & A. No. 11773; Patrick Cahillan, Local No. 15951:

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, resolution No. 202 was approved conditioned upon no unforeseen difficulties arising; and

WHEREAS, It now appears that the Stenographers are not sufficiently strong in numbers to warrant the issuing of an International Charter; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in the past issued Charters to Locals under different names, such as Bank Clerks, Court Reporters, Counters and Timekeepers, State, City and County employees, whose work is similar to that of a Stenographer, and whose interests would be best subserved by being affiliated with an International Union of Office Workers, in the event such charter is granted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this method of organization as outlined above be continued but that it be understood that in the event of an international charter being granted to the Office Workers, these locals shall obtain a charter from and remain in affiliation with such International; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to issue such an International Charter whenever the combined membership is from fifty to one hundred of all of the above locals shall total ten thousand members or more.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates John Coefield and E. W. Leonard, of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters:

WHEREAS, There has been much loss of life, personal injury, and property damage because of fire that could have been avoided by the use of proper fire prevention appliances; and

WHEREAS, These fires have worked untold hardships upon the workers and to the people generally; and

WHEREAS, In many instances no municipal, state, or federal laws requiring the installation of fire prevention devices prevail, and in other instances inadequate laws exist; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 40th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that every effort be made by the organized labor movement to the end that schools, hospitals, asylums, and other similar public or private institutions, factories as well as other forms of buildings requiring proper care against the dangers of fire, shall be provided with approved ap-

pliances for the prevention of fire; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled at Montreal, Canada, June 7, 1920, proposes to aid in securing and enforcing legislation which shall result in the installation of fire prevention devices which will tend to safeguard life, limb, and property, as well as protect the interests of the wage earners and the public generally.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate James Flynn, of Office Employees No. 12755:

WHEREAS, The Office Employees petitioned the last convention for an international charter; and

WHEREAS, The same was referred to the committee with instructions to determine the membership of these workers, other than those employed in municipalities, counties and states; and

WHEREAS, We believe that these workers should be included as they are office workers and would be of great benefit to us; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the committee be further instructed to include these workers, and if a membership sufficient be shown, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall be directed to call a convention of representatives from the various locals to elect officers and an international charter be issued to them.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates John Donlin, J. H. Kennedy, Ed. J. M. McGivern, C. M. Anderson:

WHEREAS, The organized labor bodies of Ireland have refused to assist in the convoy of munitions and military materials to be used by the British army of occupation in that country;

WHEREAS, This action of our brethren in Ireland is justified by inherent right of the people of Ireland to a Government of their own choice; and

WHEREAS, The people of Ireland have in fact set up a Republic based upon the principle that just government depends upon the consent of the governed, which principle and which Republic the English army of occupation is now being used to suppress; and

WHEREAS, The inherent rights of humanity in Ireland as elsewhere are to be supported by organized labor and all lovers of liberty against all forms of tyranny and especially against tyranny imposed with the aid of military force; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we earnestly call upon our brothers enrolled in the ranks of Labor, and all those who believe in liberty, in England, Scotland and Wales to join with the Irish Labor Unions in refusing to participate in these measures for the suppression of Irish nationality and for the disruption of Irish industrial

effort, and that we pledge to our brethren in Ireland and Great Britain our unswerving support in all measures taken by them to enlarge the area of human liberty, and to insure to working men everywhere the peaceful prosecution of their labor and the enjoyment of its proceeds in conditions of liberty and happiness; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon our brethren in Great Britain to insist upon the withdrawal of the British troops from Ireland and upon the Government of the United States to formally recognize the freely elected and legitimate government of the Republic of Ireland.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, T. C. Cashin, Dan P. McKillop, H. C. Diehl, Wm. Hannon, Edw. J. Evans, C. N. Glover, Jas. A. Norrington, A. C. Hughes, C. L. Sharp, Fred C. Bolan, J. B. Etchison, Jas. W. Morton, James A. Duncan:

WHEREAS, There is an unmistakable effort being made by those interests hostile to the labor movement, supported by certain public officials, to deny the rights of free speech and free assembly, so essential to carrying on the work of the American Federation of Labor, and especially is this tendency pronounced in many of the steel centers of Pennsylvania and the coal fields of Kentucky and West Virginia; and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States prohibits even the Congress from passing any laws abridging the rights of free speech, a free press, or the right of the people peacefully to assemble, thus indicating the more glaringly the presumption of municipal and state legislative bodies, in undertaking so grave an invasion on the rights of the people;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support to the fullest extent possible every effort to re-establish the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly where already denied and aid those trying to prevent an invasion where these rights are threatened:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby expresses the belief that the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly are inalienable ones, and beyond the power of any judge, court, legislative body or administrative official to qualify, modify, abrogate or suspend.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, T. C. Cashin, Dan P. McKillop, Jos. W. Morton, James A. Duncan, H. C. Diehl, J. B. Etchison, Wm. Hannon, Edw. J. Evans, C. N. Glover, Jas. A. Norrington, A. C. Hughes, C. L. Shamp, Fred C. Bolan:

WHEREAS, The situation which now

exists in the steel industry is more favorable for organization, the workers rapidly recovering from their recent strikes and having the utmost confidence in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, In order for a campaign of organization to succeed in the huge, stratified steel industry, there must be the closest co-operation of all the international unions in interest, as was shown by the great campaign of 1918 and 1919; and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Associations of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, whose jurisdiction embraces fully 50 per cent of the steel workers, has withdrawn from the national organization committee, and that committee is now confronted with the alternative of either securing the reaffiliation of the Amalgamated Association or abandoning the work of organization in this field; and

WHEREAS, The National Committee knows of no way to secure the re-affiliation of the Amalgamated Association against its will, yet to discontinue the work of organization, so full of promise, is to throw the steel workers entirely at the mercy of the Steel Trust and thus cast an everlasting stigma upon organized labor: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deploras the withdrawal of the Amalgamated Association from the National Committee for organizing iron and steel workers, and expresses the hope that some means may be found by which its re-affiliation and renewed co-operation may be brought about.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, Uniformed Firemen's Association; T. A. Rickert, United Garment Workers of America; Jacob Fischer, Barbers' International Union, Frank Feeny, Elevator Constructors' International Union; Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers' Union; James Lemke, Theatrical Stage Employees' International Union; Daniel J. Tobin, Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers' International Union; Joseph Ryan, International Longshoremen's Ass'n; John Coe-field, Plumbers' International Union; Martin F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen:

WHEREAS, Wage-earners have become familiar with the merits of securities issued by the United States Government, in denominations small enough for saving, which are known as Saving Stamps and Treasury Savings Certificates; and

WHEREAS, Wage earners should adopt some form of easy saving for their individual benefit as well as the good of the entire country, through a practical method that is guaranteed to take care of the future and establish regular and systematic investment of small amounts; and

WHEREAS, Wage earners have the op-

portunity to affiliate themselves with the Government Savings Associations that are now being formed under the auspices of the Treasury Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, at Montreal, Canada, June, 1920, reiterate its former endorsement and approval of the plan of the Savings Division of the United States Treasury Department now being operated in each of the Federal Reserve districts; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all the International Unions and Federal Unions be urged to advocate Thrift Stamps, Government Savings Stamps and Treasury Savings Certificates as the best and safest method for saving and investment that their membership can adopt, as against the schemes of private corporations which are now attempting to take advantage of the Government's savings program and the saving habit formed during the war by introducing thrift systems in industry through which they will make profit from the savings of the workers: and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. David F. Houston; the other members of the Cabinet; United States Senators and Congressmen; Governors of the different States and Territories; and the Directors of the Federal Reserve districts, with the request that steps be taken to extend and advertise the opportunities which the Government has provided for the practice of thrift and saving on a small, easy payment plan for all the people and especially the wage-earners.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, T. C. Cashen, Dan P. McKillop, Jos. W. Morton, James A. Duncan, H. C. Diehl, J. B. Etchison, Wm. Hannon, Edw. J. Evans, C. N. Glover, Jas. A. Norrington, A. C. Hughes, C. L. Shamp, Fred C. Bolan:

WHEREAS, The City of Duquesne, Pa., has an ordinance under which the Mayor of the city sets aside the guarantees of both State and Federal Constitutions and prohibits all public meetings either on private property, in halls, or on streets to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of the A. F. of L. who have defied the Czar-like edicts of the municipal despot of Duquesne have in all cases been arrested, convicted and compelled to pay the maximum penalties either in fines or jail sentences; therefore, in the hope of focusing public attention on this outrageous situation, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extends to the President of the United States an invitation to address a meeting in Duquesne on the subject of free speech and free assembly and under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate John Coefield and E. W. Leonard, United Association Plumbers and Steamfitters:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its conventions at Atlanta, Georgia, and Rochester, New York, decided that the pipe fitting industry was exclusively in the control of the United Association and also decided in this same manner at the same conventions for the United Association in its controversies with the International Association of Machinists, these convention decisions against the machinists' intrusion upon the jurisdiction of work belonging to the United Association were also fortified by three decisions of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, After every reasonable effort has been made by the Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United Association to secure an understanding with the International Association of Machinists, and failed to reach an understanding after several meetings: be it

RESOLVED, That the International Association of Machinists be directed by the A. F. of L. to immediately cease infringing upon the work and duties of the members of the United Association and to further relinquish all their claims on all classes and characters of pipe fitting.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates Earl W. Young and Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A special circular letter issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, requesting 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 as during the past year, the salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor have been successful in establishing more than fifty (50) new Local Unions of Laundry Workers; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers International Union is not in a financial condition to be able to carry on very active organizing work in many sections of our country: 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 are receiving far less than a living wage.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate William P. Clarke, of the American Flint Glass Blowers' Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly appealed for the elimination of private profit in the operation of the Workmen's Compensation Laws, and

WHEREAS, In the state of Ohio the law has worked to the advantage of the wage workers and with the elimination of private companies much greater benefits are available to the injured workers; and

WHEREAS, We have appealed in the past to the various state federations to have them work for the adoption of legislation which will give to the state alone the control and operation of the Workmen's Compensation Law; and

WHEREAS, The present law in operation in Ohio is one that other states can safely follow: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be instructed to call the attention of the Secretary of each state federation to the Ohio Compensation Law with the request that each state federation petition for the enactment of similar legislation in each state.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Edward J. Tracy, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants No. 11773:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has endorsed and been actively instrumental in securing the old age pensions and retirement law for Government employees of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The basic reasons which underly the adoption of these principles for workers in Government employment apply with equal pertinence to office workers in private employment: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the Executive Council to make such provisions as shall be necessary to establish a system whereby employees may have assistance in making provision for old age and such disabilities as may prevent them from working.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates O. A. Anderson, Bernard Cavanaugh, Joseph Ryan, Albert Workman, T. V. O'Connor, I. L. A. A., Simon P. O'Brien:

WHEREAS, The Coastwise Branch of the International Longshoremen's Association on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast are out on a strike for over two months, contending for recognition and adjustment of demands, filed by them with the Coastwise Steamship Companies more than nine months ago, for increases in wages and betterment of conditions for the employes of said companies; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid steamship companies have refused said demands,

pleading poverty, inability to grant any increase in wages, and refusing to arbitrate and compromise the issue, on the other hand employing strike-breakers, declaring for the open shop; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, and the various crafts directly affected, pledge our support to the Coastwise Longshoremen in their fight for recognition, and against the policy of the open shop in said craft.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The noble defensive fight waged against tremendous odds by the workers of Russia for the right to work out their own salvation without outside interference commands the admiration of all lovers of liberty throughout the world, so much so that it now appears impossible to induce soldiers of what we are accustomed to term enlightened nations to take the field against them; and **WHEREAS**, The continued attacks of Japanese and other armies is compelling the use of transportation facilities to move soldiers, which are greatly needed to move food, thus causing endless suffering to be endured by the starving millions of people, largely women and children; and

WHEREAS, Truthful reports furnished the United States Government by such reliable personages as William C. Bullitt, Capt. W. W. Pettit, Lincoln Steffens and Raymond Robbins, and accepted as authentic by our peace delegates, including President Wilson, show that the workers of Russia are the most slandered of any in the world, and contrary to the stories circulated are among the most considerate of their womenfolk and children, giving them every preference in order to minimize the evil effects of under-nourishment; and

WHEREAS, It is conceded upon all sides that the Russian Soviet government cannot be crushed by force; and the world cannot have the peace that humanity demands as long as war continues in Russia; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor respectfully urge the government of the United States to exert its best influence to the end that Japanese and all other foreign troops be immediately withdrawn from the territory of the former Russian Empire and the blockade lifted; that peace be established with and between all of the peoples of that great land, and such steps taken as can be mutually agreed upon to furnish them with food and credits; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council select a suitable committee to present this matter to President Wilson and such other officials as they deem proper.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates John Coefield and E. W. Leonard of the United Assn. Plumbers and Steamfitters:

WHEREAS, The Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance are now controlling in their membership several thousand members who work exclusively at the pipe fitting industry; and

WHEREAS, an agreement was consummated between the committees of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters that all plumbers and steamfitters affiliated with the Amalgamated Sheet Metals Workers' International Alliance would become identified and transfer their membership to the United Association; and

WHEREAS, the consummation of this agreement has not been effected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance be directed to immediately carry out all provisions of agreement entered into with the United Association providing for the affiliation of all pipe fitters and plumbers in their alliance with the United Association.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Chas. B. Stillman, L. V. Lampson, and Abraham Lefkowitz, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The history of the actions of many autocratic boards of education shows an urgent need for tenure of position for teachers based on efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at the Baltimore Convention adopted the policy of recommending that workers have representation on all boards, commissions or agencies dealing with matters that concern them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor, directly, and through its affiliated locals, use every effort to secure laws granting tenure of position for teachers along the following lines:

(1) Tenure should be permanent during efficiency after the lapse of the probationary period, which should not exceed three years.

(2) All dismissals, both during and after probation, to be for causes definitely embodied in the educational law, such as gross insubordination, inefficiency, conduct unbecoming a teacher, etc.

(3) After period of probation, dismissal for any cause (including inefficiency) to be only by a trial board of seven chosen as follows: three by the school board, three by the teachers, the six to elect a seventh, who is not to be either a member of the school board or of the teaching force. At all hearings teachers shall be represented by counsel. Appeal from

the decision of the trial board may be made to the civil courts, whose decision shall be final.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates Ann Hogan, B. S. and A. U. 12646, N. Y. City; Jessie M. Sharon, S. T. B. A. No. 11507, Indianapolis; Edward J. Tracy, S. T. B. & A. 11773, Washington, D. C.; James Flynn, O. E. Association 12755:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been petitioned several times during the past years to appoint organizers who shall work exclusively in behalf of the Office Workers; and

WHEREAS, It has been only in the past year that such help has been extended and which has successfully added hundreds to the folds of the various locals scattered throughout the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, There exists today no better field for organization purposes than the Office Workers, there being over two million in the United States and Canada whose conditions of labor are unbearable; and

WHEREAS, This class of workers are now alive to the needs of organization since the wages of practically all other workers have been increased and hours decreased while their own have remained practically stationary notwithstanding the increased high cost of living; and

WHEREAS, It now appears there can be no more favorable time than the present for an intensive campaign of organizations in their behalf which can only improve their conditions and establish this class of workers in the position of labor which is rightfully theirs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, desirous of organizing these workers, realizing the conditions under which they labor, extends to them its fullest support; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the Federation be directed to appoint one or more organizers, who shall devote their entire time to the organization of office workers exclusively, such organizers to be either members of office workers' unions or of the staff of A. F. of L. organizers as in his judgment may seem best; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all delegates to this convention are urged to carry back to their unions the need and necessity of this campaign and do everything in their power to stimulate its growth.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate James A. Duncan, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Following the dictates of Democracy, and in an effort to secure for our citizenship the fullest possible opportunity for the expression of its sentiment relative to the laws for its government, the American Federation of Labor has for years past stood out as the foremost champion of direct legislation, which has, where placed in operation proved a boon to popular government, by placing in the hands of the people an instrument by means of which many progressive measures have been enacted into law; and

WHEREAS, In the interests of co-operation and efficiency in the matter of securing desirable legislation, the officers of the American Federation of Labor have from time to time suggested model and uniform laws to be urged by, and for the welfare of the workers of the various states; and

WHEREAS, There is a woeful lack of uniformity in the laws governing our international unions, which condition makes efficient cooperation and team work between the membership of the various international unions extremely difficult and in many instances impossible, which chaotic condition it is eminently desirable to overcome; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that its Executive Council be, and hereby is, instructed to, within ninety days of this date, prepare and send to all international unions a model initiative and referendum provision as a suggested amendment to their various constitutions, such suggested amendment to be drawn in such manner as will make possible the submission of any given proposition to the whole membership of the American Federation of Labor simultaneously, and in legal manner; the demand of five per cent of the local unions being necessary to invoke the use of this amendment by any international union at given stated periods; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That each international union be urged to take whatever steps may be necessary to secure (if possible) the adoption of this proposed amendment to its constitution at the earliest possible date and notify the secretary of the American Federation of Labor as to the results of its efforts.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Chas. B. Stillman, L. V. Lampson and Abraham Lefkowitz of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The World War has proved conclusively the fallacy of the theory that military preparedness is the best protection against war; and

WHEREAS, The inculcation of mechanical obedience through military training made Germany a menace to the civilized world; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of military training in the schools is the first step in the development of mechanical and blind obedience which results in the killing of initiative; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor oppose the introduction of military training into the schools and the establishment of compulsory

military service or training as unnecessary, undesirable and un-American.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
No further business coming before the convention, upon motion of Vice President Mahon, the rules were suspended and an adjournment was taken to 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, June 9th.

THIRD DAY-- Wednesday Morning Session

Montreal, Quebec, June 9, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, June 9th, First Vice-President James Duncan in the chair.

Absentees—Fitzpatrick, Beisel, Schneider, Kline, Dohney, Kugler, Oberfell, Proebstle, Sullivan, Kasten, Tracy, Boyer, Hyland, Beuloin, Laurendeau, McCarthy, Gompers, Fitzgerald, Shurleff, Nelson, Desepite, Flaherty, Noonan, McNulty, Barton, O'Connor, Feeney, Woll, Dalphond, Healy, Morton, Brennan, Adamsky, Schlesinger, Lawlor, Humphrey, Beardsley, McSorley, Young, Gainor, Cantwell, Mugavin, Swartz, Duffy, O'Connor, O'Brien, Workman, Wharton, Connolly, Brown, Pruett, Strain, Moriarty, Langdon, Lewis, Murray, Green, Hayes, Farrington, Moore, White, Kennedy, Valentine, Yarrow, Hedrick, Root, Carey, (J. T.), Berndt, Dold, Kearney, Anderson, Rau, Leonard, Britton, Curtis, Scott, Hatch, Graves, Spencer, Lewis, Howat, Lawson, Jones, Ely, Kavanaugh, Johnson, Iglesias, Harlin, Jones, Caddy, Lennon, Kelley, Darr, Stewart, Witherell, Rogers, Owens, Oplinger, Thomas, Dill, Fink, Ewald, Stanley, Shay, Stansberry, Hassard, Evans, Freund, Murray, Jennings, Barnack, Evans, Sims, Keavney, Gagnon, Walsh, Jagers, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald, Bradley, Fleury, Bower, Curran, Campbell, McLaughlin, Maloy, Vaughan, Canavan, Harrell, Fennell, Williams, McGeary, Stehmeyer, Talbot, Enright, Pugh, Ellis, Mezzacapo, Posey, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, MacDougall, Schoonover, Golden, Longe, Thomson, Brown, Maund, Grove, La Rose, Heywed, Scott, Covert, Hodge, Jasper, McDaniel, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray, Quesse, Woodmansee, Gabrio, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Stevens, Smallwood, Chambers, Wilson, Jenkins, Rincker, Tait, Reynolds, Poirier, Ryan, Dodson, Bond, Robins, Ogden, Jones, McClelland, Fitzgerald.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

International Typographical Union—W. W. Barrett to be substituted for Marsden G. Scott.

Steam and Operating Engineers, International Union of—Stanley Cherrington.

Railroad Coach, Car Cleaners and Station Porters' Union No. 16626—J. C. Steele, 1 vote.

The report of the Committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

PATRICK F. O'BYRNE, Chairman,
JOHN H. ARNOLD,
WM. SCHOENBERG, Secretary.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

To the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at Montreal, Quebec, Canada, June, 1920:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My colleague, Brother William L. Hutcheson, was unable to attend the Fifty-first British Trades Union Congress, I, therefore, represented the American Federation of Labor at that Congress, which was held in St. Andrews' Hall, Glasgow, Scotland, September 8th to 13th, 1919. The Congress was attended by 851 delegates, representing 5,283,676 members, embraced in eleven trade groups, and one group of miscellaneous. The miners had 172 delegates, the greatest number in the Congress, though their membership of 683,906 was second to that of the general laborers, with 91 delegates and 1,133,548 members. The membership of the trade groups represented, follows:

Trade Group	Delegates	Membership
Building Trades	36...	275,062
Clothing Trades	38...	239,886
Cotton Operatives	34...	100,106
Dock Laborers and Seamen...	70...	308,910
Engineering and Shipbuilding	46...	570,253
General Laborers	97...	1,133,548
Metal Workers	101...	390,906
Miners.....	172...	683,906
Printing and Paper Trades.	32...	137,570
Railwaymen	22...	545,531
Weavers	93...	362,584
Miscellaneous Trades	114...	526,390

851 5,283,676

Besides the American Federation of Labor, the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the Madras Labor Union of India; the Labor Party and the Co-operative Union were represented in the Congress by fraternal delegates. Two delegates from the Ministry of Labor, which corresponds to our U. S. Department of Labor, had seats in the Congress.

The income and balance in the treasury of the Congress for the fiscal year ended July 31, 1919, was £23,310, 8s. 4d., equaling about \$115,000 under the normal rate of American exchange, and the expenditures were £14,271, or about \$71,000.

The basis of representation in the Congress is one delegate for every 4,000 members, or fraction thereof, of all trade societies which have paid £1, 10s. for every 1,000 members toward the expense of the Parliamentary Committee and 10s. for each delegate attending the Congress. The President of the Congress is the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, and the other officers of the Congress hold similar positions in the Parliamentary Committee. In voting by card (or roll-call as we term it) the basis is one vote for every 1,000 members represented, and the tellers of election are called scrutineers.

The Parliamentary Committee assumes general supervision over the Congress between sessions. The President of the Fifty-first Congress was G. H. Stuart-Bunning, a member of the Postmen's Federation, and the Secretary was C. W. Bowerman, of the London Society of Compositors. The Federal Delegates elected to the Fortieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor were J. Jones, General Workers' Union, and J. W. Ogden, Weavers' Amalgamation. There were nine candidates for the place.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That this Congress strongly protests against the action of the Government in issuing a circular asking the men in His Majesty's forces if they would act as strike breakers if requested to do so; and Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee in conjunction with the Labor Party, to take any action they may find necessary to combat what we can only consider an attack upon our liberty as Trade Unionists, free workmen, and as citizens whose interests in the land of our birth are quite as strong, and whose point of view is of as much importance as any other body politic."

At the afternoon session of the 4th day (or "sitting," as it is called by our British brothers), I had the privilege of addressing the Congress. My address was presented under these subjects:

1. Co-operation of Workers during the War;
2. Magnitude of the American Problem;
3. Growth of American Labor Movement;
4. One-Big-Union Movement;
5. Profit-Sharing Schemes;
6. Hours of Labor.

Under these headings I explained the position of our Labor Movement and endeavored to make as clear as possible the industrial and social problems which our Federation is called upon to solve, differing as they do in many essential particulars from those of the British Workers. A striking sidelight of the difference is shown in the report of the British Trades Union Congress Fraternal Delegate to the 1919 Convention of our Federation, in which is given the delegate's analysis of the forms of the American Labor Movement as represented in our Federation. Explaining one of our problems, the delegate expressed these views of observations:

"Unlike our older country, the workers in the congested areas today will move on tomorrow, and fresh immigrants will fill their places. So that, while there are huge masses of ill-paid, badly driven people, they are not necessarily the SAME people, or even of the same class or nationality, any length of time. For example, at the Henry Street Settlement, on east side of New York City, it was stated that the people in that neighborhood were constantly shifting out to better neighborhoods, and it was a rare thing to find young men or women living in the house where they were born; and the move was usually upward. The granddaughters of the tenement-house dweller went to college. Even in that neighborhood the standard of living, e.g., food and clothing, is much better than is the case in British industrial centres. (In the Bowery district we saw grapes, peaches, oranges, bananas, grape fruit, and many kinds of vegetables loaded on the street stalls and having a quick sale, while the little children of the tenement houses started the day in print frocks, etc.) That is a social environment in which people are bred to the idea that 'getting on and up' is one's first concern. How one does it is immaterial; but to stop to help one's fellow-workers along is a sentimental weakness."

A feature of the first day's session was the address of the President of the Congress, which was largely a review of the work of the year. In several particulars matters discussed by the president show the international aspect of the labor question. In speaking of the great war, the president expressed this view:

"The great war was not all loss, and among other things it proved the necessity of Trade Unionism. It is curious to remember that at the beginning of the campaign there were quite well-meaning people—and even a number of Trade Unionists—who argued for the cessation of Trade Union effort during the war. It is well to remember this, just as it is well to remember that many of those who are now abusing Trade Unions were almost tearfully appealing to them for help during the war. It is not too much to say that the enormous output of military material needed for the war could not have been attained

without the cordial assistance of the Trade Unions concerned. That assistance was asked by responsible Ministers. It was freely given, and it is well to remind the public."

Considering the growth of the Congress, he voiced a sentiment which we can all appreciate when he said:

"It is a vast army, and leadership in it brings great responsibilities. It is therefore not always possible to act as simply and as easily as may be desired."

The question of increased output extends beyond the seas. It has been drummed into the ears of the British worker, and he has responded with this challenge by the President of the Congress:

"This question of increased output was raised at the Joint Industrial Committee, when thirty leading employers sat with thirty Labour men and women, and we met the challenge of the employers by saying, 'Prepare your case as to output, and we will prepare ours on the causes of industrial unrest.' We prepared our case in a document, which has been issued to the world. To this day we have not received the employers' case on output."

The entire second day's session was devoted to the full reading of the Parliamentary Committee's report, which was submitted under various subjects. After the reading the subjects considered were debated in the order in which they were printed in the report. It may be of interest to mention here that they have their jurisdictional disputes on the other side of the sea, many of which are as differently settled as those of our own. The Parliamentary Committee, discussing the general subject of "Disputes Between Various Organizations," gives this brief summary of its work:

"In other directions, the services of your Committee have been requested in cases of dispute between various affiliated bodies, mainly upon questions of demarcation, an unusually large number having been referred to them for adjudication. The task has not always proved an easy one, but it may be stated that in all cases the points of difference have been discussed by the union's representatives in a fair and friendly manner, and it is hoped with good results. In one instance at least, and probably in a second case, it is believed that an amalgamation of forces will be found to provide the readiest and most lasting means of settlement."

The Derby Congress of the year previous appointed a special committee to inquire into the subject of closer relationship between the various trade unions. Reporting on the subject, the committee said:

"The question of grouping the Trade Unions was discussed, but no agreement could be found on the definition of an 'industry,' that is, whether it

meant grouping the unions in accordance with the material worked with or in accordance with the product of their work. The difficulty was also raised in regard to the unions taking in all classes of workers, such as the General Workers' Union, as these would probably resist any attempt to separate their membership for transference into other unions.

"In view of these difficulties, it was thought best to endeavor to amalgamate unions that now manifested willingness to consider the subject. Whilst it was recognized that attempts at amalgamation made in the past by the committee had not always been successful, it was apparent that a new spirit was prevailing among the trade unionists of the country, who were becoming more than ever convinced of the waste and futility of the multiplicity of unions."

The Parliamentary Committee has this to say in its report of the presentation of the panel, "The Triumph of Labour," to the American Federation of Labor:

"When Mr. S. Gompers and his colleagues of the American Federation of Labour were in this country in the early part of the year, after their return from Paris, it was arranged that they should take back with them to America the bronze panel, 'The Triumph of Labour.' The gift was accompanied by the following letter addressed to Mr. Gompers, in the name of the Parliamentary Committee:

Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee,

32, Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1.

March 29th, 1919.

Dear Mr. Gompers:—In handing over to the care and keeping of yourself and colleagues the bronze panel, 'The Triumph of Labour,' presented by the British Trades Union Congress to the American Federation of Labour, the Parliamentary Committee in the name of the Congress desire to express their satisfaction and gratification that the panel is to find a permanent place in the newly erected American Federation of Labour Building in the city of Washington.

The Parliamentary Committee were extremely fortunate in securing the services of a sculptor (L. F. Roslyn, R. E. S.) who in the designing and production of the panel has given of his best and displayed artistic qualities of the highest order.

Fitting indeed is it that the close friendship resulting from the annual exchange of fraternal delegates visits since the year 1894 should be cemented in so agreeable and permanent a manner.

Believe me to remain, fraternally yours,
C. W. BOWERMAN, Secretary.

In due course, the following acknowledgment was received from Mr. Gompers, on behalf of the American Federation of Labour:—

American Federation of Labor Building,
Washington, D. C.

May 21st, 1919.

Dear Sir and Brother:—The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has just closed a ten days' session, I placed before them your letter of March 29th, in which you formally handed over to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the bronze panel, "The Triumph of Labour," presented by the British Trades Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor.

This panel has been placed on exhibition in the Corecan Art Gallery. From there it will be taken to Atlantic City, N. J., where it will be placed on exhibition for the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which opens in that city on June 9th. After that it will be brought back to Washington and permanently placed in the Council-Room of the American Federation of Labor Building.

My colleagues of the Executive Council desire me to express again their profound appreciation of the presentation by the British Trades Union Congress of this beautiful work of art. Of course, I shall not fail to write you later as to the expression of the Convention proper upon the matter.

With all good wishes, and hoping to hear from you whenever convenient.

Faithfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation
of Labor.

Mr. C. W. Bowerman, Secretary,
The Trades Union Congress,
Parliamentary Committee.

The difficulty of regaining surrendered rights is illustrated in the efforts of the British Trades Union Congress to induce the Government to restore after the close of the war the customs of the trades unions which they have voluntarily suspended in the spirit of patriotism at the outbreak of the war. Reporting on this question the Parliamentary Committee says:

"In March 1915, the Government called a conference of Trade Unions representing the majority of the unions affiliated to the Congress. The Parliamentary Committee was represented. At this conference, an agreement was arrived at between the Government and the unions, under which the unions agreed to suspend all Trade Union customs or practices, which would in any way limit the production of munitions, and all things necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

"This agreement was subsequently incorporated in the Munitions of War Acts. At the Treasury conference and in Parliament very definite pledges and assurances were given that all Trade Union customs and rights suspended during the war would be fully and completely restored. Notwithstanding these pledges it was only after persistent pressure that the Government introduced the

Restoration Bill; but this Bill was so unsatisfactory that all sections of the Labour movement opposed it, and finally succeeded, with the united assistance of the Labour Members in Parliament, in obtaining an agreed Act, which now restores pre-war customs, including 'the right to strike.'"

Relating to the monthly publication of the Congress, the British Trades Union Review, the Parliamentary Committee had this to say:

"This, as you will observe from its title, is a monthly review of Trade Union activity, and it can only be made a success and of value to the movement in proportion to the extent we can supply you month by month with a satisfactory and informative statement of the activities of the affiliated societies. In issuing this Journal, as you will readily understand, we do not want to be behind any journal of the Government departments; and, in order to avoid that risk, I want to urge upon Trade Union secretaries to send to the offices of the Parliamentary Committee copies of their monthly journals at the earliest possible moment, also copies of their annual reports, and particularly copies of their wage-awards, together with up-to-date particulars concerning all wage disputes so far as the results are concerned. We want you to keep us well and accurately informed as to any improvements in wages or hours, and to keep us supplied with such other information as is likely to be of interest and value to the other societies. We have already made arrangements with various Government departments under which we shall receive, as published, advance copies of special Government reports. These reports will be summarized and the essential points published in the monthly review to which I have drawn your attention."

The fraternal delegate from India, B. P. Wadia, aroused great enthusiasm by his address. It is so enlightening upon industrial conditions in that country, and these conditions having so important a relation to our own industries by reason of fast-developing transportation facilities, I feel that the delegates to this convention will be interested in this question, extended as it is:

"We recognize the terrible conditions under which our laborers toil there in that distant land. The factory legislation of your 'civilized' Government allows the capitalist to employ in textile and other factories men for twelve hours a day for six days in the week. The same factory legislation permits women to be employed for eleven hours a day, and boys and girls to be employed for six hours a day. That factory legislation does not give explicit terms for the inspection of factories, and such inspection as is made is of a very superficial character. There is no provision for the midday meal, and no housing is possible. In India the Government is overwhelmed with housing problems, and the actual conditions under which the workers

live are literally indescribably bad. In Bombay alone no less than 744,000 workmen are tenanted in one-roomed houses. The room is generally 8 ft. by 10 ft. wide, and in these places from eight to fifteen persons are huddled together, and are dying together.

"The Indian factory legislation now in operation was put upon the Statute Book so far back as 1881. Your administrators in those 40 years have only found time to amend that legislation on two occasions, and the amended legislation produces these awful results. I have before me a memorandum of the minimum wages paid in India, copies of which I can give you; but let me tell you that in the modern factories of Bombay, where the wages are relatively very high, the weaver gets £3 2s. 7d. per month and the man in the card-room gets 16s. 10d. per month. In the city of Madras, however, the weaver only gets £1 per month; and in the woollen factories the unskilled labor is paid for at the rate of 11s. 6d. per month. Pieceers are receiving 10s. 9d. per month; and you will find in the jute mills of Bengal a carder gets 12s. per month and a weaver £1 16s. per month. That is the kind of exploitation that is going on today in India under your splendid Union Jack! In this Congress of British Workers you are doing your best to put an end to the exploitation of labour; but, my friends, how can you expect to prevent that exploitation here while the same British capitalists are exploiting my people in India? (Cheers.)

"At this Congress you have been discussing and deciding upon the nationalization of your coal mines. Do you realize that the same British capitalist who owns those mines has gone to Bengal, and in the coal mines there has exploited Indian Labour to such an extent that the miner gets no more than 7½d. per day? That is the way these British capitalists are exploiting Indian labour. You may succeed with your Trade Union movement here, but your work must be incomplete while this sort of thing is permitted to go unchecked in other countries competing for the trade of the world. (Cheers.) What is the way out? In the few moments that are at my disposal I can only give in a very few sentences what I consider to be the way out from this abominable state of things. I appeal to you, here and now, with all the fervour of my soul, to join hands with the working classes in India. (Loud cheers). That is the message they have entrusted me with to give you in this great Congress. When you are talking about internationalism, remember that if democracy is to succeed there must be a strong Internationalism of all the working people of the world.

"During the last year we have had some strikes in various parts of India. While our strike was proceeding among the textile workers in the cotton factories for higher wages, we were told that they could not get better wages because the men were not organized and recognized as textile workers. But in this country of England, when there was a dispute between the Lancashire

workers and their employers, I found that the employers were telling their work people that they could not possibly advance their wages while the same class of workers in India were so poorly paid. So you see the Indian and the Lancashire workers in the same trade are divided by the capitalistic employer, who proceeds to exploit them both. Well, I suggest to you that we might put a stop to that sort of thing by joining hands as textile workers in all countries of the world. (Loud cheers). Not only in America, Europe and Australia but also in China, India, and in Persia now, where the new regime is installed, there must be a closing of the ranks of workers, and a strengthening of the organization in support of their legitimate demands. (Cheers).

Reflecting the sentiments of the Congress, this resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That this Congress views with grave concern the unsatisfactory conditions of employment of labour in India and also in South Africa, and is of the opinion that the continuance of these conditions is degrading to the lives of the workers with regard to whom the British Labour movement has a definite responsibility.

"That in view of the close affinity of all important trades and industries within the Empire, such as coal mining, iron and steel, textiles, vegetable oils, leather, etc., such labour conditions must tend to adversely affect the position of Labour in Great Britain, Australia and Canada by creating unhealthy rivalries and by offering inducements to capitalists to establish new concerns in the lands of cheap and unorganized labour, and further by depriving the industries of the additional demand for commodities that can come from well-paid labour.

This Congress, therefore, calls upon the Parliamentary Committee to demand, and the affiliated union to work for, an absolute equalization of legislative principles for moral and social welfare of the workers, and for a close approximation of standards of wages, and hours of employment within the empire."

The Congress took a forward position on the housing problem. Because of the acute nature of the problem in that country this resolution adopted by the Congress may serve as a guiding light in our own consideration of this vital question:

"That this Congress, in view of the great shortage of dwelling houses, with its consequent menace to the health of the people, calls upon the Government to at once deal with this important question—

(a) By making it compulsory for local authorities to prepare and carry out immediately adequately housing schemes in their particular areas.

(b) By the Government making grants free of interest, as will enable local authorities to erect suitable

houses at a reasonable cost to the people. In default of any local authority not so proceeding, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to press the Government to immediately make provision for the proper housing of the people."

The Congress expressed the opinion in a strong resolution that the great war debt should be paid out of a levy to be made upon wealth and capital and "relieve labor from the misery which must be inflicted upon future generations by extracting from wages the amount demanded in interest on the debt."

As showing the sympathies of the Congress, this resolution on the Irish question was unanimously adopted:

"This Congress views with alarm the grave situation in Ireland, where every demand of the people for freedom is met with military rule. The Congress once again reaffirms its belief that the only solution is self-determination, and calls upon the Government to substitute self-government for military rule, as the only means whereby the Irish people can work out their own emancipation. The Congress expresses its profound sympathy with our Irish brothers in their hour of repression."

Other resolutions adopted of international interest are: Exclusion of Asiatic labor in the merchant marine, direct taxation of land values, maintaining freedom of speech, nationalization of banking, land, the mines, the railways and shipping, pensions for mothers, demanding proper accommodations for sailors of vessels, the right to work or maintenance, organizing of the theatrical profession and workshop accommodations in the clothing trade.

The British Trades Union Congress adjourned to meet at Portsmouth on the first Monday of September, 1920.

I cannot conclude this report without acknowledging my appreciation of my hearty reception at the Congress and of the beautiful testimonials presented to myself and my wife by the President of the Congress in behalf of the officers and the delegates to the Congress, and the spirit of generosity shown towards us, and the fraternal sentiments expressed in the remarks of the President. In our stay in Great Britain we were accorded every courtesy and every provision possible for our comfort.

And more gratifying than anything else was the interest of the British men and women of labor in the development and progress of the American Federation of Labor and their expressions of good will for its continued success.

Strong indeed is the bond of kinship in our Labor Movement that unites in harmonious relationship all creeds, all races, all nations, and so encircles all the aspirations, all the ideals, of all mankind.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. HYNES,
Delegate to the British Trades
Union Congress.

Vice-President Duncan: The report just read will be printed in the proceedings.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: Before adjourning I desire to make an observation and just a brief motion which I hope everybody will concur in. There is no question before the American people today that affects their lives and destinies so much as the railroad question, and I know of no man on this continent so well versed, so able to speak to us on the railroad ramifications as Mr. Glenn E. Plumb; and I rise to make a motion that this convention extend to Mr. Plumb an invitation to be here either on Friday or Saturday of this week.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Linn, Foundry Employee, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 111—By A. R. Linn, Thomas Cameron, L. E. Gerrity, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees; W. L. Funderburk, Stove Mounters' International Union:

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended so as to provide that the dues of directly affiliated Federal Unions shall be not less than one dollar per month and that the per capita tax of such local unions to the American Federation of Labor shall be fifty cents per month, and that one dollar per member shall be the amount of initiation fee to be forwarded to the A. F. of L. on each initiate.

Delegate Kovleski moved that an invitation extended to the delegates by the Local Committee on Arrangements to make an automobile tour of the city Wednesday afternoon be accepted. (Seconded and carried).

Delegate Frey (J. P.): I move that the convention now adjourn till 9:30 tomorrow morning so that the various committees may have an opportunity to begin their work.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 10:45 the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Thursday, June 10th.

FOURTH DAY--Thursday Morning Session

Montreal, Quebec, June 10, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, June 10th, First Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Absentees—FitzPatrick, Schneider, Kline, Dohney, Lacouture, Obergfell, Proebstle, Sullivan, Price, Greely, Boyer, Hyland, White, McCarthy, Gompers, Fitzgerald, Nelson, Flaherty, Feeney, Woll, Brady, Dalphond, Champ, Morton, Adamski, Schlesinger, McSorley, Duty, Gainor, Cantwell, Duffy (P.), O'Connor, Wharton, Brown, Pruet, Strain, Langdon, Green (Wm.), Hayes, Farrington, Moore, White, Kennedy, Valentine, Lynch, Carey, Dold, Coefield, Kearney, Anderson, Leonard, Britton, Roth, Berry, Burke, Mahon, Cookman, Burns, Rooney, Flynn, Ryan, Shay, Dougherty, Heberling, Curtis, Scott, Hatch, Graves, Walker, Howat, Jones, Ely, Kavanaugh, Johnson, Iglesias, Harlin, Jones, Gilletly, Caddy, Kelley, Darr, Stewart, Witherell, Rogers, Owens, Thomas, Dill, Stanley, Stansberry, Hassard, Evans, Freind, Knight, Murray, Barnack, Sims, Keavney, Gagnon, Jagers, Lanoux, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald, Beck, Fleury, Bower, Green, Spencer, Campbell, Hourigan, Maloy, Harrell, Fennell, Fitzgerald, Williams, Talbot, Enright, Ellis, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, Schoonover, Longe, Brown, Maud, Grove, Heywood, Jasper, McDaniel, Tyler, Griffard, Schwartzkopf, Gray, Gabrio, Gould, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Gites, Stevens, Smallwood, Wilcox, Wilson, Jenkins.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., and vicinity, Central Labor Union—Frank McKosky, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—John H. De Young, 1 vote.

Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Wm. F. Lange, 1 vote.

Joseph Manley substituted for P. J. Morrin, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

The committee recommended the seating of the delegates, whose names were read. The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate De Young, South Chicago; Delegate Lange, Lansing, Mich.; and Delegate Alice Scott, Newark, announced

that they were present at the first session of the convention, although their names were not reported upon until later.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram:

"Dublin, Ireland, June 9, 1920.

"Secretary American Federation of Labour Convention Montreal: National Executive Irish Labour Trade Union Congress sends greetings to workers America. Request them use every effort secure that principle for which America claimed enter war be made applicable Ireland. Also request power American Labor be used secure release our colleague James Larkin.

"FARREN, Chairman,
"O'CONNOR, Vice Chairman,
"JOHNSON, Treasurer,
"O'BRIEN, Secretary,

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Trade Union Information Bureau for Immigrants.

The proposal for the establishment of a trade union information bureau for immigrants arriving at the port of New York has been given our best attention.

The matter is now in the hands of the Commissioner of Immigration with our earnest recommendation that it be given his favorable consideration.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue its efforts.

Upon that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported:

Your committee is heartily in accord with the establishment of a Trade Union Bureau of Information for Immigrants at the Port of New York. We hope the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will be successful in that project.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention authorize them to continue their efforts until a bureau is finally established.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Fred A. Campbell, St. John, N. B., Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, In the Province of New Brunswick during the past few years, through the efforts of resident officials of International Unions, volunteer organizers, a number of unorganized workers have been brought within the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, There is still a large field to cover and many workers yet unorganized who can only be reached by the employment, for as long a period of time as possible, of a permanent organizer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be urged to arrange for the placing of a permanent organizer in the Province of New Brunswick; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor request affiliated International Union executives to arrange to render all possible assistance by devoting all possible organizing effort to this province in the interest of men of their own crafts.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to comply with, if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate F. A. Campbell of the St. John (N.B.) Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Conditions are such in the Province of New Brunswick, particularly in seaport cities, owing to the seasonable character of work, that working men in order to keep themselves in line with the trade union movement, and it necessary to carry membership cards in two or more International Unions. For example: in the city of St. John, called the Winter port of Canada, workmen—in order to procure employment during the winter months on the docks—affiliate themselves with the various branches of the International Longshoremen's Association, i. e., Longshoremen, Freight Handlers, Scow Men, Coal Handlers, Ship Liners, etc. In the summer months, when very little longshore work is being done, these same men, or a large percentage, are in the saw-mills or work as brick-layers, carpenters, painters, etc.; and

WHEREAS, No system of interchanging card exists it means these workmen must carry cards in more than one organization to assure themselves of fairly steady employment. This condition of affairs in many of its phases causes and is causing considerable dissatisfaction to the organizations concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming Executive of the American Federation of Labor to urge

on the various International Unions concerned the need of giving immediate consideration to an adjustment of this matter by means of a system of transfer card or adjustment of per capita payment, or some feasible arrangement, guarding at all times the trade autonomy of the International Unions concerned, and the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution, as the subject dealt with comes under the Trade Autonomy of affiliated national and international unions with which the A. F. of L. cannot interfere.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Wm. C. Bush, of the Central Labor Union, Poplar Bluff, Mo.:

WHEREAS, That the non-partisan political plan of the American Federation of Labor within the time it has been tried has proven to be an instrument of great worth to the worker, and has welded together such a compact body that, if carried further, will be the means of giving to the workers a liberty, untouched by the means of industrial methods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That there be created within the body of the American Federation of Labor a permanent department, known as the non-partisan political educational department of the A. F. of L.; and

FURTHER, The Committee now serving shall continue to serve, and in case of any vacancy, such vacancy shall be filled by the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor, and a fund shall be created by setting aside for this purpose two cents from every dollar collected through per capita payments from international, national and direct affiliated bodies within the United States of America; and this fund to be used to carry on a continuous campaign of education; that the workers may become fully acquainted on such political matters as will be of worth to them as workers.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution. We cannot see what could be derived from a non-partisan political department of the American Federation of Labor. It would mean more expense to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions, without bringing with it the desired results.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Conboy: Resolutions 35 and 36 deal with the same subject, and the committee makes one report on these resolutions. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate C. Campbell, of the Policemen's Union 18668, Oklahoma City, Okla.:

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED. By the Policemen's Union No. 16668, of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in a regular meeting assembled upon the fourteenth day of May, 1920, as follows:

First. We hereby renew our allegiance to the principles of Organized Labor, and pledge anew our fidelity to the American Federation of Labor, and all the humanitarian measures and practices for which it so nobly stands and has ever stood.

Second. As a practical test of that allegiance and of that fidelity, we hereby send a duly accredited delegate, our brother, Joseph Campbell, to this annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Montreal, Canada, upon the seventh day of June, 1920, and to bear to it this message from our Union,—the first Policemen's Union in the United States to affiliate therewith.

Third. Despite calumny, sinister capitalistic influences, and pressure from selfish and powerful sources, we have continued to grow until Policemen's Union No. 16668 is now one hundred per cent organized, with no danger of a break in its solid and loyal ranks.

Fourth. In this connection, our heartfelt appreciation goes forth to our Mayor, Honorable Jack C. Walton, for his constant and courageous encouragement and defense of our principles and our Organization. Nothing has swerved him from the path, but from the beginning to this auspicious day he has been our uncompromising champion and fearless defender, and to him, more than to any other agency, do we owe the prosperous and splendid condition of the Organization.

It is but just, meet, and proper that this appreciation should be made a matter of public record, to the end that every Union woman and man in the republic may know that there is a real Mayor in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, whose friendship and championship of Unionism are among the most self-sacrificing and splendid of which we have knowledge. Be it further

RESOLVED. That this Resolution be made a part of the proceedings of this convention.

Passed unanimously at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, this fourteenth day of May, A.D. 1920.

MICHAEL F. SULLIVAN,
President.

H. W. MEDES, Secretary.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Joe C. Campbell, Policemen's Union 16668, Oklahoma City, Okla.:

WHEREAS. We as a joint body of local Policemen's Union 16668 ask that you endorse our request to organize all Policemen's Unions into an International Union, that such a Union in affiliation with the A. F. of L. can act more harmoniously in our dealings with the parent organization, the officers and delegates in convention, the Policemen's Union 16668 of Oklahoma City, do herein extend our greetings

tion, their feelings of gratitude for what organized labor has and is doing for them and which is impossible for us to express in words.

We secured our charter through the assistance of the State Federation of Labor of Oklahoma City, in joint action with the A. F. of L. in convention at Atlantic City, 1919.

Other than the financial benefit, which our organization has received, there has been a unity of harmony established among its members that never would have been accomplished otherwise. Family ties, one family with another, have been strengthened. Organized Police Union was at first something unique but today we know of nothing that can dissolve it.

We hope that your honorable body will approve of our request by granting the same.

On this application for an International Union of City Policemen, your committee, after a hearing of those interested, recommends that when the chartered unions of City Policemen have a combined membership of 6000, the President of the American Federation of Labor shall correspond with these unions as to the advisability of forming an international union, and if a majority of the replies are favorable and satisfactory, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall issue a convention call for the formation of such an International Union.

The Convention to be held in the City of Washington, D. C., and to be presided over by the President of the American Federation of Labor or his representative.

The claims of jurisdiction to be clearly and definitely set forth, and in no case to be a trespass upon the jurisdiction claims of existing affiliated National or International Unions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Madge Argo, of the Will County Trades and Labor Council, Joliet, Ill., and Ben F. Parker, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS. The workers in the food and catering industry of America are separated into various organizations such as cooks, waiters and waitresses, general hotel employees, bakers, ice cream makers, flour mill workers, egg inspectors, butchers, stock yard and packing house workers, milk, bread, grocery, butcher and ice wagon drivers, and many other divisions, most of them under the charters granted by and under the control of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, To unite these workers into a food producing and distributing department, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, is the only real and effective way to procure justice for the millions of toilers engaged in the important work of producing and distributing the food for the American people; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has already established, a building department and a mining department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to request the Convention of the A. F. of L., held in Montreal, Canada, commencing June 7, 1920, to appoint a special committee for the purpose of investigating and recommending to the Convention or to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. a plan and a programme to establish a food-producing and distributing department under the banner of the A. F. of L., with the view of bringing about better relations of all workers engaged in the production and distribution of food products.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution. We cannot see what good would be accomplished by the formation of such Department of the American Federation of Labor. We know of no unfriendly relations existing among the workers producing and distributing food products. Departments of the American Federation of Labor do not always bring about better relationship among the workers coming under their authority. It must also be remembered that to comply with this resolution would mean more expense to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions engaged in this line of work.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Parker, Chicago Federation of Labor, in discussing the resolution, said in part: The object in presenting the resolution for a department of producers and distributors of food that is prepared and served in America's great hotels and restaurants is for the purpose of meeting the condition that is confronting these workers in the combinations of great hotel and restaurant concerns in this country. They have combined their forces and are operating hotels and restaurants all over the United States and Canada. The interests of the workers in this line are considerably divided, and we are of the opinion that if a department of this class of workers is created under the American Federation of Labor, and works in conjunction with our international

unions, much good could be done for the toilers in this line of business.

Delegate Parker spoke at some length of the manner in which the hotel and restaurant business is conducted, the treatment of the employes of these concerns, and urged the adoption of the resolution and the creation of a department in order to bring these workers closer together.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) stated that the felt the request contained in the resolution was a perfectly reasonable one, and urged the adoption of the resolution. He called attention to the benefits derived from the creation of other departments of the American Federation of Labor, and expressed the opinion that the creation of a department composed of organizations having to do with the production and distribution of food and the fostering of the co-operative movement would be of great benefit to the workers and to the public generally.

Delegate Duffy, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on Organization did not have the co-operative movement before them at all. The resolution asks for the formation of another department. The committee feels that the American Federation of Labor is quite capable, with the departments it has now, of conducting all the balance of the work. Your committee cannot see, under the circumstances, the advisability or the necessity of forming another department. Not one representative of an international union appeared before your committee in support of this resolution, nor did those who introduced the resolution. They left the matter with the committee, and the committee dealt with it as a department and not as a co-operative movement.

Delegate Lefkowitz, American Federation of Teachers, spoke in support of the resolution, and opposed the recommendation of the committee. He dealt particularly with the centralization of power in a few of the great industries, and pointed out that while the organizations are divided and acting individually they will be in no condition to fight great combinations of capital. He urged the centralization of the power of the organizations affected in one department.

Secretary Conboy: When the resolution was brought before our committee we found it would take in milk wagon drivers, bread wagon drivers, and so many other

crafts that we felt had a right to be heard before a decision was made, that we could bring no other recommendation than the one we did. No one appeared to defend the resolution or tell us anything about it, in spite of the fact that the secretary asked delegates to appear for their resolutions if they wished to do so.

Secretary Morrison: Inasmuch as the representatives of the organizations at interest have not appeared before the committee, and inasmuch as the resolution has in contemplation the formation of a department covering those engaged in food production, I would move as a substitute that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to hold a conference with the organizations interested, and if they are favorable to the formation of a department to report a comprehensive plan for such a department to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded.)

Delegate Trummer, Journeymen Tailors, opposed the substitute and urged the adoption of the resolution. He asserted the adoption of the substitute would be a means of side-tracking or shelving the request made by the authors of the resolution.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.), Hotel and Restaurant Employees: The only objections I have to the resolution are, first, that it is incomplete; and second, that it was brought on the floor of this convention without showing the courtesy to myself and my co-delegates of asking our opinion of it. A somewhat similar proposal was presented to the convention about ten years ago; it included all the organizations directly affected with the preparation and distribution of food, it did not confine itself to the delivery of food. You will have to go deeper if you want to fight the combinations of which Delegate Parker makes mention. If you want to get a hotel you will not get it and tie it up and win a strike by confining your efforts to the trades mentioned.

We have no objection whatever to the appointment of a committee to investigate, but we do not believe such a plan is going to secure the results which some of you imagine. The catering industry is a larger institution than possibly many of you conceive it to be, and if we are to create a department, let us go at it in a proper way

and advise with the people we expect to make that department successful.

Delegate Hay spoke in favor of the adoption of the original resolution. He stated that the day of individualism has passed and no opposition should be offered to a plan that will help the organizations concerned to fight for and secure better living conditions.

Secretary Morrison, in discussing the substitute, said in part: If you desire to form a department it will be necessary for the president of the American Federation of Labor to call a conference or convention of the organizations in interest, and they must appoint or elect delegates to meet for the purpose of forming that department. If it is the desire to form a department composed of these trades and callings the matter should be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of having a conference with these organizations. If they agree, then a convention should be called of the representatives of those organizations, when they can immediately form a department. This is the legal, logical way in which a department should be formed. You may adopt a resolution here to form a department, but if the organizations you have in mind to compose that department refuse to go in there will be no department.

Delegate Myrup, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: I represent a trade involved in this department. The most important part of the food industry is the baking. I just rise to signify our support of the substitute. We entertain the same sentiments expressed by Delegate Sullivan. It is more than remarkable that the request for this department comes mainly from those who are not concerned. If there is to be a department of food producers and distributors it is not going to be made up of teamsters or tailors, but of the producers in that industry. If there is to be such a department we want to be consulted. We appreciate the advice of our associate workers, but we don't intend to have other trades shove down our throats something we don't want. We may be in full accord with the sentiments expressed by these other trades. It may have been a great desire of ours for years, but there are many vital questions involved, and if there is anyone qualified to determine these ques-

tions it is the men directly concerned.

The substitute offered by Delegate Morrison was adopted by practically a unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, and Charles M. Moore, Colorado State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We believe the time ripe for intensive organizing effort in the Intermountain West; and

WHEREAS, Owing to heavy demands made upon the American Federation of Labor for organizers, it has been impossible for the officers to accede to past requests of these States for the services of a salaried organizer; and

WHEREAS, These States have endeavored in every way to further the interests of organization within their boundaries, and in this way have rendered substantial service; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in the 40th Annual Convention assembled, that the Executive Council be directed to delegate a representative to co-operate with State Federations of Labor in Colorado, Utah and Wyoming in extending the scope of organization work, and in making clear the program of our movement. Services of such organizer to be extended over such time as conditions warrant.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to comply with, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Earl D. Parker, of the Elkhart Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor body of Elkhart, Ind., has struggled to organize the workers of various crafts into organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at this convention, recommend to the Executive Council the necessity of placing an organizer in the Elkhart District, with a view of organizing the unorganized workers at the earliest opportunity.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to put into effect if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Duffy: We have three resolutions dealing with the colored work-

ers' question, Nos. 5, 38 and 48. I would suggest that the three resolutions be read in order to get the drift of the entire question, because in one resolution matter contained in the others is referred to. The committee will then make a separate report on each resolution.

The resolutions were read, and Secretary Conboy reported on each in turn, as follows:

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Robert E. Burford, of the Freight Handlers, Station and Express Employees' Union No. 16220, Richmond, Va.:

WHEREAS, The B. of R. C., having jurisdiction of all Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the B. of R. C. says only white people are eligible to membership; and

WHEREAS, There are about one hundred thousand (100,000) colored employees that come under their jurisdiction and are barred from membership in the B. of R. C., on account of color; and

WHEREAS, The B. of R. C. is affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the A. F. of L. does not bar any worker on account of color or race; and

WHEREAS, The Grand President, Mr. J. J. Forrester, of the B. of R. C., stated to the 39th annual convention of the A. F. of L., in Atlantic City, that he would not relinquish jurisdiction over these employees, and that he would arrange everything satisfactory with these employees at his next executive meeting; and

WHEREAS, This meeting was called in Washington, D. C., in July, 1919, and our committee attended that meeting and stated their case before that board, and Mr. Gompers and Mr. Morrison addressed the board in our favor; and

WHEREAS, The board gave every assurance that this matter would be speedily adjusted, and we would hear from them as soon as it could satisfactorily be adjusted; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the B. of R. C. met in Cincinnati last February or March and discussed this question, and not having any of our committee present, they tabled the matter for further investigation of the so-called "Negro Problem" as handled by the older organization; and

WHEREAS, We are not trying for, nor do we want what is called "social equality," as some are trying to insinuate; and

WHEREAS, We only want equal protection and representation in all the matters that concern us; and

WHEREAS, We are not looking for charity, nor do we want anybody to bear our burdens, but we are willing and ready to bear our part; and

WHEREAS, Our loyalty cannot be questioned, and as we believe that the fate

of our organization is in the balance; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th convention assembled will use every means in its power to have the words "only white" members stricken out of the constitution of the B. of R. C., and admit the colored workers to full membership in their Brotherhood, or have them relinquish jurisdiction over the Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes and allow them to establish a Brotherhood of their own.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution for the reason that the American Federation of Labor cannot interfere with the trade autonomy of affiliated national and international unions. By the action of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Atlantic City, N. J., in 1919, the American Federation of Labor was authorized to organize colored workers under charters from the A. F. of L. if affiliated national and international unions refused to accept them.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hay, Brotherhood Railway Clerks: I participated in all the deliberations that took place in the Washington and Cincinnati meetings referred to in the resolution, but under our constitution we could not take action at that time. Action may be taken next month when the Board of Directors meet.

Delegate Burford, Freight Handlers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution. He pointed out the unfairness of having to pay a portion of the expense of representatives of the clerks' organization who handled grievances for the Freight Handlers when the Freight Handlers were not given representation in that body. He stated that he was not asking for an international charter, but asking that the Freight Handlers be granted a local charter that would enable them to have their own committees handle their grievances.

Delegate Burford discussed at some length the position of the colored workers represented in the various freight handlers' locals, and urged that action be taken at once to relieve the situation, either by granting them charters that would enable them to handle their own grievances, or compel the clerks' organization to remove from its laws the portion which discriminated against the colored

workers by refusing them membership.

Delegate Berry, Pressmen: Is it true that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks have been granted jurisdiction over the freight handlers?

Secretary Morrison: Jurisdiction was not granted, but was simply acquiesced in.

Delegate Berry: Do they refuse to take in the negro freight handlers?

Secretary Morrison: I would like to make an explanation. The question of taking in the colored freight handlers was taken up by the Railway Clerks, and they agreed to issue charters. I think some charters were issued. Then that action was changed, and the officers have been endeavoring to effect a change in their constitution that would allow them to take in all colored workers. The Federation has issued charters to all the Freight Handlers' local unions that have applied for a charter, with an understanding with the Railway Clerks that their representatives will take up the grievances of the Freight Handlers and see that they get the same conditions as received by the members of that organization; and, so far as I know, they have carried that agreement into effect.

Delegate Dee, Railway Clerks, in discussing the question, said in part: This question is being given every consideration at the present time by our Executive Board. We held two meetings and will hold another meeting of the board in July. We have handled their cases, and as a member of Board of Adjustment No. 3 I have settled many of the questions that have come through the regular representatives of our organization, and gave the colored brothers every protection that was extended to the whites, you have been paying their dues. I am from the south and I know the economic situation. I worked with them side by side. We have them in our own organizations and they get every protection. We are taking care of their grievances. In the interest of the men themselves who are now being taken care of in federal unions, we hope you will vote for concurrence in the committee's report.

Delegate Lewis, Freight Handlers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and supported the resolution.

Delegate Gorman, Railroad Telegraphers, spoke in favor of the report of the com-

mittee and opposed the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Workman, Longshoremens, opposed the recommendation of the committee and favored the resolution. He spoke of the manner in which the colored freight handlers had supported various strikes on the I. C. and other railroads, and contended that for their loyalty to the organizations with which they are connected or affiliated they deserved more consideration than they were receiving.

Delegate Sumner, Stereotypers, stated that the delegates who were discussing the question were losing sight of the most important part of the resolution, that requiring the Railway Clerks to eliminate the words "only white" from their constitution. In an address of some length he opposed all efforts of labor organizations to discriminate against any workers on account of race or color. He stated that any such discrimination was unfair and un-American.

Chairman Duffy: The resolution asks that we decide who is eligible and who is not eligible to admission to a national organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The committee has not that authority, the Executive Council has not that authority, and the convention itself has not that authority. That authority rests only with the national and international unions. The committee and the Executive Council wish to see the colored men organized all over the country. The American Federation of Labor wants them organized. We reaffirm the action taken in the last convention, that if a national or international union refuses to accept colored workers the American Federation of Labor will grant them charters.

Delegate Burford: What kind of charters?

Secretary Morrison: As freight handlers.

Delegate Burford: We don't want to be separated, we want the same kind of charters.

Chairman Duffy: When the American Federation of Labor grants charters to the colored workers, no matter of what trade or calling, the American Federation of Labor becomes the national or international union of those men. It is the duty of the American Federation of Labor then to take up the grievances of those workers. Out of the 110 national and inter-

national organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. more than a hundred admit colored members to membership.

Delegate Sweeney, Tailors, asked if it was not contrary to the principles of the American Federation of Labor to allow an affiliated union to draw the color line.

Vice-President Duncan: This American Federation of Labor ever since its organization has stood for organization without reference to color. It so stands today. This organization that is involved asks for a few more days to allow them to go through their constitutional forms to change their regulations. It is needless to say that as far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned all its influences will be used to have such a constitution changed, because the American Federation of Labor cannot be expected and will not be expected to endorse or favor a charter of any affiliated body that has a word in it discriminatory against a man on account of his color.

Delegate Grange, Seaman, opposed the recommendation of the committee, contending that in a way it endorsed the action of the Clerks' Union in discriminating against colored workers.

Delegate McGlory moved to amend the report by providing that the Railway Clerks' organization be requested to remove the words "white only" from their constitution. (Seconded by Delegate Mary Goff.)

Delegate Anderson, Longshoremens, spoke at length in favor of the amendment, and stated in part: I have lived in the south for the best years of my life. I have been face to face with the question of the color line. In Texas we have dealt with the question fairly and impartially. If we do not see fit to admit the negroes to sit side by side with us in the meetings, which they do not ask, we give them every recognition possible. We give them charters, and when a question that concerns us all is to be considered we sit in conference with them and agree to what is best for all of us. That is why you do not hear these questions coming up from Texas. I do not agree with the report of the committee and think they could have found a better way out if they had tried.

Delegate D'Alessandro: Until you change the law the committee could not make any other report. The Building and Common Laborers have an organization

and they have their door wide open. If no one else wants to take these men in we are willing to do it. That is the place for them. The freight handlers are only common laborers and we are willing to take in any of them that see fit to come to us. I am not claiming them, but I want to open some door to those fellows so that the discussion will be closed.

Delegate Foley, Barbers, supported the amendment, and objected to any labor organization excluding colored workers. He called attention to the fact that workers were not excluded from the Journeymen Barbers' International Union because of race or color.

Delegate Duncan (J. A.) Seattle, asked Delegate Foley if his organization did not exclude women from membership.

Delegate Hay again discussed the question and urged that the matter be left with the Railway Clerks' organization to adjust. He stated that if that were done he could assure the delegates that the question would soon be adjusted to the satisfaction of the members of that organization and to the satisfaction of the labor movement generally.

The amendment to provide that the Railway Clerks be requested to remove the words "white only" from their constitution was carried.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Jordan W. Chamberg of the Railway Coach Cleaners 16088, St. Louis, Mo.; Eugene Posey of the Coach Cleaners 16331, Kansas City, Mo.; E. L. Rhone of the Central Labor Union, Mobile, Ala.; J. C. Steele, No. 16626, Cincinnati, Ohio; R. Eugene Bellinger, No. 16771, New York, N. Y.; Frank M. Phaire, No. 16702, Philadelphia, Pa.; John H. Smith, No. 15980; Edmund Turner, No. 16199, Mobile, Ala.; Frederick Wilson, Local 16685, Cleveland, Ohio; Robert E. Burford, No. 16220, F. H. & Sta. Employes 16381.

The prosperity, development, advancement and security of a Union under democratic constitutions rest almost wholly upon the contentment of the people they govern, regardless of color, creed or class.

In the matter of opportunities, the National Charter makes no distinction as to color, nor does that charter withhold from any organized body the right to advance educationally, materially or otherwise; and no organization operating under that charter should allow its growth and development to be stultified by a Union

seeking only the advancement of its own ends.

The state of unrest which now prevails in the labor world is due almost entirely to the arrogant manifestations of selfishness shown by one Union over another.

The Coach and Car Cleaners of the country have grown to that point in life where they are capable of maintaining themselves independent of any other body, and it is now their firm purpose to assert their right to do so. They will not be cowed down; they will not feed from the hand, nor be pushed into a corner; but will contend on equal terms with the rest for life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness. Hence the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The Coach and Car Cleaners' Local Unions, located in various centers thru-out the United States, have banded themselves together without regard to race, color or sex, to form a Union which alone will have the jurisdiction over Coach and Car Cleaners of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of this organization is to promote in the most efficient manner the welfare of Coach and Car Cleaners; and as this end can be attained only thru those competent to know the needs and understand thoroughly the conditions necessary to such promotion, the Union reserves the right to select from among its own members, officers and representatives of every degree whatsoever: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That an International Charter be granted to the Railway Coach and Car Cleaners' Union that will have the above jurisdiction and seek to organize, according to the principles of the American Federation of Labor, all workmen of this class, regardless of creed, color or nationality; and, be it further

RESOLVED, And it is resolved, that at each and every Convention which has to do with the wage scale and working conditions of the Coach and Car Cleaners department, the Coach and Car Cleaners shall have a delegate or delegates to represent Coach and Car Cleaners at each of such Conventions; and that each of such delegates be a member of a Coach and Car Cleaners' Local Union and a workman in the Coach and Car Cleaners' department.

THEREFORE, In order to form a more perfect Labor Union, establish an insured justice, provide for the common defence promote the general welfare of ourselves and our employ, we do affirm and adopt this resolution.

Your committee gave a lengthy hearing to all parties interested, on the subject matter contained in this resolution. In the course of the hearing it developed that some few international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not as yet admit colored workers to membership. It also developed

that the majority, and by far the greater majority of the international unions do admit colored workers to membership, and that these colored workers are entitled to the same rights, benefits and privileges that the other members enjoy. On account of these few international unions refusing colored workers admission, exception is taken. Your committee, however, calls your attention to the action of the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor last year on this subject, that:

"Where international unions refuse to admit colored workers to membership, the American Federation of Labor be authorized to organize them under charters from the American Federation of Labor."

We therefore reaffirm our former action on this matter, at the same time calling attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor does not organize workers of any trade or calling along racial lines.

The report of the Committee on Resolution No. 38 was adopted.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates Frederick Wilson of Coach and Car Cleaners' Local 16685; Edmund Turner, of the Boiler Makers and Blacksmiths' Local No. 16699; Jordan W. Chambers, of the Coach Cleaners' Union No. 16088, St. Louis, Mo.; James J. Pugh, of No. 165559, B. H. F. H. and S. Men; John H. Smith, of No. 15980 Boiler Makers' Helpers; Noah Allen, No. 16351, Chicago (Ill.) Coach and Car Cleaners; William Sharon, No. 17165, Freight Handlers, Cleveland, Ohio; Frank Phaire, No. 16702, Coach and Car Cleaners, Philadelphia, Pa.; Abraham Lefkowitz, A. F. & T. Local No. 5:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has taken a firm position on the claims of negro labor to fair and impartial sharing of the benefits of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Despite this attitude of the American Federation of Labor, encouraging results have not followed; and millions of negro workmen continue ignorant of the benefits of collective bargaining, thus militating against the successful operation of the Federation in its fight for a square deal for labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor enter upon a campaign of education among both white and colored working men to convince them of the necessity of bringing into the ranks of labor all men who work, regardless of race, creed or color; and be it further

RESOLVED, That, with this end in view, there be called into periodical conference with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor white and colored leaders who can suitably represent and express the point of view of negro workmen, and can convey to negro workmen the good will and sympathy felt by the American Federation of Labor towards them; and be it further

RESOLVED, That there be employed in headquarters at Washington a competent negro agent, taken from the ranks of labor, who will express the hopes and yearnings of negro workmen to the American Federation of Labor, and in turn be the mouthpiece of the Federation for such messages and information as the Federation may from time to time wish to convey to the negro workers throughout the country; said agent to be the executive secretary and official representative in the interim of meetings of said special committee on negro workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the appointment of negro organizers in all states and for all crafts in which negroes are or may be employed, whose duty will be to build up negro membership.

Your committee recommends that the 2nd and 3rd Resolves be stricken out and that the 4th Resolve be amended to read:

RESOLVED, That negro organizers be appointed where necessary to organize negro workers, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The Resolution would then read as follows:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has taken a firm position on the claims of negro labor to fair and impartial sharing of the benefits of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Despite this attitude of the American Federation of Labor, encouraging results have not followed, and millions of negro working men continue ignorant of the benefits of collective bargaining, thus militating against the successful operation of the Federation in its fight for a square deal for labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That negro organizers be appointed where necessary to organize negro workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in the resolution as amended and refers it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to comply with, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

At 12:30 the rules were suspended and the convention remained in session to allow the Committee on Organization to complete its report.

Secretary Conboy continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Robert G. Hwald, Detroit Central Body:

WHEREAS, For several months an attempt has been made to develop a general organizing campaign for the working people of Detroit and vicinity, for the purpose of getting the non-union workers into our ranks and have met with a fair degree of success; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that we have a more general representation from the International and National Headquarters for the usual necessary things attached to campaigns of this character; and so far the most of the General Representatives have come here to serve some routine mission of a temporary nature and they have been afforded no chance to be of service to us: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this General Trade Union Organization Committee of Detroit requests the delegates from this city to the American Federation of Labor Convention at Montreal, to visit the Executive Council at its preliminary meeting and request that special mention and effort be made by the Executive Council on the convention for the purpose of having all International Officers appreciate this situation and send the assistance asked for so that we may secure the very best results obtainable.

Your committee recommends that the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to send organizers to Detroit to assist in the general organizing campaign proposed by the Detroit Central Body, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor also send an organizer to assist in the work.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Tobin, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, spoke briefly of the situation in Detroit, and said in part as follows: Detroit is no longer a village, and there is only one way a city can be cleaned up. What we need is a concerted effort and an honest effort of the entire labor movement. They should come into Detroit, put their best organizers there and make a determined effort to unionize the city for the benefit of the entire labor movement. If you have trouble in another city the strike-breaking agencies come to Detroit and get men. It is no trouble for them to get 5,000 or 10,000 machinists. We get a large number of men from the Canadian provinces, and it is necessary to have Detroit organized, so that when these men go back to the pro-

vinces they will have the organized labor movement at heart and help to organize Canada.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate N. A. James, of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, There has been started at Washington, D. C., a union broom factory, where any member of organized labor who may be so unfortunate as to lose the sight of their eyes are eligible to learn the trade of broom-making, thus giving them an opportunity to earn a livelihood, so that they may not become a public charge or exploited by selfish interests; and

WHEREAS, This institution which has for its guiding force a member of organized labor Brother John E. Kroell, who lost his eyesight while pursuing the trade of a photo engraver, and who is now a member of the Broommaker's Union; and

WHEREAS, The enterprise is conducted on a strictly co-operative basis; be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the 40th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, endorse this project and pledge ourselves to render all assistance possible that it may be a huge success.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison in the chair.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate George Mercier, of the Central Labor Union of Shawinigan Falls, Que.:

WHEREAS, The man generally wishes to unite and organize, but cannot do so due to lack of organization system as well as lack of proper means to execute same;

WHEREAS, Shawinigan Falls is one of the liveliest business towns in the Province of Quebec by its great industries and capital, and as per resolution unanimously accepted at our regular meeting May 17, 1920, the delegate is requested to put forth a resolution to this convention that a special appointment be made to have an organizer right in Shawinigan Falls until such time as the town is well organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention here assembled make an appointment to cover our most urgent need.

Your committee concurs in the request for an organizer for Shawinigan Falls, and refers the matter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to comply with if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Conboy: Resolutions 92 and

94 deal with the question of office workers, and are as follows:

Resolution No. 92—By Ann Hogan, B. S. & A. U. No. 12646; Jesse M. Sharon, S. T. B. A. No. 11597; Edward J. Tracy, S. T. B. & A. No. 11773; Patrick Cahillane, Local No. 15961:

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, resolution No. 202 was approved conditioned upon no unforeseen difficulties arising; and

WHEREAS, It now appears that the Stenographers are not sufficiently strong in numbers to warrant the issuing of an International Charter: and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in the past issued Charters to Locals under different names, such as Bank Clerks, Court Reporters, Counters and Timekeepers, State, City and County employees, whose work is similar to that of a Stenographer and whose interests would be best subserved by being affiliated with an International Union of Office Workers, in the event such charter is granted: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this method of organization as outlined above be continued, but that it be understood that in the event of an International charter being granted to the Office Workers, these locals shall obtain a charter from and remain in affiliation with such International; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to issue such an International Charter whenever the combined membership is from fifty to one hundred of all of the above locals shall total ten thousand members or more.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate James Flynn, of Office Employees No. 12755:

WHEREAS, The Office Employees petitioned the last convention for an international charter; and

WHEREAS, The same was referred to the committee with instructions to determine the membership of these workers, other than those employed in municipalities, counties and states; and

WHEREAS, We believe that these workers should be included, as they are office workers and would be of great benefit to us; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the committee be further instructed to include these workers, and if a membership sufficient be shown, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall be directed to call a convention of representatives from the various locals to elect officers and an international charter be issued to them.

Your committee carefully considered these two resolutions making application for the formation of an international union of office workers, and learned that office workers include stenographers, typ-

ists, bookkeepers, assistants, clerks and assistants, court reporters, time-keepers, and city, county and state employee, whose work is similar to that of any office worker.

We, therefore, recommend that when the chartered unions of this class of workers have a combined membership of 10,000, the president of the American Federation of Labor shall correspond with these unions as to the advisability of forming an international union, and if a majority of the replies are favorable and satisfactory, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall issue a convention call for the formation of such an international union; the convention to be held in the city of Washington, D. C., and to be presided over by the president of the American Federation of Labor or his representative. The claims of jurisdiction to be clearly and definitely set forth, and in no case to be a trespass upon the jurisdictional rights and claims of existing affiliated national and international unions.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates Ann Hogan, B. S. and A. U. 12646, N. Y. City; Jessie M. Sharon, S. T. B. A. No. 11597, Indianapolis; Edward J. Tracy, S. T. B. & A. 11773, Washington, D. C.; James Flynn, O. E. Association 12755:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been petitioned several times during the past years to appoint organizers who shall work exclusively in behalf of the Office Workers; and

WHEREAS, It has been only in the past year that such help has been extended and which has successfully added hundreds to the folds of the various locals scattered throughout the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, There exists today no better field for organization purposes than the Office Workers, there being over two million in the United States and Canada whose conditions of labor are unbearable; and

WHEREAS, This class of workers are now alive to the needs of organization, since the wages of practically all other workers have been increased and hours decreased while their own have remained practically stationary, notwithstanding the increased high cost of living; and

WHEREAS, It now appears there can be no more favorable time than the present for an intensive campaign of organizations in their behalf, which can only im-

prove their conditions and establish this class of workers in the position of labor which is rightfully theirs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, desirous of organizing these workers, realising the conditions under which they labor, extends to them its fullest support; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the Federation be directed to appoint one or more organizers, who shall devote their entire time to the organization of office workers exclusively, such organizers to be either members of office workers' unions or of the staff of A. F. of L. organizers as in his judgment may seem best; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all delegates to this convention are urged to carry back to their unions the need and necessity of this campaign and do everything in their power to stimulate its growth.

Your committee concurs in this resolution, and refers it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to put into effect if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates Earl W. Young and Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A special circular letter issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, requesting 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 as during the past year the salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor have been successful in establishing more than fifty (50) new Local Unions of Laundry Workers; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers International Union is not in a financial condition to be able to carry on very active organizing work in many sections of our country; 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 are receiving far less than a living wage.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Conboy: This completes the work of the committee on all resolutions submitted to us up to this time, and is signed: Frank Duffy, chairman; Sara A. Conboy, secretary; A. J. Kugler, Wm. A. Neer, Thomas L. Farrell, H. L. Morrison, W. S. Brown, Charles H. Moyer, E. J. Mannion, John P. Burke, F. J. McNulty, Dan Ingraham, Fred W. Baer, Louis Langer, G. G. Jacob—Committee on Organization.

Chairman Duffy: I move that the report of the committee as a whole be adopted. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan: The subject matter of Resolution 10, which has been referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report, is practically the same subject as Resolution No. 74, which has been referred to the Committee on Adjustment. In order to prevent two committees considering one resolution, and at the request of the introducers, Resolution No. 10 will be referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Parker, Chicago Federation of Labor, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Ben. F. Parker, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Chicago Culinary Workers have been forced to strike for the very reason that the Hotel Keepers' Association has refused to negotiate with the Local Unions; and

WHEREAS, The Cook County Superior Court has come to the assistance of the Hotel Trust by restraining the striking Cooks, Pastry Cooks, Waiters and Waitresses from using their constitutional rights of free speech and assemblage and of free press, thus reducing these workers and citizens of Chicago to mere serfs and slaves. Judge Denis E. Sullivan has issued injunction without even a hearing and without any substantial evidence, prohibiting peaceful picketing and all other strike activities; including attempting to organize or notify union members that a strike exists; in short—this order prohibits citizens from stating facts to other citizens, which is in direct contradiction of Article 2, Sec. 4 of the Constitution of Illinois, which reads:

"Every person may freely speak, write and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty and in all trials for libel both civil and criminal, the truth when published with good motives and for justifiable ends, shall be sufficient defence."

And the first amendment of the Federal Constitution dealing with Free Press and assemblage, has been denied to the Culinary Workers, now on strike, by the Cook County Court; and

WHEREAS, The nation is about to elect a new government official, whose duty it will be to enforce the Constitution of State and Nation, to be chosen by the people of this country. The Republican National Convention will be held in this city on June 7th, 1920. Many delegates aspiring to become great leaders of our people are in Chicago at present; some of them have established headquarters at strike-bound hotels; some eat in the dining rooms manned by professional scabs who have been brought in from various parts of this country, most of whom are negroes brought from the South who have not been informed that a strike exists, and many who are now shanghaied and many who by economic pressure are deprived of liberty, guaranteed by the Constitution; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That any and all persons who are chosen at the Republican National Convention for any public office who are now stopping at any of the following hotels, clubs or restaurants, be declared unfair to organized labor and unfair to the working people of this country, and therefore unfit to become public servants of the American common people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution, together with a list of all nominated officials, be submitted, with a view of having them placed on Labor's Unfair List: Illinois Athletic Club, South Shore Country Club, LaSalle Hotel, Auditorium Hotel, Cooper-Carlton Hotel, Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago Beach Hotel, Brevoort Hotel, Palmer House, Fort Dearborn Hotel, Metropole Hotel, Stevens Restaurant, Twentieth Century Restaurant, Helnley's Restaurant, Louisiana Restaurant, Regan's, Saddle and Cycle, Hamilton Club, Elks' Club, Standard Club, Blackstone Hotel, Congress Hotel, Great Northern Hotel, Stratford Hotel, Randolph Hotel, Lexington Hotel, Hotel Sherman,

Atlantic Hotel, Marigold Garden, Innovation Lunch, North American Restaurant, Thayer's, Midday Club.

Chicago Waiters Association, Local No. 7, Leo L. White, acting president; Chas. I. Goodrich, secretary.

Chicago Cooks and Pastry Cooks Association, Local 865; J. C. Stagenburg president; Albert E. Stewart, secretary. Waitresses' Union, Local 484; Carrie Alexander, president; Elizabeth Maloney, secretary.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Foster, Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, announced that the women delegates and visitors would be taken for a drive to the mountain top at 1:30 p. m.

Chairman Foster also announced that an invitation had been extended the convention to attend the Holman Theatre for a special showing of pictures, beginning at 11 o'clock, p. m., Friday.

Delegate Grange moved that the invitation be accepted. The motion was seconded and carried.

Treasurer Tobin announced that many of the delegates were dissatisfied with the hall in which the convention was being held, owing to the distance from the headquarters, and also to the difficulties experienced in hearing the discussions from the rear of the hall. He suggested that the secretary investigate the suitability of a hall in the Windsor Hotel. The chair appointed Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Tobin a committee to investigate the matter.

At 1 o'clock p. m. an adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Friday, June 11th.

FIFTH DAY--Friday Morning Session

Montreal, Quebec, June 11, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., Friday, June 11th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Mullaney, Schneider, Dohney, Davies (D. T.), Baine, Obergfell, Proebstle, Sullivan (John), Bowen (Wm. J.), Boyer, Hyland, McCarthy, Moore (Tom), Barnes, Campbell (W. A.), Fitzgerald (B. H.), Shurtleff, Nelson, Desepthe, McNulty, O'Connor (J. S.), McAndrews (J. J.), Feeney, Cherrington, Dalphond, Schlesinger, Humphrey, Greenstein, Beardsley, Mathieu, Cantwell, Duffy (C. D.), Brown (H. W.), Hynes, Moriarity, Langdon, Hayes (F. J.), Farrington, Kennedy, Valentine, Burton, Weber (J. N.), Root, Lynch, Dold, Coe-field, Kearney (Thos.), Anderson (Chas.), Rans, Britton, Leaty (G.), Roth, McHugh, Sauve, Marks, Dunwoody, Flynn (P.), Brown (W. H.), Ryan (P. J.), Shay, Dougherty, Heberling, Curtis, Hatch, Graves, Walker, Jones (J. W.), Ely (S.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (D. M.), Caddy, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Niemeier, Witherell, Rogers (K. E.), Owens, Oplinger, Thomas (J. J.), Fink, Ewald, Stanley, Stanberry, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Freind, Murray (J. F.), Barnack, Sims, Ralsae, Keavney, Gagnon, Jaggars, Lanoux, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Curran, Campbell (F. A.), Maloy (T. E.), Louthood, Harrell, Williams (J. W.), McGeary, Talbot, Ellis, Meszacapo, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, MacDougall, Schoonover, Golden (J. J.), Longe, Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, Heywood, Jasper, McDaniel, Tyler, Griffard, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Gabrio, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Stevens, Smallwood, Tait, Reynolds, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Robins, Jones (J.), Fitzgerald (A.).

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram and telegram:

"Puerto Plata, Santa Dominigo.

"June 10, 1920.

"Samuel Gompers,
"President American Federation of Labor,
"Convention Hall, Montreal, Canada,
"Dominican Federation cordially greets
your convention.

"KUNHARDT, President."

"Pueblo, Colorado, June 10, 1920.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary, Montreal,
Quebec.

"Colorado State Association of Journeymen Barbers, in convention assembled, extends greeting to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in

Montreal. Our convention endorsed the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L., and repudiated any proposed third party movement.

"ED. ANDERSON."

Secretary Morrison also read a communication from the Rev. Gerald J. McShane, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Montreal, extending an invitation to members of the Roman Catholic faith in the delegation, and to all others who wished to attend, to attend solemn high mass at that church on Sunday, June 13, at 11 o'clock a. m. The pastor stated in the communication that good seats would be provided for all who might wish to attend.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Friday, June 20, 1920.

New Kensington, Pa., Central Labor Union—J. L. Lanoux, 1 vote.

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

The committee recommended the seating of the delegates named in the report.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Costello, Central Federated Union of Brooklyn, New York, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Joseph Ryan, Central Federated Union, New York City, and James Costello, Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, There is a strike now in effect for fourteen weeks of the Longshoremen employed on the piers of the Coastwise Steamship Companies of my city; and

WHEREAS, The Transportation Trades Council of the port of New York and vicinity, an organization composed of the district councils of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, and the International Longshoremen's Association, have given their fullest support to this strike, and have been instrumental in arousing

the public as a whole to the serious complications caused by the interruption of freight and its consequent congestion; and

WHEREAS, The steamship companies have taken the position that there is nothing to arbitrate in the situation existing; and

WHEREAS, The Merchants Association of New York City, in support of the contentions of the steamship companies involved, have made public a campaign to create a fund of \$5,000,000 for the express purpose of forcing on the organized workers of New York City an open shop policy; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this is only the first move of a nation-wide attempt at making the organized workers subservient to antagonistic interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Fortieth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., in session assembled, pledge our support to the Transportation Trades Council in their fight to get better conditions for the men employed on the piers and ships in New York harbor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we shall resist any attempt by the Merchants Association of New York City, or any other so-called body, whose purpose shall be the creating of the open shop or its surrounding issues.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Ryan, Central Federated Union, New York City, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates Joseph Ryan, of Central Federated Union, New York City, and James F. Costello, Central Labor Union, Brooklyn, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court denying Longshoremen the benefits of State Workmen's Compensation Laws on the ground that such employment is Maritime, leaves longshoremen and similar workers practically without protection in case of accident; and

WHEREAS, Longshore work and other Maritime employments are known to be extremely hazardous of life and limb; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of longshoremen's widows and children are suffering privation because their compensation has ceased as a result of the Supreme Court's decision; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend the creation of a Federal Workers' Compensation Insurance Fund for Maritime employments, under the administration of a Federal Workers' Compensation Commission, or the State Commissions as are presently constituted, with deputies in the principal ports, through which shall be provided

adequate medical care and cash compensation.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate McLaughlin obtained consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate John P. McLaughlin, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, There exists in the salmon packing industry, as applied to cannery hands, a condition that borders on slavery, the men being recruited throughout Western states, placed on sailing ships, under guard, and given quarters between decks which, in many cases, are poorly ventilated and insanitary, narcotics being freely sold in violation of the Federal statutes prohibiting the sale and use of same; and

WHEREAS, Inasmuch as the men so employed are engaged in the packing of food stuffs, medical examinations should be required; and

WHEREAS, These cannery hands, many of whom are illiterate, are obliged to sign contracts agreeing to work any and all hours demanded by contractors and to be penalized for refusing to work if sick when the company's doctor so orders; and

WHEREAS, The salmon packing industry is interstate and should be under the supervision of some department of the Federal Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, request the United States Department of Labor to investigate labor conditions maintaining in said industry and recommend legislation necessary to remedy existing conditions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Delegate Flaherty, Post Office Clerks, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 116—By Delegations from National Association of Letter Carriers; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Railway Mail Association; and National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, It is a widely accepted principle that the Government as an employer should on its own account and as an example take the lead in establishing just and practical conditions of employment; and,

WHEREAS, Under existing conditions there is a notable absence in Government employment of any well defined labor policy or any conceded rights or privileges on which the employe may rely as a basis of action; and,

WHEREAS, During recent years there are but few rights presumed to be enjoyed by civil service employes that have not

been either openly challenged or painfully restricted by one department regulation after another, and a determined effort has been made to deny the right of effective organization and to suspend the right of petition; and,

WHEREAS, The Industrial Conference called by the President after extended investigation and in addressing itself to this subject says: "It is desirable that the utmost liberty of action should be accorded Government Employees, wholly consistent however, with the obligations they are under to the state. No objections should be interposed to their associations for mutual protection, the advancement of their interests and the presentation of grievances"; and,

WHEREAS, This question is of such importance in its effect upon the welfare of the employes and the service as to merit the serious consideration of political parties and party candidates in the Presidential election, now full upon us: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take such action as they deem practical in bringing the question of Government Employment to the attention of party leaders and Presidential candidates, with a view to emphasizing the urgent need of timely reforms, and with the hope of securing some reassuring and definite declaration regarding the rights and privileges of Government employes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate Huddell, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fortieth Annual Convention, A. F. of L.:—
Your committee begs leave to report on the following resolution:

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates John Coefield and E. W. Leonard, of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters:

WHEREAS, There has been much loss of life, personal injury, and property damage because of fire that could have been avoided by the use of proper fire prevention appliances; and,

WHEREAS, These fires have worked untold hardships upon the workers and to the people generally; and

WHEREAS, In many instances no municipal, state, or federal laws requiring the installation of fire prevention devices prevail, and in other instances inadequate laws exist: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 40th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that every effort be made by the organized labor movement to the end that

schools, hospitals, asylums, and other similar public or private institutions, factories as well as other forms of buildings requiring proper care against the dangers of fire, shall be provided with approved appliances for the prevention of fire; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled at Montreal, Canada, June 7, 1920, proposes to aid in securing and enforcing legislation which shall result in the installation of fire prevention devices which will tend to safeguard life, limb, and property, as well as protect the interests of the wage earners and the public generally.

Your committee heartily approves of the resolution and recommends whole-hearted support in having the object thereof attained.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Huddell: That concludes our report, Mr. Chairman.

(Signed) JOHN DONLIN, Chairman,
A. M. HUDDPELL, Secretary,
JAMES P. NOONAN
WM. J. MCSORLEY
D. D'ALESSANDRO
J. C. SKEMP
O. E. WOODBURY
J. T. HURLEY
S. P. TOBIN
THOMAS R. PREECE
FRANK FEENEY
Committee on Building Trades.

President Gompers: By motion adopted the convention extended an invitation to Mr. Plumb to address the convention. Mr. Plumb is present, and it affords me pleasure to present him to you.

ADDRESS OF MR. GLENN E. PLUMB

Honored President and men of greater America, from the frozen bay to the sunny gulf—It is one of the greatest honors I have ever received to be asked to address you today, and yet it was not intended as an honor to me. It is a tribute to the plan of the railroad workers, which I have come to explain to you in greater detail than I had the opportunity last year; in fact, to lay before you the details of this plan, with wider information than I possessed last year.

This plan is based on what we believe to be sound economic principles, and in order to grasp it there must be a short discussion of the economics of the situation. Now I don't want you to be frightened at that term "economics." It is a word which college professors have used for a long time to somewhat disguise the things they meant. It really means nothing but common sense applied to the fact of every-day life. That is all there is in economics. So I want to make a short analysis of these facts and principles so

that you can get a grasp of the plan as we have builded it.

In industry today there are two equal interests—the consumer and the producer. Industry exists for the purpose of meeting the needs of men, and if it were not for the needs of the consumer no industry could exist, for we produce only to meet these needs. Now all men are consumers; all men should be producers.

Again, in the productive side of industry there are two elements—capital and labor. But the consumer is the man upon whom the industry is builded. Labor and capital unite merely to supply that need. We have denied to the consumer any interest in the industry which he supports, we have denied to labor any interest in the industry in which he has invested his life and efforts. We have given to capital the monopoly of administration, management, and reward, or profit. That monopoly is exercised by capital at the expense of all men as consumers and of labor as the other element in production. That monopoly has been brought about through the use of the powers of government, political government, for it exists only because of privileges which political government has granted in the different corporate organizations that now conduct our industry.

Now, remember, that no corporation can enjoy any privilege other than that which the people have granted to it, and in our government—now, my Canadian friends, when I speak of our government of course I mean the government of the States. I do not refer to the Dominion or to any of the Provinces; I am not a competent critic of the Canadian government, in fact, it may need no criticism—but we of the States feel free amongst ourselves to criticize our own government, because that is what Democracy exists for; but we would resent criticism from an outsider. So, my friends of the Dominion, if there be anything in what I say that sounds as if it were a criticism of your government, it is not so intended, for I am not sufficiently familiar with your laws, or your constitutions, or your courts, to offer any criticism, and if what I say is to be applied to conditions in Canada it must be applied by yourselves, I cannot do so. While I am under the hospitality of your country I am discussing only the conditions as they exist in the States.

There is a wonderful foundation in the States for a reconstruction of industry. While we have by our laws given to capital the monopoly of control and administration, by our constitutions we have recognized the right of labor to share in corporate control on an exact equality with capital. That is not generally known; in fact, I have read these constitutional provisions thousands of times, have repeated them other thousands of times, without fully realizing what was meant.

Let me quote to you one provision which is common to most of our constitutions: "No corporation shall issue its stocks or bonds except for money, labor or property

actually received and applied for the purposes for which that corporation was created." You see there the recognition of the right of labor to participate with capital on equal terms in the organization of these great corporations. Labor, money, property—all exactly equal. There is the constitutional foundation; upon that we can build with security.

The consumer who supports all industry does not need to have any technical skill whatsoever. I need bread, I need it daily. A loaf is placed before me, prepared by some man skilled in the business of making bread. I have to have it or I can't live; but I haven't, with all my knowledge, the skill to make a single biscuit. The consumer needs no skill, no ability, no technique. All that he possesses is appetite, desire and need, and these all men inherit equally. But suppose you and I and all of us need bread, that our needs support this industry, therefore, we are going to direct it, and we select the man who has to bake the bread. We tell him what he shall buy and what prices shall be paid; how he shall compound the mixture that makes the loaf; at what temperature he shall bake it and how long it shall be baked. Why, we would ruin the baking industry, because it would be controlled by men who have no knowledge and no skill in production. The consumer is unskilled in the production of the things that he consumes, but the producer—the producing side of industry—is purely a matter of skill, technique, knowledge and ability.

There never yet has been devised a political government that can successfully administer an industry. It can do it with a certain degree of success, but never with the highest degree of success, because political government exists for the purpose of determining human rights on an absolute equality. It does not exist as a body to administer industry. We all partake in political government equally, but we are not all equally skilled in the various lines of industrial production. Therefore, we have deemed it essential that the conduct of the baking industry shall be left in the hands of bakers, the conduct of the railroads shall be left in the hands of the men who have invested their life and effort in the railroads, for within that body of men, whether they be serving with their brain or hands, is found all of the technique of the industry. Outside of that body of men you don't find skill or knowledge of railroad processes.

So we have deemed it essential in our plan to leave the administration of the industry in the hands of the men who have invested in that industry the great, creative human effort—labor in all of its manifestations. We don't leave that to political government; it would not be wise to do so.

Here is another wonderful principle of our American constitutions. If we were founding a new government, how would this do for a cornerstone upon which to

build? "The prime purpose of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of the gains of his own industry." Can you improve upon that? Isn't that about the highest statement of the purposes of government that man can write? And yet that is the cornerstone upon which the government of the United States is builded—"the prime purpose of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of the gains of his own industry."

But we haven't accomplished that purpose. Let me finish that quotation—"and when government fails to achieve that result it has failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was instituted." These are the words written by the founders of the American government. It is found in many of the constitutions; it is found in the Declaration of Independence. It declares that all men shall have an equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and the pursuit of happiness means nothing, as interpreted by our Supreme Court, but the right to enjoy the gains of your own industry. That is the purpose for which the government was instituted.

See how we have prostituted it! We have begun to make guarantees to private capital, but a guarantee made by the government can be kept in only one of two ways, or rather in either of two ways—it may be kept by a tax levied directly and paid out of the treasury of the government, or it may be made by an indirect tax levied under authority of the government in the rates charged for the service of that corporation. In either event it is a tax. You remember a great nation was builded on this principle, that there shall be no taxation without representation; but when we gave to these great industries the power to tax us indirectly in price we have not retained either for the people or those engaged in production, any voice whatsoever as to the amount of tax, the expense incurred or the profits to be received. That is taxation without representation, and a government builded on that principle and then abandoning that principle fails to accomplish its purpose. We must get back to that principle. How can it be done? We do that in our railroad plan, as I will explain to you in a moment.

So we must find some method that divides responsibility in administration between the two elements of production—labor and capital, and preserves to the consumer—for we are all consumers—his share in the industry, his protection against inflated profits. We have found in the experience of labor organizations that merely increasing wages has not given us the benefit that we hoped for. Suppose, my friends, that I had the absolute autocratic authority to fix the wage of every man engaged in production, and I also had the same autocratic power to fix the prices of the commodities he produced and had to purchase with his wages. Suppose, then, that these men rebelled against that authority and wrested from me the power to fix their wages, and they exercised that power themselves, but I retained the power to fix

the prices of commodities they made and purchased, and which they must consume. Would you have taken from me any power whatsoever? Not a bit, for whatever wage you fixed I would take back again by the price that I fixed.

The time has come when men engaged in production must participate in the function of price-fixing, and when they do that they are acting in a double capacity. The price must be high enough to protect their interests as producers and low enough to protect the interests of all as consumers. How can that be done? Well, we have solved that in our plan also, as I will explain to you in a few moments.

Now there is the purpose. In our plan it involves the government ownership of the instruments of transportation. But our plan applied to other industries would not involve that element. As applied to railroads it must involve it, because under our constitution the sole authority over interstate transportation is vested in the Federal Government, the title to waterways was placed there by the constitution, and the sole and exclusive power to construct post and military roads was there placed; so if we are to have unified service, ownership must be in the Federal Government, but as to operation and administration—no. Operation and administration must remain with that element that invests their creative power in producing the service—labor and management. By this method we not only protect the community interest, but we preserve forever the interest of every individual who has joined in this co-operative effort; and we secure to that individual the full enjoyment of the gains of his own industry, thus accomplishing the purpose for which the government was instituted.

Now with that explanation I want to take up the Plumb Plan—labor's plan—the railroad plan, and analyze it in detail. We provide first for the acquisition of the private interests existing in these railroads by the Federal Government. It is to be done in a constitutional manner. These private interests which exist in our public highways are interests which the people have granted, because railroads are public highways, so declared by all our constitutions, and, being public highways they are matters purely of public concern. No private interest can exist in the public highways other than that which the public have granted, and the extent of that private interest is measured only by the express terms of the grant. It can't be found in any other way. So we direct the courts to ascertain what grants have been made and the value of those grants. When that has been ascertained we direct the Federal Government to issue its bonds in such amounts and at such rates of interest as will procure their acceptance at par, with which to pay the compensation awarded. Now that extinguishes every private interest in the railroads. In popular conception, however, the railroads are private property, and we would have to condemn them in order to get their use. That is a mistake; railroads are

public highways, and the people of the United States now enjoy the use of those railroads just as completely as they could under private or public ownership. The use is ours, but the right to private remuneration for the service rendered is theirs, and all that we acquire from them is that right to receive private remuneration for the rendering of a public service.

Now when the value of that right is determined and paid for, then we become the possessors of our public highways—title, use and every interest existing therein—they belong to the people. That is where the highways should belong. That is the end of the first chapter of the Plumb Plan, but the results of that chapter are something far-reaching. The results don't appear in the language of the chapter, but they are plain to the man who sees with the eye of common sense.

When we have accomplished this first step, see what results follow. We have taken the railroads out of politics. Why, these privileges were born in politics, they have thrived on politics, they live by politics and they must die by politics. So long as Congress or any legislative body—I care not what it be—so long as that legislative body has valuable public interests or privileges to grant to private interests, private interests will seduce that legislative body in order to get possession of these public privileges. When we send a poor man to Congress who has in his power the right to grant a very valuable privilege to men who can pay valuable returns for that privilege, we have subjected him to temptations that he can't resist. But when we deprive that man—that body of men—of the power to grant a public privilege to private interests, we have protected them against that temptation, we have got the industry out of politics, and it is the only way it can be accomplished. Don't grant valuable public privileges to private interests. Don't let your representatives have the power to do it, and then you reclaim for the benefit of the public the value of these things that we have given away, the value of the things that we might give away, and that we will give away unless they are reclaimed. That is the first result.

There is another result almost as important. It is not apparent on the face of the act, but it is inevitable that it should follow. The management that control these great industries today is dishonest, it can't be otherwise. Why? Let me give you some illustrations. Now I am not speaking of the Canadian railways, for, I have no knowledge of them; I am speaking of the American railways, of which I have knowledge. I will take the Pennsylvania Railroad as an illustrious example. It is not a bad railroad, it is not badly managed compared with other railroads, it is just as honest and just as efficient as any of them are; but here are the facts, gathered from a sworn report submitted by the railroad to the Interstate Commerce Commission, sylvania, now dead, left this record behind Mr. Henry Frick, a Director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. He was also a stockholder, bond-holder or director in twenty-nine of the largest corporations selling supplies to the Pennsylvania! The Cambria Steel Company had eight directors on the Pennsylvania Railroad. The United States Steel Company had seven directors, the Baldwin Locomotive Works was represented, the Westinghouse Company, the General Electric Company—all represented on the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and every one of the Board of Directors of that railroad, with no exception, interested in from one to twenty-nine concerns selling it supplies. Now were they directors and officials of the Pennsylvania because they were interested in these concerns, or were they interested in these concerns because they were directors of the Pennsylvania? And when these eight men representing the Cambria Steel Company sat on the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad passing on the purchase of steel from the Cambria Company, whom did they represent—the seller of the steel or the purchaser of the steel? And when the representative of the Pullman Company sat on the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railway Company, whom did he represent—the Pullman Company of the Pennsylvania Company?

No man can serve two masters. It has never been done, it never can be done if men are honest. The only man who can serve two masters is a thief, and he serves neither one. Now I don't blame these men. It is not the men that I condemn, it is the system that surrounds them with conditions that they can't overcome. Are the employes of the railroads interested to see that the officials are honest? Not at all, because their interest is not affected. Are the stockholders interested to see that their officials are honest? Not at all, because no matter how dishonest they may be, we, the people of the United States, guarantee the stockholders not less than six per cent. There is every inducement to dishonesty, and when we surround men with inducements to be dishonest they are going to be dishonest, of course they are. Why, the best part of the Lord's prayer is, "lead us not into temptation." I would not trust my own integrity as an official of a great railroad; and where I cannot trust myself I will not trust another man.

Now by this first chapter, getting possession of these interests, we eliminate that kind of management from control. That does not mean that we would not retain many of these men as managers, for they are very competent managers. We would relieve their souls of the tempting conditions they now live under and give them an opportunity to be honest. Now we have gotten rid of this kind of management, we get rid of another kind of management. The people generally throughout the United States have got the idea that the men who have invested money in the railroads operate the railroads. Why, there never was a greater delusion, never. We have eleven billions of bonds outstanding against the railroads of the United States,

and not one single bondholder has any more voice in the management of those properties than I have, and I don't own a bond. No bondholder has any voice in the election of directors or officials or anything to say about management. Why? Because these great financiers who operate our railroads for once have told the truth. They say that a man who has a secured investment with a fixed return is an indifferent manager, and they are right. When the men who have made investments hold only a bond guarantee as to principal and as to interest, they don't care how the property is operated. If it is a success it doesn't benefit them any; if it is a failure they lose nothing by it, they are guaranteed; and a guaranteed investor is an indifferent manager, so we get them out of management also.

But now we have got to provide management. What is management? I don't care what your system, what your organization, management is always the same thing; it is that body of men upon whom we place authority and of whom we demand responsibility for the performance of a duty—that is management, always, under any form of organization. Now, how are we to get management?

Chapter 2 of our program provides for management. In order to operate these properties we create a corporation for service, not for profit. This corporation has no stocks, no bonds, no investment, no capital—ah, yes! it has capital, capital the like of which no corporation heretofore has possessed, a capital made up of the skill, the knowledge, the engineering ability, the creative power of all of the men who join in rendering the service. Human creative power is its capital, but it has no vested interests. Ah! those vested interests, vested rights, they call them. Generally they are nothing but vested wrongs. Nothing has stood in the way of our social progress so obstinately as the existence of vested rights, based on privileges which we had granted in ignorance and which have been enjoyed largely by usurpation. So we give no vested rights to this agent of the public for operating purposes; it is a corporation for service, not for profit.

But corporations must be made up of the men who constitute the corporation, first, the directors, then the officers, then every man engaged in the operation of the railroads, every man rendering service is a part of the corporation. Now you see where democracy in industry begins to appear. The authority for this corporation and its operation resides in a Board of Directors, just as it does in all other corporations, but that Board of Directors must now represent, with due equality, the interests that are to be served by the industry.

So we provide that one-third of the Board of Directors shall be appointed to represent the public interests—the consumers! One-third shall be elected by the men in the classified service—labor, as we now understand it—the men who render the service. Now you have the producer

and consumer equally balanced, haven't you, with equal authority. These two then select the management, they are to appoint the officials who are to be held responsible for administration; but you can't hold the officials responsible unless you also give them their due authority, nor responsibility always goes with authority and never exists in the absence of authority. So we let these officials, so named, then elect the other third—of the Board of Directors. There we have got a trinity of industry—the consumer, the producer, management, each with their due authority, each with their rights defined and to be protected, and each equally represented.

But, you say, that does not take care of capital—where is capital? Why, capital has received its guarantee, guaranteed by the producer, the consumer and management, all of them join in the guarantee, with a first lien on the profits of the operation—no, not on profits, because there are no profits any more—on the net results. There is a big difference between net results and profits. So that kind of investor does not participate in management. There is another reason why he should not; capital is a passive element of production. It represents nothing but tools, equipment and material, it is not living, human effort, it is the excess of past human effort. What is left of the labors of men long dead persists as capital. Suppose the owners of all the capital invested in railroads moved to Yokohama, would that interfere with the operation of the railroads? Not a particle. The railroads would go on just the same. The bond holders can clip their coupons just as effectively in Yokohama as they can in New York. But suppose the men operating the railroads moved; what would become of your industry? It would die. Suppose the people who consume the transportation, who need the use of the railroads, moved to Yokohama, what would become of the industry? It is dead. Capital does not render any living effort. So we have these two human interests, daily renewed, always present. They are the interests directly affected, the consumer and the producer, they are equally represented.

Now we come to the third part of the plan, the important part, for it defines the interests of the public, the obligations of this agent to the public, the obligations of the officials, directors and employes to the public, and the rights of the officials, directors and employes against the public, and the obligations of the corporations to its directors, officials and employes.

We provide that the public always gets service at cost. Profit is eliminated. Included in cost is the interest on the outstanding bonds, the actual investment, the amount required to provide a sinking fund to retire that investment, the amount required for wages, depreciation, maintenance, renewals—every item that constitutes legitimate expense is included in that cost. And we say that when the

public have paid that cost they have paid all that they shall be required to pay. But where does that leave profit for employes? It does not leave profit in the old sense of the term, because profit on investment has disappeared.

But there is another wonderful profit that the public and the producer should share between them. That is the profit resulting from increased efficiency. Now, it is to the interest of the men employed in production always to increase their reward and to shorten their effort. If I am engaged in labor production I always want more pay for the same amount of effort if I can get it; I want to accomplish the same result with less effort if I can. That is the incentive that moves me. But if I am buying the thing you produce I want to get it for less cost if I can. There is the public interest. Is it possible to reconcile them so they can work harmoniously? It is, and this is the way we do it.

We instruct the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates, and we instruct them how to do it. We tell them: "You should take the last year's operating balance sheet. From that sheet you can determine to an ounce the volume of traffic, so many ton miles of freight moved, so many passenger miles of passenger transportation, so much mail carried—everything entering into transportation is measured to the last ounce. There is the volume of traffic. Then from the other side of the sheet they are to compute the actual cost of rendering that service. Here is so much paid out for wages, so much for maintenance and renewals, a definite amount for interest on the bonds, and for sinking fund another definite amount. Everything that makes up expense of operation is measured to the last cent. We give these to the Interstate Commerce Commission and say: 'Fix the rates at that level which will produce an income sufficient to pay that cost.'"

Now, how are we to satisfy the public's demand for reduced cost and the right of those who render the service for increased earning power? We say to the operating management: "This is what it cost to operate last year. Get together and cut out all the waste you know existed last year, improve your economies, devise new and better methods of transportation, and if you can reduce the cost from last year's figure to a new level for this year, that saving between those two amounts is a profit and saving which results from efficiency alone, it does not come from any other source. Half of that belongs to you as producers, half of that amount shall be distributed among the men in the corporation as a dividend on their pay roll, so that each man gets that portion which his service entitles him to receive. The other half of that saving belongs to the people who paid it, the consumers, and it should be deducted from the next year's cost sheet and rates reduced to absorb it.

There is the soul of this plan. It answers every question I have asked; it meets

every question that must be asked in the economic solution of the problem. We are protecting every man now in his two social functions, that of producer and consumer. We give the consumer one-half of the increased productivity of human effort in reduced price. That is where we function in price fixing, and it is not done arbitrarily, it is done automatically. We give to every product a constantly increasing earning power proportioned to the service he renders. Profit on the investment of capital is eliminated. The increased productivity of human effort is equally divided between consumer and producer. What you earn, the amount you earn, is constantly increased as your efficiency is increased; its purchasing power is constantly increased by the reduction in price due to your efficiency.

Suppose we apply this to mining and to the steel industry. A reduction in freight permits cheaper coal; a reduction in the cost of producing coal permits cheaper freight; a reduction in the cost of producing iron permits cheaper coal and cheaper freight, and cheaper coal permits a reduction in the cost of making iron and steel. Every reduction in one industry helps to produce a reduction in another industry.

Now see how it affects your purchasing power. A reduction in the cost of production is multiplied by five in the price of the commodity, and a reduction in cost means five times that reduction in price. Take the coal industry. We increase the wages of the miner 40 cents a ton. The mine owners then increase the cost of coal to the consumer \$2 a ton—five to one. To cut down the cost of production of coal does not mean that wages must be reduced. Let us put in effect the economies recommended by the miners' organization last fall. Cut out the economic waste we all know that exists in that industry—eliminate the opportunity for 1800 per cent profit and let the public get their share of that economy, and it means then that the price of coal can be reduced five times the saving made.

We want shorter hours. That is one of the great aims of organized labor. You are opposed in your attempt to get shorter hours by the insistent demand for profit on capital, but when producer and consumer share in management and the producer has satisfied the demands of the consumer by producing all that is needed, who is going to insist that you shall produce more? Surplus production is economic waste, and when you produce less than the consumer requires it means human suffering. When you produce all that the consumer requires you have met every demand of society.

We have done another thing. In your platform you have one plank devoted to the credit situation. We have almost solved the credit situation in our plan without saying a word about it. I want to explain that to you. Credit consists of three items. The first is the possession of value by individuals who own commodities produced. If I am the owner of a thousand bushels of wheat I am possessed of a certain amount of credit. On

the value of that wheat I can go to a bank and borrow money. That is the first element—ownership of things produced.

The second element is the ownership of the means of producing in the future at a profit. If I own a plant which I can demonstrate has for many years produced products that give a certain return, I have credit. The third element of credit is based on public needs, and has no element of profit connected with it. When a city wants a waterworks it issues bonds and buys or builds the waterworks and guarantees a constant rate of interest. There is no profit in that. But the other two elements involve profit. If there isn't a profit in the wheat there can be no credit; if there isn't a profit in future production, there can be no credit.

Under our plan, as fast as profits accrue they are distributed equally to the consumer and the producer, they do not go to the owner of capital. The man who controls the profits controls the credit, and if industry is builded so that consumer and producer secure the profits, then credit can only be extended to that industry where consumer and producer join in securing that credit.

More and more industries are coming into the field of public necessities where the public take over the industry. Then there is no profit—that is public credit pure and simple. Now by our plan in the railroads the people control the credit absolutely. The consumers and the producers alone can control that credit; it is where it belongs. That is credit for public service.

There is one other phase of this problem I must explain. When political government controls expenditures there is always waste and usually corruption. We provide for extensions of this system in this manner: Suppose there be a territory that wants a new road, or added improvements, or greater facilities. It lies with the people of that territory to determine what expenditures shall be made. These expenditures will be reflected immediately in the increased value of the property in the district. If they want an extension they must assess the cost of the extension against the property within that district, and when they do that it is compulsory upon the government to build the extension at local expense; but the cost of that extension is not then reflected in the capital charges. It means increased local service with no added cost of operation in the form of interest.

But suppose there is a territory that ought not to pay all the expense, where the added improvement will benefit all the people. In that case they organize, present their plans for the improvement, go to the Interstate Commerce Commission and say: "We need these improvements. We are willing to pay that part of the expense which you may determine belongs to us as an improvement and the public to pay that part which you decide is a public benefit." If the community will bear that part which is a benefit to it we must build the improvements, but their contribution cannot be capitalized, it does not increase

interest charges. Under the operation of the sinking fund and contributions from communities we would soon retire the entire capital charge, interest would cease to be an item of expense of operation. We would then have operation at actual labor and material cost. That is ideal transportation and we could get it quickly, very quickly.

Now, my friends, there are the principles of this plan, there are some of the details. All other details are immaterial, for if the people of America accept this plan the details must be worked out by their representatives, and the further discussion of details would be immaterial.

But now I want to turn from the practical to the ideal for a moment. The highest human practicability is always found paralleled with the highest of human ideals. It cannot be otherwise. Our government was builded on the greatest ideals, ideals that we have forgotten, that the citizens of American do not know are in existence. Listen to this cornerstone of government written by John Adams, the second president of the United States, embodied in the Bill of Rights, the greatest document of human liberty ever written. Listen to these words: "Government is instituted to protect its citizens in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." That is the purpose.

Again, "The purpose or government is to give security to its citizens in the enjoyment of the gains of their industry." That is the prime purpose of government.

Again, "Government exists to protect the safety, prosperity and happiness of its people and not for the honor or profit of any man, family or class of men." We have denied to our government the right to use its sovereignty for the honor or profit of any man, any family or class of men.

Again, "The purpose of government is to men shall have any other title to receive compensation from the public than that which is measured by the value of the service they render to the public." Can we improve upon that? And yet we have forgotten it; we have turned from it.

Under our railroad bill we have guaranteed to a class of men a first lien on the prosperity of America. No matter what all other citizens may enjoy, the owners of railroad securities shall have six per cent guaranteed as a first tax upon industry. That violates that first principle. Six per cent on what? On the service they have rendered? No. On the falsified property accounts they have kept of the service they have rendered. That violates the second principle. Have we protected the citizen in the employment of the gains of his own industry? No. By that very bill we take from every citizen in the purchasing power of his income not less than \$250 a year, and transfer it to the holder of railroad securities. That violates the fourth principle of government.

But the forefathers knew we would do

that, and gave us a warning. They say at the end, "A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of civil government is absolutely essential to the preservation of our liberties." They warned us that if we would preserve the liberties they bequeathed to us we must constantly recur to these fundamental principles.

Men of America, the future lies in your hands. The liberty and the freedom left us as a heritage is endangered by our departure from the principles of government. We are now wrestling with the problem of taking back to ourselves the industrial freedom that it was the purpose of this government to secure to us. And if we fail in this task we sell ourselves, our children and our children's children into servitude to the men who exercised the privileges that we have granted. The hands of children yet unborn for many generations stretch out to you in supplication—"Save for us our heritage, or we perish."

The task is yours. Organized labor of America, those who create all of the things which mankind needs, nowhere else can there be found hope. I preached this doctrine to a great banker in New York, and when I had finished he said, "Almost thou persuadest me." But he had great wealth and he could not surrender its power. I talked it with another great statesman, a man whom we in America loved before he fell, and he said, "Almost thou persuadest me." But he had great power, and the sweetness of the temptation of that power overcame his principles.

Men of America, ye who as individuals have neither wealth nor power, whose judgment is not swerved from the common good by selfish interests, only in the hearts and minds of such as you is salvation to be found. For he who has great interests against the common good cannot be trusted to protect the common good. But we who have no interest but the common weal, upon us is laid the burden of eternity, and today is the day of your decision. I pray to God that you will be equal to the task; and I have a supreme hope and a supreme confidence that in the hearts of the men who create all the things to supply human needs will be found the knowledge, the skill and the determination to work out this problem with exact equality, exact justice, and with the supreme determination to give to every individual equal opportunity, to no man privilege.

For that end America was created by God, lifted from the waters that we might in the fullness of time establish a right-

eous civilization, a righteous and just society. And it can be done. I thank you.

Delegate Grow, Machinists: I move that it be the sense of this convention that the delegates extend appreciation to Mr. Glenn E. Plumb for his magnificent address, and instruct the secretary to have it printed verbatim in pamphlet form and distributed among the delegates at this convention.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) requested the mover of the motion to accept as an amendment that the address be also printed for general distribution among the rank and file of the workers of the country; that additional quantities of the pamphlet be printed to be sold at cost to the local and central bodies to be distributed among their members.

The motion was separated, and the portion extending the appreciation of the convention to Mr. Plumb was carried unanimously.

At the suggestion of the chair the portion of the motion dealing with the distribution of the address in printed form was referred to the committee which would have that subject under consideration.

The special committee, consisting of Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Tobin, appointed to consider the advisability of changing the meeting hall, made a report of their investigation of the hall in the Windsor Hotel. No definite action was taken on the report.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers, moved that the report of the committee be received and the committee discharged with thanks. (Seconded and carried.)

The chairmen of the various committees announced meetings to be held immediately following the noon adjournment, during the afternoon and in the evening. In order to allow these committees to complete their reports, a motion was made that the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken until Saturday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Saturday, June 12.

SIXTH DAY--Saturday Morning Session

Montreal, Quebec, June 12, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Mulaney, Schneider, Baine, Bowen (W. J.), Preece, Price, Greely, Shaughnessy, McLeod, Hyland, Beuloin, Laurendeau, McCarthy, Barnes, Campbell (W. A.), Fitzgerald (E. H.), Shurtleff, Nelson, Desepte, DeRaay, McNulty, O'Connor (J. S.), McAndrews (J. J.), Snellings, Comerford, Edgerton, Huddell, Cherrington, Adamsky, Schlesinger, Humphrey, Sullivan (J. H.), Greenstein, Morrison (H. L.), Duffy (C. D.), Bock, Wharton, Brown (H. W.), Hogan (S. C.), Moriarity (J. T.), Langdon, Hayes (F. J.), Farrington, Moore (J.), White (J. P.), Kennedy (Thos.), Murray (P.), Valentine, Burton, Rosendale, Weber (J. N.), Hedrick, Root, Hannah, Dold, Kearney, Anderson (C.), Leonard (E. W.), Britton, Leary (Geo.), Roth, Clark (W. D.), McHugh, Marks, Dunwoody, Hurl, Flynn (Patrick), Ryan (P. J.), Shay, Dougherty, Blasey, Curtis, Jones (J. W.), Walker (J. H.), Ely (S.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (D. M.), Gilletly, Caddy, Costello (J.), Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Witherell, Rogers (R. E.), Owens, Thomas (J. J.), Stanley, Stansbury, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Freind, Murray (J. F.), Barnack, Hayward, Sims, Wright (D. H.), Ralisse, Keavney, Gagnon, Jagers, Wilkinson, McKosky, Fitzgerald (J. D.), Fleury, Bower, Gebhardt, Green (R. J.), Curran, Campbell (F. A.), Ferguson (F. D.), Hourigan, Malloy, Louthood, Harrell, Link, Williams (J. W.), McGeory, Talbot, Enright, Ellis, Mezacapo, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, Schoonover, Longe, Carlock, Brown (Sam), Maund, Grove, Heywood, Covert, McKnight, Jasper, McDaniel, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Weber (C. F.), Gabrio, Gould, Morse, Malone (M.), Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Stevens, Smallwood, Allen, Rincker, Tait, Reynolds, Engle, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Robins, Fitzgerald (A.), Jones (J.)

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:—

June 10, 1920.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The International Labor Conference, part

of the League of Nations, which met in this city October 29, 1919, adopted a resolution requiring the Governing Body to set up an International Commission to study the question of regulating emigration and immigration and that of protecting the interests of wage earners not residing in their own country. The Conference decided at the same time that the representation of European states on this Commission should be limited to half the total number of its members.

The Governing Body at its meeting in London last March proceeded to give effect to this resolution in accordance with the following principles:

- (1) That of equal representation of Governments, workers and employers.
- (2) That of equal representation of European and non-European countries.
- (3) That of the respective importance of different countries from the point of view of emigration and immigration.

It decided to invite the British Government to nominate an Independent Chairman of the Commission, and it allotted to eighteen other countries, among them the United States, seats for Government workers and employers representatives.

On May 14th I received a communication from M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labor Office, suggesting that the United States send representatives to the Commission selected in agreement with the most representative organizations of workers and employers, respectively.

Section 29 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, reads as follows:

"That the President of the United States is authorized, in the name of the Government of the United States, to call, in his discretion, an international conference, to assemble at such point as may be agreed upon, or to send special commissioners to any foreign country, for the purpose of regulating by international agreement, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, the immigration of aliens to the United States; of providing for the mental, moral, and physical examination of such aliens by American consuls or other officers of the United States Government at the ports of embarkation, or elsewhere;

of securing the assistance of foreign Governments in their own territories to prevent the evasion of the laws of the United States governing immigration to the United States; of entering into such international agreements as may be proper to prevent the immigration of aliens who, under the laws of the United States, are or may be excluded from entering the United States, and of regulating any matters pertaining to such immigration."

In order to make sure that this law gave the President authority to appoint delegates to this conference, I submitted the law and the correspondence to the Solicitor for the Department of Labor, and have been advised by him that "it is the judgment of this office, therefore, that the President has authority under Section 23 to send representatives of the Government to attend a meeting of the International Commission to study the question of emigration and immigration." Upon receipt of this opinion I immediately brought it to the attention of the President, recommending that we be represented in this conference not only by the two delegates selected in agreement with the industrial organizations, but also by a direct representative of the Government. The President informed me that he would act upon my advice in this matter, and I consequently cabled M. Thomas to the effect that this Government is prepared to send three commissioners to attend the International Commission to study the question of regulating emigration and immigration in accordance with the terms of Section 23 of the immigration law of this country.

The expenses of such a commission can be paid from the general immigration fund. I am writing you for the purpose of asking that the American Federation of Labor nominate someone to act as a member of this commission with a view to reaching an agreement upon the appointment. The date of the meeting of the Commission has not yet been decided upon, but is likely to be two or more months hence.

Kindly communicate with me at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. WILSON, Secretary

The communication from the Secretary of Labor was made part of the record and referred to the Committee on International Relations.

The secretary announced that the name of Emanuel Koveleski, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, had been added to the personnel of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

The name of Joseph Obergfell was substituted for that of Joseph Proebstle, of the Brewery and Soft Drink Workers, on the Committee on Law, Delegate Proeb-

stle having been required to leave the city.

The name of R. H. Stickel was substituted for that of G. G. Jacob, of the International Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, on the Committee on Organization.

Delegate D'Alessandro, of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, requested that the name of Vincent DeFalco be substituted for that of Delegate Joseph Moreschi, who was called away.

On motion by Secretary Morrison, the request was complied with and Delegate DeFalco seated.

Delegate Riley, West Virginia Federation of Labor, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate James Riley, President West Virginia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the coal regions of West Virginia there are forty thousand mine workers who are yet arbitrarily denied the opportunity of becoming members of a Labor Organization and are also prohibited from enjoying many of the privileges and prerogatives which accrue to citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The methods employed by the coal interests of that state to intimidate and coerce these citizens, through the employment of hundreds of armed detectives and gunmen who inflict unspeakable outrages upon the mine workers, have become a matter of national shame; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the United Mine Workers of America have from time to time appealed to the Governor of West Virginia for a correction of these conditions, and have even upon occasion brought before him in person the bruised, maimed and bleeding victims of the gunmen employed by the coal operators, and have in every instance failed to secure redress or an enforcement of the laws of the State; and

WHEREAS, There has recently been a most serious armed conflict between agents of the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency and the Municipal Officers of the town of Matewan, resulting in the loss of many lives; and

WHEREAS, At the present time great numbers of these armed agents, acting without authority of law, are being mobilized in the counties of Mingo and McDowell, thereby threatening the further peace and security of the citizens of the State; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers of America have asked for

a Congressional investigation into these conditions, and there has accordingly been introduced into the Senate of the United States a resolution providing for such investigation, which is opposed by the Governor of West Virginia, who has so miserably failed to discharge his obligations as a public officer and properly protect the citizens of his Commonwealth in the exercise of their constitutional prerogatives: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as approving Senatorial or Congressional investigation into conditions obtaining in West Virginia; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of this convention is instructed to immediately transmit to members of the Congress of the United States proper notification of this action with the request for co-operation in securing such investigation.

President Gompers stated that the resolution would be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison read the resolution.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers, pointed out the necessity of prompt action on the resolution, and moved to suspend the regular order of business and give consideration to the resolution at once. The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison read the resolution.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: The resolution is entirely self-explanatory and the facts are self-evident, and I shall not occupy the time of the convention with any speech upon the question other than to say that the United Mine Workers stand behind everything which is said in the resolution and urge the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in securing Congressional investigation. We are aware, of course, that Congress has, for the time being, adjourned, but we have in mind that an early reconvening of Congress is possible. Whether or not that is true, we desire the moral approval of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in order that the American people might know that labor is demanding an investigation and rectification of the wrongs which exist in the Commonwealth of West Virginia.

The President of the American Federation of Labor, in a letter to Senator Kenyon of the Committee on Education, has called attention to those conditions which exist contrary to our law and has asked for an investigation. The officers of the United Mine Workers of America have from time to time sought to secure re-

dress for the citizens of West Virginia who live under these intolerable conditions, but the laws of the State have been flagrantly violated and we have been unable to secure that action. We are asking the approval of the American Federation of Labor, with the idea of bringing to bear all possible pressure in order to bring about the relief desired.

On motion of Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employees, the resolution was adopted.

Delegate Detlef, Wood Carvers, asked the unanimous consent of the convention to the introduction of a resolution. Objection was raised, and the resolution was not introduced.

President Gompers: It is necessary that the chair state that the committee selected by the Executive Council to appear before the Platform Committee of the Republican Party at its convention in Chicago, having performed its duty, is now ready to report. I ask Vice-President Green to preside during the reading of the report.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

Vice-President Woll read the following report:

REPORT OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS AND VICE-PRESIDENT WOLL, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, ON THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

By reason of the fact that the National Convention of the Republican Party was to open upon the same date as the Fortieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, it was deemed a duty the Council owed to the workers and the labor movement to present to the platform committee of the Republican convention labor's demands, so essential to its protection, interest and welfare. Recognizing the need to have as many as possible of the officers and delegates of the Federation in attendance at the American Federation of Labor Convention, the Council appointed but two of its representatives, President Samuel Gompers and Vice-President Matthew Woll, to present the demands to the National Republican Party Convention as adopted by the Executive Council.

The Council also authorized Mr. Gompers and Mr. Woll to add to their number in appearing before the Platform Committee of the Republican Party at Chicago.

Mr. P. H. McCarthy, President of the California State Building Trades Council and a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, accompanied the committee.

On June 9, this committee appeared before the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention. That some-

mittee was presided over by Senator James Watson. The prepared program of labor's political demands, was read to the committee by Vice-President Woll.

In explaining the position of the labor movement and emphasizing the formal demands presented, President Gompers addressed the committee, consuming about forty-five minutes. To the reading of the formal demands and to the address of President Gompers, the Committee on Platform listened with apparent interest.

We present here in their order the demands presented by labor and the planks incorporated in the Republican Platform as adopted by that party convention in every case where there is any plank dealing with the subject.

The preamble of the declaration of Labor's Demands is as follows:

LABOR'S DEMANDS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN 1920

Government and all civilization exist for the service of human beings and the promotion of their betterment. Such purposes are best achieved when those who are primarily affected by policies and methods have the power of determining them. Under such conditions only will there be relations of good will between fellow citizens and a spirit of true patriotism essential to the best development and unity of our nation. There must be reason for the convention that citizens can rely upon the government for impartial maintenance of rights and protection. Such an attitude can result only when principles of human welfare are made paramount to any other consideration. Experience of other countries and scientific information substantiate the contention that sweated industries, over-strained, long and burdensome hours of toil, tend to physical deterioration, loss of mental vitality, and consequent decreased producing power. Standards of life and work, daily hours of toil and wages, have a direct relation to economic progress and development as well as to preparedness for national defence.

Labor's Demand

To promote industrial justice and tranquility and to insure uninterrupted production at its highest efficiency, the right of the wage earners to organize into trade unions, to select their own representatives, and to bargain collectively, must be fully safeguarded.

Republican Platform

"There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual and emphasizes the diversity of interests of employer and employee. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

"We recognize the value of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employees and realizing the true ends of industrial justice."

It will be noted that the platform is silent on the essential point of the right

of wage earners to organize into trade unions and to select their own representatives, and ignores the fact that only by collective bargaining through such organization of the wage workers can an industrial justice be attained.

Labor's Demand

We pledge our party to maintain the federal law enacted by Congress, securing to the workers the legal right of voluntary association for mutual protection and welfare, protecting their rights against unwarrantable issuance of writs of injunction, either prohibitory or mandatory, and guaranteeing the right of trial by jury in alleged contempt cases, committed outside the presence of courts.

Republican Platform

Silent.

Labor's Demand

Legislation which proposes to make strikes unlawful or to compel the wage earners to submit their grievances or aspirations to courts or to governmental agencies, is an invasion of the rights of the wage earners, and when enforced makes for industrial serfdom or slavery.

We hold that the government should supply information, assistance, and counsel, but that it should not attempt by the force of its own power to stifle or to destroy voluntary relations and policies of mutuality between employers and employees.

We hold that public employes should not be denied the right of organization, the right of representation for the rectification of grievances, and should not be denied political rights accorded to all other citizens.

Republican Platform

"The strike, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify Government initiatives to reduce its frequency and limits its consequences. The extent and character of Government action must, however, be determined by the nature of the industry.

"We deny the right to strike against the Government; but the rights and interests of all Governmental employes must be safeguarded by impartial tribunals.

"In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives and health and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunals should be morally, but not legally, binding, and an informed public sentiment be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunals should, however, refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the investigation as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation Act of 1920.

"In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary

mediation, conciliation and arbitration, supplemented with that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The Government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues."

The entire plank in the Republican platform constitutes a denial of labor's demands, and contemplates the erection of governmental machinery for the coercion of labor and for the suppression and limitation of its proper, lawful and normal activities. It proposes to erect governmental tribunals vested with the power to compel involuntary labor. The entire plank is a denial of freedom and is in addition subversive of the best interests of our Republic.

Labor's Demand

The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restriction of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances and actions. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner.

Republican Platform

"We guarantee to every American citizen his constitutional rights of personal liberty and freedom of speech, but no man may advocate resistance of the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

"Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled to right of liberty of criticism and agitation directed against the Government or American institutions.

"Every Government has the power to exclude and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large numbers of people affected by the immigration acts, and in view of the vigorous (?) malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, an adequate public hearing before a competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all."

We hold that in our Republic any attempt to overthrow the Government by violence is unnecessary and indefensible. But the people have the right to bring about a change in the administration and the laws of the government by peaceful means, as is guaranteed by the constitution of the United States. Resistance to injustice and tyranny within the law and constitutional guaranties is a paramount duty of citizenship.

Labor's Demand

National preparedness as well as commercial development in keeping with the importance and the dignity of our nation, require that we shall have competent and able American seamen. We urge as essential

to this purpose the vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's Act and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. We are opposed to any minimizing of present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public.

Republican Platform

Silent.

Labor's Demand

One of the most important functions of the nation is to protect the health of every child. We declare that we must put an end to the employment for profit of children under sixteen years of age.

Republican Platform

"The Republican party stands for a Federal child labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evil of child labor."

Labor's Demand

We demand that effective steps be taken immediately to relieve the people of the burden imposed by the excessive cost of living and to eradicate permanently the underlying evils, recognizing fully that no other issue is of deeper interest to the masses of the American people.

As a comprehensive program of relief and remedy we set forth these demands:

1. Co-operation should be encouraged as an effective means of curbing profiteering. To stimulate rapid development of co-operatives the federal farm loan act should be extended so as to give credit to all properly organized co-operatives just as credit is now given to individual farmers.

2. We urge that the United States Department of Labor compile and issue monthly statements of the cost of manufacture of those staple articles which form the basis of calculation in fixing the cost of living.

3. As a means of aiding anti-profiteering measures the federal government should promptly investigate profits and prices. All income and other tax returns should be available for inspection.

Republican Platform

"The prime cause of the high cost of living has been, first and foremost, a 50 per cent depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar, due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits, disproportionate wage advances and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power, have been contributing causes in a greater or less degree.

"We condemn the unsound fiscal policies of the Democratic Administration which have brought these things to pass, and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out, and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises or quick remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for

honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our Government borrowing, by courageous but intelligent deflation of over-expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift, and by revision of war imposed taxes unsuited for peace time economy.

"We condemn the Democratic Administration for failure to enforce the anti-profiteering laws enacted by the Republican Congress."

We hold no brief for the Democratic Party. It may defend, answer or challenge the charges or insinuations as it may deem best. We call attention to the fact that specific proposals on this subject submitted by labor are ignored completely. In the light of the proposals submitted by labor the declaration of the Republican platform evades the issue and offers no remedy; it denies the importance of profiteering as the leading cause of the high cost of living, and endeavors to put a part of the responsibility upon what it falsely calls "disproportionate wage advances." We have no knowledge of any substantial or effective anti-profiteering laws passed by the Republican Congress.

Labor's Demand

"Americanization of those coming from foreign lands, as well as our standards of education and living, are vitally affected by the volume and character of immigration. It is essential that additional legislation regulating immigration should be enacted based upon two fundamental propositions, namely that the flow of immigration must not at any time exceed the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize foreigners coming to our shores, and that at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an appreciable degree of unemployment."

Republican Platform

"The standard of living and the standard of citizenship of a nation are its most precious possessions and the preservation and elevation of those standards is the first duty of our Government. The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any one time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

"The selective tests that are at present applied should be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and of criminals, and a more effective inspection applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigners and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. To

facilitate Government supervision all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized. The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound, and should be maintained."

Labor's Demand

"We demand the observance and enforcement of all the federal maximum eight-hour laws and their extension to comprehend all civil departments of government."

Republican Platform

Silent.

Labor's Demand

"We favor the enactment of a more comprehensive Federal Compensation law which will embrace all workers who cannot be provided for by state compensation laws, and we demand that workmen's compensation laws be amended to provide more adequately for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases."

Republican Platform

Silent.

Labor's Demand

"We demand the enactment of legislation excluding from interstate commerce the products of convict labor."

Republican Platform

"We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor."

Labor's Demand

"We demand the repeal of the labor provisions of the Cummins-Esch law."

Republican Platform

"We indorse the transportation act of 1920 enacted by the Republican Congress as a most constructive legislative achievement."

This declaration is a complete denial and repudiation of the demands submitted by labor, and is an emphatic endorsement of the labor provisions of the Cummins-Esch railroad act. In order that there might be no doubt as to its stand toward the wage and labor provisions of the Cummins-Esch act, the Republican platform contains this very specific reference to these clauses in its preamble:

"Under the act, it provided for the peaceful arbitration of wage disputes."

That to which the Republican platform refers as the "peaceful arbitration of wage disputes" is in reality a denial of the lawful right of the workers to cease working. This denial of the right to strike the Republican platform boastfully proclaims as one of its greatest achievements.

Labor's Demand

"We declare that the Congress of the United States should take action to prevent the Federal Courts from continuing the usurpation of authority in declaring unconstitutional acts passed by Congress.

"We further urge that judges of all Federal Courts shall be elected by the people for terms not exceeding six years."

Republican Platform

Silent.

Labor's Demand

"We declare our unalterable opposition to any exercise of force by the United States in compelling the Mexican people to meet unwarranted and unjust demands of those Americans whose sole interest is the exploitation of the people and the natural resources of the Mexican nation."

Republican Platform

"The ineffective policy of the present administration in Mexico matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border, for the enormous loss of American and foreign property, for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice and national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

"The policy of wordy, futile, written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as being meaningless and not intended to be considered seriously or in force, has but added in degree to that contempt, and has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

"We should not recognize any Mexican government unless it be a responsible government, willing and able to give sufficient guarantee that the lives of American citizens are respected and protected, that wrongs will be promptly corrected, and just compensation will be made for injuries sustained.

"The Republican party pledges itself to a consistent, firm and effective policy toward Mexico, that shall enforce respect for the American flag, and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property in accord with the establishment of international law and our treaty rights.

"The Republican party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people in its insistence on the maintenance of order for the protection of American citizens within its borders. A great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves, for the continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interests and political aspirations."

"This plank clearly aims to undermine the sovereignty of the Mexican people and to make the maintenance of order in Mexico the business of the government of the United States. It proposes the fulfillment of what have long been the hopes and aims of those whose sole object is the exploitation of the people and boundless resources of Mexico.

With the exception of those provisions long since almost universally accepted in political platforms as just and undeniable, the Republican platform is defiant in its defence of the enemies of labor, and calculated to secure for them fresh advantages and greater privileges. The Republican convention turned its back upon labor.

The voice of the masses of our people is unmistakable in its determination to

preserve the liberties of our people. This demand was placed before the platform committee of the Republican National Convention in definite form by your committee. The platform declaration as adopted proposes an industrial enslavement and an abrogation of rights as precious as life itself.

While there is in the platform a certain shrewdness in selection of language, there is never any opportunity for doubt as to the true meaning of those provisions relating to labor.

The heritage left to the Republican party by Abraham Lincoln, the great liberator, is abandoned in a platform which embraces every opportunity to strengthen the concept of repression and coercion of the working people.

The Republican platform practically ignores the profiteer, and while recognizing the evils of currency inflation offers no remedy for that condition. Specific proposals submitted by labor for relief from the high cost of living and profiteering are given no place in the platform.

The great underlying principles enunciated by labor for the protection of the rights and interests of the great masses of our people and for their advancement and well-being found no response in the Republican national platform.

The Executive Council directed that the proposals submitted to the Republican Party Convention be submitted to the Democratic Party National Convention in identical form, and that an analysis of that party's platform be made known, published and made part of the official records of the American Federation of Labor in identical form and similar manner as is this report.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
MATTHEW WOLL.

Vice-President Woll: I move the adoption of the committee's report. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: I want to ask, through the chair, if there is not within the Republican platform, under the caption of the "Postal Service," another matter regarding various declarations of the American Federation of Labor affecting the postal employees. May I ask if the chairman has a copy of the Republican platform here?

President Gompers: In unofficial form only.

Delegate Gainor: I would ask, then, that that item of the Republican Party platform relating to the postal service be read. This is a matter that has repeatedly come before the American Federation of Labor, a matter upon which the President of the American Federation of Labor has made official declarations time and time again.

Chairman Green: In reply to your re-

quest, Delegate Gaior, the committee informs the chair that they have not a copy of the Republican platform here this morning. They have submitted a report to the convention upon the different planks ordered submitted to the Republican Platform Committee.

Delegate Gaior: That is true, Mr. Chairman, but I happened to be in Chicago and I heard President Gompers' declaration and very able statement to the Resolutions Committee, and in that statement were certain representations of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards the government's policy in regard to government employees. That is included in the Republican Party's platform, I believe, under the caption of "Postal Service."

Vice-President Woll read the following from a newspaper record of the Republican platform:

"POSTAL SERVICE

"We condemn the present Administration for its destruction of the efficiency of the postal service and of the telegraph and telephone service when controlled by the government, and for its failure properly to compensate employees whose expert knowledge is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the postal system. We commend the Republican Congress for the enactment of legislation increasing the pay of postal employees, who up to that time were the poorest paid in the government service."

Delegate Duncan (James A.): I move as an amendment that the report of the committee be printed in today's proceedings and referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report. (Motion not seconded.)

Delegate Duncan: If there is no second to the amendment I would like to speak on the motion and ask a question. Do I understand from the reading of the report that our representatives deny the right to strike against the government, or is that the Republican Party's statement?

Vice-President Woll: That is the language of the Republican platform.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Mathieu, Montreal Trades and Labor Council, asked unanimous consent of the convention to the introduction of a resolution bearing on the Irish question. Objection was raised, and the resolution was not introduced.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Delegate Houck, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the amendment of Resolution No. 4 by adding the words "One of" before the word "the" in the first line; by striking out "non" in the tenth line of the second whereas; substituting the word "conditions" for the word "products" in the eleventh line; and substituting the word "products" for the word "conditions" in the twelfth line. The resolution as amended to read:

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, Chas. Alder of the Tobacco Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, One of the paramount issues of today in the American labor movement is the political propaganda of the American Federation of Labor, namely, "Elect your friends and defeat your enemies," and the same principle should be applied to the demands of the Union Label Trades, "Remember your friends and defeat your enemies," through your purchasing power, demonstrating to our adversaries that the great American Labor Movement is united on the issues confronting the organized forces of our country today.

And, to further promote the production of Union Label products, there must be a spirit of mutuality and co-operation among organized workers, and a consistent demand, thereby giving employment to the organized men and women in preference to those who seek to destroy the organized labor movement in the Label Trades industry; and

WHEREAS, There are indications of a movement on the part of manufacturers in the tobacco industry to discontinue the use of the Union Label on their products. There is also an effort on the part of the jobbers and retailers to discourage the purchasers from buying Union Labeled tobaccos, cigarettes, and snuff, using the statement that Union Labeled brands manufactured under Union conditions are inferior to the Non-Union products with cheap labor; and

WHEREAS, The brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union are not receiving the patronage to which they are entitled, when a greater demand would be the means of inducing unfair firms to adopt the Union Label, whereby many thousands of tobacco workers could be organized in the United States and Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Montreal, Que., June 7th, 1920, pledge our united efforts in creating a greater demand for tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff bearing the Union Label, and on our return to our respective home towns we will make a special effort in our membership of the local union for a greater demand for tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff bearing the Union Label.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate McAndrew, Tobacco Workers, in discussing the question, said in part: I want to call attention to the number of manufacturers in the states that are endeavoring to discontinue the use of the Union Label on their products. A number of the products bearing the Union Label of the Tobacco Workers that have been on the market for years are being discontinued. It seems to us that it is an endeavor to have a non-union shop in the future. I want to call attention particularly to an impression that prevails that the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company of Winston-Salem is manufacturing a union product. A year ago we organized a number of their employees, but not with the consent of that company, that is doing everything to discourage the organization of their employes. They manufacture the Camel cigarette and Prince Albert smoking tobacco.

We have an organizing campaign in Montreal. The label is on the products of the Forest-Preres, Rattray and Canadian Tobacco Co., Ltd., and we hope you pipe smokers will show the merchants in Montreal that you are consistent trade unionists by asking for the Union Label tobacco.

We have started a co-operative cigarette company in New York owned by the Paper Cigarette Workers' Union. Their brand is the "Diamond Ring." I hope you will see that the Union Label is on everything you buy.

Delegate O'Hara, United Hatters: I would like to add that the really hostile forces to organized labor in the United States have been fighting the United Hatters for many years. They have been strengthening their position every year, and we wish in again making our appeal to you that you would at least show consistency in giving the support we think the United Hatters of North America are entitled to.

A motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 16 be amended by striking out the words "and wherever" in the eighth line, the word "possible" in the ninth line, and by inserting the words "shop cards and working buttons" after the word "labels" in the tenth line. The amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate John J. Manning, of the Union Label Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The union label deserves the support of all men and women who believe in the development of higher and better economic and social conditions and well-being of the great mass of our people; and

WHEREAS, The purchasing power of the organized workers of our country is of tremendous proportions, reaching into billions of dollars in the course of one year; and

WHEREAS, The union label is an important factor in the maintenance of the union shop, hours, wages, and healthful working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its organizers who are organizing the workers of our country, city central bodies and state federations, are using their best efforts to build up the American Labor Movement, and we find in some instances that union labels, shop cards and buttons are not given the consideration and prominence they deserve in this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Union Label Trades Department in convention assembled hereby instructs its officers to present this resolution to the American Federation of Labor in the coming convention, containing a request that the officers of the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers when visiting central bodies and local unions to devote on each such occasion a part of their talk to union labels, shop cards and working buttons; and to urge central bodies and local unions to appoint committees to secure information and keep it posted in meetings, designating where union label products can be purchased, and that such instructions be given at least every four months.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Recommendations

Your committee notes with satisfaction the progress made by the Union Label Trades Department during the past year both in the number of affiliated unions and in increased membership, and a broader development of the work for which the Department was created.

There is no question but that active and progressive union label leagues are of great benefit, not only to trades having union labels, shop cards and working buttons to exploit, but to the general labor movement as well; and your committee earnestly recommends to national unions having union labels, shop cards and working buttons to exploit that they make provision in their laws which will tend to bring their local unions into label leagues where they exist, and to help in forming such central leagues in co-operation with the several bodies where they do not now exist, and advertise the same in the labor press.

These label leagues can be utilized as an effective agency for the dissemination of

information on this very important phase of work in the labor movement, and it should be the aim and object of international unions at interest to develop these agencies to the fullest extent.

Your committee further recommends that the representatives of the A. F. of L. and international unions, officials of central labor unions and label leagues, keep informed of all movements in the union label, card and button field, so that when they are addressing gatherings of workers or called upon by friends of the labor movement or merchants, they will be in a position to give such information as will aid in creating an increased demand for goods produced, sold or delivered by union labor.

Conservation seems to be a popular topic at this time, and with this thought in mind your committee recommends that all the international or national unions keep constantly before the organized workers the absolute necessity for spending money earned under union conditions only in channels where it will aid and assist the workers in crafts whose commodities are made under union conditions, thereby carrying to a practical conclusion our motto of aiding our friends whenever and wherever possible.

Activity in the field of co-operation is developing very rapidly among trade unionists, and we recommend that the Committee on Co-operation of the A. F. of L. take such steps as are advisable to induce these several co-operative societies to give preference to union label goods whenever possible.

Another field for the extension of the sale of union labeled goods is being developed by the Woman's Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary. As it is a well known fact that the women of the household spend the major portion of the money used to maintain the family, no effort should be spared to educate them as to the necessity of spending this money only for goods made and sold under union conditions.

The attention of the delegates is called to the existence of so-called union labels which have not been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, this being especially true of the clothing trade, as no clothing should be purchased which does not bear a union label that is endorsed and recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Representatives of the Cigarmakers' International Union appeared before your committee and placed before it the following facts relative to the strike of cigarmakers now being waged in Tampa, Florida, for improved conditions.

"There is now taking place in Tampa, Florida, one of the large industrial cigar centers of the United States, a conflict between the members of the Cigarmakers' International Union and the combination of Cigar Manufacturers which form a part of the gigantic American Tobacco Trust, and an aggregation of citizens in that community who have allied themselves with

the manufacturers for the purpose of exterminating the Cigarmakers' Union in that locality, and are waging a determined and relentless war to the end that they might destroy membership in the Cigarmakers' organization. The conflict is on, the members of Cigarmakers' Union are arrayed on the industrial battle front waging with equal determination to maintain the right to organization, the privilege of securing humane treatment, a living wage and better industrial conditions, yet struggling against great odds and a determined group of manufacturers who are wielding their political, economic and financial powers to defeat them.

"There are 5000 members of the Cigarmakers' Union who have been on strike since April 13 who are standing steadfastly against the tyranny and oppression of the manufacturers, with a determination to maintain their organization and secure humane conditions and other just treatments. The manufacturers of Tampa are using every method of coercion known to unscrupulous employers in trying to break the strike by preventing cigar box manufacturers from furnishing goods to independent manufacturers who have reached an agreement with the strikers and are willing to employ members of the union. They are using the force of the black list against all manufacturers who refuse to enter their combination and take sides with them against members of the union. The Cigarmakers' International Union has unqualifiedly endorsed the strike and commends the position taken by the employees, and are financing the struggle to the amount of \$30,000 per week paid in benefits to the strikers, and will continue to lend aid and assistance both morally and finally until victory has been won."

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the delegates to this convention go on record as reaffirming the endorsement of the Cigarmakers' International Union Label, and pledging their support to the principles of the International Union, to the end that the morale of the cigarmakers involved in strike may be encouraged and their conditions be helped and strengthened by the action of this convention, and that every assistance possible be rendered by delegates; and that they be requested when returning to their respective localities that international and local organizations be encouraged to give every possible support morally and otherwise to the cause of the cigarmakers at Tampa.

Signed by the committee.

JOHN J. MANNING, Chairman
DAISY A. HOUCK, Secretary
R. S. SEXTON
A. McANDREW
MAX S. HAYES
JOHN O'HARA
H. S. MARSHALL
W. R. BOYER
PETER BEISEL
JOHN F. HART
C. F. FOLEY
H. C. DIEHL
JOSEPH F. WINKLER
THOMAS McMAHON
THOMAS CORLEY

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendations of the committee.

Delegate Belsel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, in discussing the report, said in part: It is true that the label question has been neglected by a majority of the members of organized labor in the past. We know that a great many local unions affiliated with national and international organizations do not pay enough attention to the patronage of union label products. The label question is one of the most vital questions in the labor movement, but a majority of the members do not appreciate the power the union label carries with it.

Many organizations have struck to better their conditions. In the last few months many of the organizations that have gone on strike were not allowed to do any picketing. In St. Louis, Missouri, organizations went on strike for better conditions. The employers tried to kill the moral effect of the strike. They went into the federal courts and secured injunctions. Some of the most sweeping injunctions that have ever been handed down were issued in St. Louis. We received a decision from the state courts that picketing that injured the interests of a concern where the picketing is done will not be allowed. There is one power that if used would be a thousand times stronger than all the injunctions against labor—the union label. No injunction or court decision can take away the right to patronize the union label.

Delegate Sweeney, Journeymen Tailors, in discussing the portion of the report said: If I am not mistaken, there is no qualification in the report; it does not state what label is not recognized by the American Federation of Labor. The United Garment Workers of America circularized the United States, and Canada, I presume, with a statement that no clothing is union made that does not bear the label of the Garment Workers. The Union Label of the Journeymen Tailors of America is recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and here we have an organization represented in this body stating that no clothing is union made if it does not bear the label of the Garment Workers.

Delegate Manning, Chairman of the Committee: The report of the committee distinctly recommends that no clothing be purchased that does not bear a label en-

dorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Mathieu, Montreal, urged a better patronage of the union label by all organized workers.

Delegate Koveleski, Rochester, stated that local unions affiliated with the Labor Council of that city and with the A. F. of L. were harboring members of the Amalgamated Garment Workers and United Shoe Workers, and through the influence of those members the Label League of that city was disrupted. He stated that he felt the convention should do something to correct such conditions, and request the internationals to penalize their locals for their financial assistance of these seceding unions.

The motion to adopt the report and recommendations of the committee was carried unanimously.

I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Delegate Stillman, American Federation of Teachers, asked for unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. Objection was offered and the resolution was not introduced.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORKDAY

Delegate Hays, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

At the Atlantic City convention one year ago the shorter workday committee made quite an extended report on the few resolutions that were then referred to it. It is presumed at this time that the organizations connected with the American Federation of Labor are working along the lines of that report, and to such extent as is possible have adopted the shorter workday in such manner as the conditions of their industries may have warranted.

Your committee is of the opinion that, for the above reason, there are only three resolutions offered this year that the Shorter Workday Committee has to deal with; and it therefore will reiterate the statements made by the committee that reported to the Atlantic City convention—that the question of the shorter workday is one that must be handled by local unions, with the understanding that the policy of the American Federation of Labor is for the shorter workday first, last and all the time.

The resolutions referred to are as follows:

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Ross Copeland, Georgia Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The United States Government employs thousands of employees who, during the emergency and at pres-

ent, are called upon from time to time to work overtime and on Sundays; and

WHEREAS, Said employes have always faithfully performed such duties without complaint or additional compensation for the same; and

WHEREAS, Said employes are being granted a half holiday only from June 15th to September 15th of each year; and

WHEREAS, A large majority of the commercial employes of the United States are now granting their employes a half holiday on Saturdays throughout the entire year; and

WHEREAS, The employes of the United States Government have reliable information that is within the power of the President of the United States by proclamation to declare Saturday afternoon a half holiday for Government employes throughout the entire year: be it therefore,

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that they go on record as being in favor of the United States Government granting Government employes a half holiday on Saturday throughout the entire year, insofar as it does not affect public service.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins and H. N. Link, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The eight-hour law, regulating the hours of work for post office clerks, city letter carriers and railway postal clerks, provides that only the regular rate of compensation is paid for overtime work; and

WHEREAS, It is the trade union principle now almost universally in effect in private industries, on Government contract work and in many branches of the Government service, that overtime work must be compensated for at a higher rate of pay; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of any such penalty for work in excess of eight hours in the postal service, the practice has developed of imposing excessively long hours of work daily upon the experienced men instead of keeping the working force recruited to a proper standard; and

WHEREAS, This excessive overtime is breaking the health and morale of the men in the service, causing many of them to resign, thus impairing the efficiency of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th Convention of the A. F. of L. pledges its support to the affiliated postal employes in their efforts to insure a more strict observance of the letter and spirit of the postal eight hour law, by securing legislation establishing a rate of time and one half for all work in excess of eight hours.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins and H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postal employes throughout the Postal Service are

compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The affiliated postal employes are endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the service by securing a reduction in the daily working schedule of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m., and prior to 6 a. m., a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the efforts of affiliated postal workers to minimize night work in the service, and instruct the Executive Council to cooperate in securing from the 65th Congress the needed legislation.

It is unfortunate that in questions of this kind we have to come in competition with governments instead of individual employers. The government is at all times dominated by political influence, and if we are not strong enough to secure the conditions to which labor is entitled in government positions, and we are unable to secure these positions in other avenues of employment, then there is an illustration that government control does not at all times redound to the benefit of the wage earner.

Resolution No. 41 contains several declarations, but at its end resolves that the American Federation of Labor go on record as being in favor of the United States granting its employes a half holiday on Saturday during the entire year instead of at certain periods. Your committee is in favor of the establishment of the 44-hour week with a Saturday afternoon holiday for everybody, whether in government or in any other employment, and does not desire to take the position of granting to U. S. government employes anything that it would not advocate or insist upon for the employes of all the governments of the North American continent.

Right here your committee can say that it is in favor of the 44-hour week, 8 hours per day, 5 days in the week, 4 hours on Saturday, except in industries where conditions will warrant the working of shorter hours than here mentioned.

There are industries in which your committee believes that it will be necessary to establish a working week of less than 44 hours in order that there may be no unemployment in that field. It is the opinion of your committee that the very material thing in the issue with which we have to deal is the continued employment of all the people working in any industry; and unless conditions can be so established as to insure continuous employment, then the unrest that has disturbed this and other countries for some time is bound to continue.

For that reason your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the

American Federation of Labor be authorized to support any of its affiliated unions in efforts to shorten working hours when such organization can show that it is necessary so to do in order that all of its members may be employed.

In the report of the Shorter Workday Committee at the Atlantic City convention last year the following appeared under the head of "Hours of Labor":

Hours of Labor

Reasonable hours of labor promote the economic and social well-being of the toiling masses. Their attainment should be one of labor's principal and essential activities. The shorter workday and a shorter work week make for a constantly growing, higher and better standard of productivity, health, longevity, morals and citizenship.

The right of labor to fix its hours of work must not be abrogated, abridged or interfered with.

The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours, with overtime prohibited, except under the most extraordinary emergencies. The week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days.

In giving consideration to a shorter workday at this time there are many things to be taken into consideration. In the first place, it must be realized that during the war five million of the most active young men in the country were taken from industries for war service. In spite of this the production of the country during the war period was greater than it had been at any other given period in history. Of course this great production was materially assisted by the introduction of women into the factories, and to a large extent the elimination of the liquor industry and taking over of people previously engaged in that work for war production.

Labor organizations for many years have been fighting to secure the eight-hour day, once known as the shorter workday. This eight-hour day meant 48 hours of labor per week. Because of the changed conditions brought about by the war a number of the industries have been able already to introduce the 44-hour week, continuing the eight-hour day with a half holiday on Saturday.

Only 12 years ago the International Typographical Union expended more than four million dollars in securing for its members the 48-hour week in the printing industry. At the present time that organization is negotiating for and will probably receive, the 44-hour week through conciliation and without the expenditure of any sum of money. The garment working trades have succeeded in securing the 44-hour week. Other industries have done so or are doing likewise. Your committee believes it will be but a short time till the eight-hour day with a half holiday Saturday, meaning a 44-hour week, will be the universal hours of labor and adopted in all industries.

While this is most desirable, and your committee recognizes that the Executive

Council has used all its available power for the purpose of assisting in bringing about a 44-hour work week in all of the crafts, it advises (this convention to go even further than this.

There is at the present time a large volume of unrest among the workmen on this continent. There can be no doubt but that there are two reasons for this unusual condition—first, the high cost of the necessities of life; second, unemployment.

Until wages are so adjusted that the earnings of labor will buy the same amount of the necessities of life that could be purchased by the earnings previous to the war, this unrestful exhibit by the working people has a foundation for its existence that cannot be set aside. Previous to the war the dollar earned by labor would buy a certain amount of a certain quality of food and clothing. The dollar earned at the present time will also buy a certain amount of a certain quality of food and clothing, but it will not buy the same amount that the dollar earned previous to the war would buy. Until this gap is bridged and the wages increased so that the same amount of the same quality of goods can be bought with the dollar of today as was possible before the war, the condition of the laborer will be less desirable than in the pre-war period. Manufacturers and employers of labor should recognize this fact and increase the wages to this point without any controversy.

There is no doubt but that in the near future many organizations will determine that in order to take care of all of their members gaining a livelihood by employment at their trade it will be necessary to inaugurate a six-hour day.

Your committee, therefore, recommends further that the Executive Council lend its assistance in the fullest degree to any organization seeking to establish a shorter workday that will provide for the employment of all its members. The organization itself must necessarily be the judge of what should be the length of the workday in the industry over which it has jurisdiction. When it has decided and established its claim to shorter hours, no matter what they may be, then the American Federation of Labor should lend its fullest assistance, and your committee so recommends.

There is much propaganda being put forth at the present time that has for its object the making of people believe that organized labor is seeking to curtail production, and it is frequently suggested that the hours of labor should be increased for the purpose of insuring everybody against suffering for lack of the necessities of life.

The words "increased production" have a magic sound to the profiteering manufacturer, but only for the reason that its realization will increase his profits and place him in better position to control industry. Your committee believes that the employer should have a fair return from

labor for a fair day's pay, but it resents the idea that there must be a continually increased return from labor solely for the benefit of such employer.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, Chairman,
J. W. HAYS, Secretary,
GEORGE LEARY
THOMAS REDDING
R. W. BURTON
BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER
O. J. SHOEMAKER
EDWARD J. GAINOR
JOHN J. PRUETT
LOUIS WEYAND
EDWARD J. MCGIVERN
J. J. CONNOLLY
A. R. LINN
J. H. COOKMAN
MARY J. KELLEHER

Committee on Shorter Workday.

Secretary Hays: I move the adoption of the report. (Seconded.)

Delegate McKillop, Boiler Makers, moved as an amendment that the words "or less" be inserted after the first mention of the forty-four hour week. (Seconded.)

Secretary Hays: The recommendations of the committee all the way through provide for the endorsement of the forty-four hour week, and as much less as can be secured in any industry. The A. F. of L. will endorse that if this report is adopted.

Delegate McKillop stated that he was not opposed to any other part of the report of the committee, but desired to have these words inserted.

Delegate Lewis (J. C.) moved to table the amendment. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate McKillop: I want to amend Resolution No. 75 where it refers to time and a half for overtime. I move to amend by inserting in the last two lines the

words "of not less than time and a half." (Seconded but not carried.)

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday was carried unanimously.

President Gompers: One of the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress is ill in the hospital, but is somewhat improved. It may not be possible for Mr. Jones to address the convention earlier than the coming Wednesday or Thursday, if at all, and Fraternal Delegate Ogden, of the British Trades Union Congress and Fraternal Delegate McClellan, of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, will address the convention on Monday morning. Fraternal Delegate Jones will address the convention later in the week if he is able to do so.

Chairman Foster, of the Committee on Arrangements, invited the delegates and their friends to be the guests of the management of Dominion Park Saturday evening. He stated that special cars would be ready at 8 p. m. to convey them to the park. He stated further that there would be a special concert given by Local 405 of the Musicians' Union.

Chairman Foster announced the arrangements that would be made for the boat ride and shooting the Rapids to which the delegates and their friends were invited for Sunday afternoon. He announced for the committee that had charge of the entertainment of the women delegates and visitors that they would be taken for a drive and to attend a tea on Monday afternoon, and requested them to meet at the Windsor Hotel at 2 p. m. Monday.

At 12:30 the convention adjourned under the rules to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Monday, June 14th.

SEVENTH DAY--Monday Morning Session

Montreal, Que., Can., June 14, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Schneider, Richard, Sullivan (John), Boyer, Hyland, Campbell (W. A.), Fitzgerald (E. H.), O'Dell, Nelson, Doyle (J. J.), McAndrews (J. J.), Edgerton, Cherrington, Brennan, Schlesinger, Humphrey (R. M.), Mahoney, Greenstein, Bock, Maitland, Wharton, Hogan (S. C.), Hynes, Redding, Moriarity, Langdon, Hayes (F. J.), White (J. P.), Kennedy, Valentine, Weber (J. N.), Hedrick, Hannah, Doid, Coefield, Kearney (Thos.), Anderson (Chas.), Leonard, Ward (J. J.), Roth, Clark (W. D.), McHugh, Marks, Dunwoody, Flynn (P.), Shay, Dougherty, Trummer, Curtis, Hayes (J. W.), Hatch, Graves, Shea (W. G.), Jones (J. W.), Ely (S.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Inglesias, Jones (D. M.), Lennon, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Witherell, Rogers (R. E.), Owens, Oplinger, Thomas (J. J.), Stanley, Block, Stansberry, Haggard, Evans (J. R.), Hemsley, Freund, O'Dell (E. W. A.), Barnack, Sims, Gorman (P. E.), Keavney (C. D.), Gagnon, Jagers, Lanoux, Dunlop, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Heck, Bush, Brady, Fleury, Bower, Curran, Hourigan, Maloy (T. E.), Harrell, Williams (J. W.), Talbot, Enright, Ellis, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, MacDougall, Schoonover, Davies (Wm. J.), Longe, Carlock, Brown (Sam), Maund, Grove (C. C.), Heywood, McKnight, Jasper, McDanel (S. W.), Tyler, Griffard, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Weber (C. F.), Kelleher (S. E.), Sabrio, Morse, Malone (M.), Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Stevens, Smallwood, Allen, Wilson (F.), Rincker, Tait, Reynolds, Kohnstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, Robins, Jones (J.).

The name of Phillip J. Guest, of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, was substituted on the Committee on Law for that of Dennis Lane, of the same organization.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, obtained unanimous consent of the convention to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 118: By Delegates S. E. Heberling, Joa. B. Connors and T. C. Cashen, of the Switchmen's Union of North America:

WHEREAS, A movement has recently been started by a band of irresponsible

agitators, encouraged by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, and other unfriendly employers of labor, for the purpose of discrediting the recognized organizations in the Railway Service; and

WHEREAS, This conspiracy was coerced Switchmen and other employes, by misrepresentation, to participate in an attempt to tie up railroad transportation contrary to the laws and rules of the recognized organizations to which they are affiliated, which they, as members, helped to make, and which they pledged themselves to observe faithfully and loyally; and

WHEREAS, It has been reported that a number of locals of affiliated organizations are giving moral and financial aid to this secessionist movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 40th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn the action of the officers and members of this secessionist movement who are trying to disrupt the standard recognized organizations on railroads; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the various affiliated organizations be requested and urged to instruct their locals to refrain from giving moral or financial or assistance of any kind, to any secessionist movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That central and state federations be advised of the laws relating to secession movements, and that they be further informed that assistance, moral, financial or otherwise, to any secessionist movement will be considered a breach of the terms and conditions under which charters of organization and affiliation are granted, and that the best interest of the trade union movement demands, that full power, influence and assistance should be given the recognized and affiliated trade union organization, to the end that secession and disruption may be put to an end speedily and effectively.

Referred to Executive Council's Report.

President Gompers: As announced at Saturday's meeting, it has been mutually agreed that this morning, in whole or in part, shall be devoted to the addresses of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and such others as may be entitled to, or are invited to speak. Before presenting the fraternal delegates it is my duty to call at-

tion to the fact that Fraternal Delegate Jones is still in a very serious condition. He is in the hospital and up to the present time it has not been possible for him to leave his bed. He has undergone an operation for a carbuncle on the back of his neck, and the nature of the case is very serious, although it is hoped that it may not prove critical. It is the intention, if Mr. Jones' strength is sufficiently restored, that he come before the convention at some later time and address us before we adjourn; but if that in any way should interfere with his speedy recovery he will be strongly advised, not only by his physician, but by his personal and official labor friends, not to take any unnecessary chances. If he cannot speak to the convention, facilities will be afforded him by which one of the stenographers of the American Federation of Labor, now in the city, may be at his bedside, so that he may dictate a message to the convention, and through the convention to the workers of the United States and Canada.

At the present time I want to present to you one of the hard workers in the cause of labor in England, the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress during the period of my last visit to that Congress, who has been elected fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. J. W. Ogden.

ADDRESS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE J. W. OGDEN

Mr. President and friends—I feel sure that I shall have the indulgence of this great Congress this morning in the circumstances under which I am giving my short address as one of the British delegates to this convention. The illness of my colleague has certainly not made me more joyful in my mixing up with this conference. I have been devoting a great deal of my time to my friend Jones in the hospital, because I feel that to a great extent I am his keeper while he is over here, and I want to see him safely back home, if possible. He is making favorable progress, and I have advised him that you will understand the circumstances of his not being able to be here in person. And it is necessary, even though he came here on an important mission to you, that he give the greatest part of his effort to restoring his health and getting well first.

I was anxious that my colleague should speak and speak first, because I believe he has better information on the movement in England than I have myself. He is a member of the House of Commons; I

am not a member of the House of Commons. I am just out. He succeeded in just getting in; he was one of those who succeeded in the 1918 election in being elected to the British House of Commons, and I just succeeded in falling short of that honor. I hope to be more successful, Mr. President, at the next attempt.

It is certainly a very great honor and a great responsibility, Mr. President, to convey to you the greetings of the British Trades Union Congress. At the last Congress in Glasgow, we recorded considerably over five million members represented in that Congress. I am hoping that when the Congress meets in September of this year at Portsmouth, we shall have well nigh upon six million members represented at that convention. That is an achievement, friends, that has never been known before in the old country, and I don't think, Mr. President, it has been known in the history of any country. I quote that to show the great progress still being made in the great trade union movement in the country. There was an idea, perhaps, that the results of the war would leave our trade unions inactive and diminishing in membership. That has proven not to be so. The spirit of trades unionism, the spirit of organization, is more alive today in Great Britain than it has ever before been known in that country. Organization in almost every industry has become almost perfect, and the non-unionist is almost extinct; so that on those grounds the British Trades Union Congress has reason to congratulate itself.

During the past twelve months the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, which, as you know, is the mouthpiece of the trade unionists of the old country and of various societies throughout the country, have been devoting their attention to great, pressing problems that have affected us as after-war problems. We haven't yet got over the war; I don't think we shall get over it for many years to come. We are constantly and persistently protesting against the high cost of living, the constant tendency upwards in the cost of living. We are told by the employers and the capitalists that that is to some extent the result of our demands for increased wages. I can assure you that the reverse is the truth, that wages are engaged in a mad rush after prices. We can give a guarantee, as trade union representatives, to the government of Great Britain, that if they will stop the upward tendency of prices and the cost of living and profiteering, that advances in wages will not be heard of so often in the future. It is an unpleasant thing for the trade union officials and the members to be asking every few months for wage increases in order to keep pace with the cost of living, and if the government will only use the strong hand to smash prices and smash profiteering, then we can give assurance to the government that wages at any rate will attain some amount of stability.

We have succeeded, as you will doubt-

less know, in getting the hours of labor reduced all through the country, though we haven't got the universal forty-eight hours or forty-four hours. Speaking of my own particular trade, if the delegates will excuse me for particularizing in that respect—that is the cotton trade of Lancashire, and what we consider the cotton trade of the world when we speak of Lancashire—in that trade we have had our wages increased since the war commenced to a total of 210 per cent. We have got the hours reduced in the Lancashire cotton mills from 55½ to 48 per week by voluntary agreement with the employers; it is not yet a legal enactment. So that we of the textile trades of Lancashire feel that we have not done very badly as a result of our recent agitation.

The wage question has just been settled before I came away. An agreement has been reached that the wage question shall not be reopened again for a period of twelve months; the question of hours will come up for consideration again in a matter of about eight months, and our people claim that we shall have either forty-four or forty-six hours and one half hours. I only quote that to show you the progress of the cotton trades in Lancashire. There are some trades more fortunate; some of them got forty-four hours, some forty hours per week, so that the trade unions are thoroughly active in reducing the hours of labor and getting wages commensurate with the cost of living.

We have had some very grave situations in our country in reference to the housing problem. It is most difficult to secure houses for people to live in in many parts of the country, and if people decide to move they have to see where they are going to move first, or they will move outside and never get in again. We find there isn't quite the same readiness to build that we should like to see exhibited. We want the government to take this matter up, we want them to compel, or to aid in the building of houses for the working people, believing that the housing problem is at the bottom of many of our social evils. We believe that people that are not well housed cannot live a right and Christian life.

We have also had the question, as you may probably see in the newspapers, of the scarcity of commodities. I don't know how you find it in Canada or in Montreal, but some of our provisions are yet very limited. We cannot get all the coal we need, although the miners are now acknowledged by all authorities to be turning out as much production as ever known in the history of the country; so it is not the miners who are not getting coal enough for us, but for some reason or other there isn't quite coal enough to go around. We don't see why that condition should exist.

We also find that there is a scarcity of commodities so far as butter and sugar is concerned—and when I say butter I mean butter, I don't mean margarine; we

can have plenty of that, but we don't want war-time commodities now; we are expecting something better at least eighteen months or two years after the war. I am giving you an indication to show you that even yet we are suffering from some of the evils of the war period. If I may give a superficial view—and perhaps it may be correct or not, because at a conference of this description you would not thank me to go into too many details referring to the cost of living in our country—but as I see it and know it since I came to Montreal, although we complain very seriously about the cost of living in our country, I don't think the cost of living is any higher in England than it is in Montreal.

I will give you some of the problems the working people have had to deal with. You know the greater problems, the two great outstanding features of the labor movement were the demands by the miners for nationalization of the mines, and the demands made by the transport workers. You know how the government played with the miners and deceived them on that question; you will have seen the great inquiry that resulted in the mining industry when, in my opinion, Robert Smille and Frank Hodges showed that the working man was equal to the college professor in giving evidence and in dealing with the great problem of nationalization of mines. You will have seen from the inquiry that took place with the transport workers' federation, when Ernest Bevin made such a splendid showing in that inquiry and did so much for the people he represented. You will have seen also that the temper of the miners especially, and of some of the trade unionists generally, was brought to a very high pitch by the action of the government on the mining question, when they began to talk about taking direct action, and you will remember that the government protested only last week that the trade unions should not take direct action on what they call a political question. Prime Minister Lloyd George has declared that the strike for nationalization of mines, the strike against munitions going to Ireland, was interfering with what they considered a constitutional political question. I can only say for myself that an individual who sets himself up to discriminate where an industrial question stops and a political question begins sets himself a very difficult task indeed, and, in my opinion, those things depend upon circumstances.

There is one moral to be drawn, and that is this: if we cannot attain in the industrial arena, by our trade union organizations, what we think is necessary to us as working people in that industry, and the government says we must obtain those objects through political methods, I am very glad that that argument myself, because it is an argument in favor of the workers forming their own political party in the House of Commons and throughout the country; and therefore I think we

have received an endorsement by the government and by the Prime Minister in favor of political action, as well as industrial action.

As you know, the trade union movement in our country for years has run with the Labor Party movement. The Labor Party, at a meeting this month in Scarborough, will be discussing practically the same questions as those that concern the industrial movement. I believe that the Labor Party of the industrial movement has a great future before it. We made wonderful successes in the 1918 election: we didn't get all we desired—there are very few people that get that—but we placed a Party in the House of Commons that has made itself heard and is now the second great party in the country. In my opinion, there are only two parties in Great Britain, the Coalition Party and the Labor Party. The old Liberal Party, the "Wee Frees" party, seems to be crushed out of existence almost, and the only party that will fight the Coalition government, the only party that is equipped with men and with the material to fight the Coalition government—and it requires fighting—is the Labor Party of Great Britain.

Now we have had no chance of testing the country since 1918. We have had nothing but by-elections. By-elections are supposed to be a very good indication of which way the wind blows. We have had some magnificent successes, and I can assure you that we have nothing at all to be disheartened about in what has taken place. We didn't succeed with Maggie Benefield, that capable and cultured young lady that came here a year ago to this convention. We ran her as a candidate against McCurdy, a strong government candidate, a few months ago, and she didn't fall very far short of defeating Mr. McCurdy.

So I say we have no reason to be disheartened. The by-elections, if not going entirely for us, are not going strongly against us. We are getting within our Party workers of all classes. Those who disagree with the government are compelled to come with us if they want to be in active opposition to the government. That is an indication, friends, of what is taking place there, and the Labor Party will welcome a general election at any time that the Prime Minister of England decides to have one; we are not afraid of the verdict of the people.

One other topic, and then I close. That is in regard to the British Trades Union Congress. The Congress has been adding to its activities during the past two or three years greater efforts towards international organization, and when I use the word "international" I want to explain that I am perhaps using it in a different sense to what your honored President used it in his address. I find the word "internationalism" has different meanings. When I speak of internationalism I mean that we feel as trade unionists and as representatives of the workers that we should not only link up with the American Federation of Labor, we should not only link

up with the Canadian representatives of labor, but we should link up with all organized workers the world throughout. We believe that the only way to prevent wars and to prevent misunderstandings is for the workers and their representatives in all countries to get together, to keep in close touch with each other and prevent misunderstanding; and we believe that by that method, friends, we shall not only make greater progress as workers of the world, but we shall have a method of preventing future wars.

Now, friends, we are anxious that international relationship on a right, proper and reasonable basis should be established the world over, and that is one direction in which the Trades Union Congress has been exerting its efforts during the past two or three years more than it did in previous years.

I don't wish to say any more, friends, because I don't believe in long speeches. I want to give the message as it comes from the heart and then close. May I say in conclusion, friends, that I watched your Congress very closely last week. I have been attending Trades Union Congresses for nearly thirty years, so I know the methods of the British trade unionists. I have been trying to find out the difference in your methods; I find there are differences in the methods here, and I am not surprised at that. I realize that you have different problems of organization to deal with. The wonder to me is, that with the difficulty you have in organization, you succeed as well as you do. That is my wonder in watching your Congress.

But, after all, the method does not matter so much if the heart and motive is right. What does really matter is the spirit and enthusiasm, the same desire to help the workers the world over, the same desire to take the rags from the bodies of the people and from the minds of the people, and to give them a free outlook on life—that is the thing that matters to all of us; and while we may differ as to methods, while we may find that circumstances compel us to adopt different methods, I believe that you and us, all through the struggling, all through the disappointments and sometimes the magnificent successes, will ultimately lead to one grand goal, and that is the emancipation of the workers.

I thank you very much.

ADDRESS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE
J. A. McCLELLAN
(Dominion Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. President and Delegates to the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I wish, at the outset to extend to you the fraternal greetings of the organized workers of the Dominion of Canada, and in doing so I do it with absolute sincerity. I think you will appreciate that from the fact of the tremendous opposition that we have had to encounter since last this convention assembled and you received a message from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

We are confronted in Canada, as in all

other countries, with the opposition from the employing classes, but I think that that is especially noticeable, or perhaps we feel it more keenly in Canada, than it is experienced in many other places. We have been subjected to exploitation to a degree that has not been felt probably in many other countries. We have just emerged from the war, but during that time and since that time the organized workers of Canada have had to fight every inch of the way; and anything they may have today or anything they may be today beyond what might be termed slaves, absolute and abject slaves, is due to the fighting qualities of the organized workers of this Dominion.

We have not only been subjected to oppression from the employing classes. The opposition from without is something that we are prepared to meet; we are always prepared to fight that, but the principal opposition that we have had to contend with is the opposition from within the ranks of labor. And you, gentlemen, most of you by reason of your positions in the international labor movement, realize just as keenly as we do the opposition that we have had to contend with from within our ranks. You have had opportunity to feel it in some sections of the United States. We in Canada have felt it in pretty nearly every section of the country.

One of the phases that this opposition has assumed is known as the "One Big Union," and I suppose that you have read accounts, you have read reports from your representatives on this side, and you have an idea of what has taken place here; but you would require to live in Canada, and be operating in the international trade union movement, to realize just the extent to which that opposition did go or is now going.

There are some sections of the country for which we felt considerable concern. It appeared at certain times as if the international labor movement was doomed to defeat, but thanks to the good sense of the workers they have rapidly overcome the subtle machinations of those who have been propagating and are propagating those doctrines; and I believe I can say with absolute truth that the spiff of internationalism, the spirit of international trade unionism, is stronger today among the international trade unionists of Canada than it has ever been in their history. They are not carried away with the idea that the international organizations as they are at present constituted are perfect, by any means, but they realize that through the international labor movement they can more quickly realize their ambition than through any other movement, no matter how strong it may appear from a local standpoint; and that is the one thing that must be felt in referring to the "One Big Union." Its strength at any time has been a local strength. But, while it is true that our members are stronger today than before, while it is true that the "One Big Union" movement has been considerably checked, I want to say that there never was a time when we required the assistance and cooperation of the different organizations

operating in Canada than we do now, in order that the movement to which I refer may be more effectually checkmated.

But the "One Big Union" is only one phase of the opposition with which we have to contend. We have also operating within our ranks men who have been or are propagating doctrines of a national labor movement, and these men are using that argument that I think has been very successfully contradicted by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor when he made the statement—or I think it was our honored President who made the statement—that the money that is being sent over to the United States by the Canadian Unions is being returned to them, and then some more, and, in some instances, in some organizations, as much as three dollars is being returned for every one sent across the line. We know that, and we feel that when this information is made known to those people who are giving ear to the statements made by those responsible for this national organization movement, they will realize that their best interests lie in affiliating with the international labor movement, or remaining loyal to it.

We have still some further opposition to contend with. This opposition I don't intend to go into detail about, but I may say that it is causing the workers of Canada, particularly in the Province of Quebec, a tremendous amount of concern. I refer to what is known as the Catholic Labor Union. We are hoping some day that the American Federation of Labor will take this matter up and give it very serious consideration, and appoint a committee with power to investigate and to use whatever means they deem necessary in order to stop, or put an end to, the work of this particular organization. I think that when they start an investigation they will find a condition that is, to say the least, appalling. We have taken this matter up at our Trades and Labor Congress convention, and I know that I express the feeling of the delegates to that convention when I say that the matter should be treated by a special committee, as I have suggested.

But notwithstanding the forces that are arrayed against us, both in the opposition movement and in the opposition of the employer and the apathy of the workers, I have here the figures supplied by the Secretary of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which will prove interesting and I am sure pleasing to you. One year ago we had 1,897 Local Unions with a membership of 201,432; today we have 2,309 Local Unions with a membership of 260,247 or an increase of 412 Local Unions and an increased membership of 58,815, representing ninety-nine international representations.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is the official legislative mouthpiece of the international workers, of the organized workers of Canada, and it is unfortunate that all of the international organizations having membership in Canada are not affiliated with that body, for there are something like one hundred

thousand members of international unions in Canada who are not represented in the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. I sincerely trust that those of you who are not affiliated will see the wisdom of strengthening our hand to the fullest extent, as our Congress is the only organization in Canada recognized by the governments of the country, both Federal and Provincial, and of course the greater will be our success in proportion to the degree in which the membership that we represent increases.

Through the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada the workers of Canada have direct representation in a large number, in fact, in all of our commissions that are appointed to deal with many of the important topics that are considered. We had one Commission which was known as the Industrial Relations Committee that travelled throughout the country, and on which we had two representatives. They travelled through the country, obtaining a lot of data, and as a result of their work a conference of manufacturers and representatives of the different unions was called. There was also a third party to the conference known as the group representing the public. Everything, or practically all the matters that are continuously before the minds of the workers, were represented on the agenda presented to that conference. They were all discussed at length, and these are some of the points that were discussed: the eight hour day, minimum rates of pay, industrial disputes legislation, employees' right to organize and collective bargaining, etc. We discussed these things for a whole week and there we had the round table conferences that we so often talk about, and that are so glibly represented as being the panacea for most of the ills that occur between employer and employe. As a representative of a large section of the workers of Canada, I personally have found no appreciable difference in the attitude of the employer as a result of our conferences. As a matter of fact, we have had more strikes in Canada since that conference took place than we had in any given period in the past. We sat down and we argued the points. I think we are successful in having the best of most of the arguments, if not all of them. We say we had the best of all of them.

But that is the wrong way, apparently, to argue with an employer. It would appear that the only way the employer will appreciate an argument is when the workers are on the street arguing. That has been our experience, and today it is our bitter experience. We had, prior to that conference, a large number of firms with which we had agreements. We were able to sit down and talk over our working conditions, but some of these employers decided that it was necessary, in order to strengthen their position, that they amalgamate, and they decided to form a combine, a combine with a capitalization of somewhere around five hundred million dollars. What has been the result since the combine? In every one of these firms with whom we were able to sit down and

get agreements prior to the combine, we have had to go out on strike to get agreements today; and yet those men who combined to strengthen themselves refuse that right of combination to the workers in their employ. But I think it is safe to predict that the further these people get away from the spirit of collective bargaining and the closer they get to the spirit of recognizing their employes only from the standpoint of a commodity, the closer they get to their own destruction; and I believe that in speaking that way I represent the voice and the thought of the organized workers of Canada.

With reference to the political situation in Canada, we have not been able to follow in the footsteps of our brothers in the British Isles to the extent they have gone. But it may be information to many of you to know that we have a real, live Labor Party operating in the Dominion of Canada; it is growing and it is doing something. We haven't made very great successes in our Federal elections, but we at least made one pronounced success, inasmuch as we were successful recently in electing to the Federal Parliament of Canada a member of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union in the person of Brother Angus MacDonald. We are hoping within the very near future to give him greater support than he has at the present moment in the House.

We have made some successes in our Provincial work. We have elected members of the Provincial Houses in many Provinces, but in some of them not in sufficient numbers to do very much. I will, however, have the pleasure to read to you something of what has been accomplished by the representatives of the workers who have been elected and who form a portion of the government of the Province of Ontario, and, remember, they have only had one session. I refer to the Farmer-Labor government of the Province of Ontario. During one session of the House they have passed legislation or enacted legislation that abolishes property ownership qualifications for candidates in municipal elections, something that we in Canada appreciate very, very much. They have passed legislation to provide for the appointment of a Minimum Wage Board to fix minimum wages for women and youths. We had some evidence brought forward at the conference at Ottawa, which I referred to a few moments ago, showing the wages paid to women in the textile industry in this section of the country, and if this will bring any relief to them alone, and if the Farmer-Labor government of Ontario did nothing else than that, they would have at least justified their existence.

They have gone further than that; they have passed legislation to provide pensions for widows with children dependent upon them. We feel extremely proud of this legislation for the Province of Ontario, and we are hoping that the time is not far distant when, through the united efforts of the workers of the Dominion of Canada, we will have augmented our present representation in the Federal House, and we will have some

legislation enacted there covering all the workers.

The Workmen's Compensation Act of that Province has been in operation for quite a number of years and has been considered a very good act; in fact, it has been taken as a pattern by many of the other Provinces, and they have enacted similar legislation. The workers of the Province of Ontario, through their representatives in the House, have increased the allowance to injured workmen from 55 per cent to 66 2-3 per cent of their wages. They have gone further; they have established a law that not less than \$12.50 can be paid to any injured workman, regardless of what wages he may have been receiving. They have gone even a little further in that act, and they have increased the allowance for the widows of men killed in industry from \$20 and \$30 per month to \$40 per month, with an increased allowance for the children from \$5 and \$7.50 to \$10 per month for each child. They have also passed a law giving the workers the right to any unimproved land that they can use for garden purposes, and they have passed an election law which gives transient workers the right to vote in constituencies where resident at the time of the election; they have taken the preparation of the voters' list out of the hands of the dominating political parties.

One other thing—I don't know that this is all, but I have noted it here—they have passed a law giving fire fighters on all permanent fire brigades in incorporated towns and cities one day off in seven.

Now, Mr. President, I want detain you any longer. I might summarize the labor movement in a lengthy discussion of the conditions which we meet from time to time, but which you meet just the same, and with which you are familiar; but I want to say about our labor movement in Canada that, though we have our dissensions, and though we have opposition movements, we have a real, live body of men working in our international trade union. We are not so much interested in a new form of organization, but we are interested, and deeply interested, in a better form of organization. We believe that the organizations that now exist can work much more closely together than they have been doing. We believe it is absolutely necessary that the organizations should all co-ordinate their efforts to the fullest possible extent, so that when we meet opposition we can more successfully cope with it than we have been doing in the past.

I want to assure the delegates to this convention that, so far as our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor movement is concerned, with the feeling that our membership throughout the country has towards internationalism, we not only are determined to remain a portion of the international labor movement as it is understood by you and by us, but we are determined to affiliate, and are affiliated with, the international labor movement as it is understood by the delegate who preceded me. We believe, and we are absolutely convinced, and we are working to the end that the workers of

the world must unite if they intend to survive.

President Gompers: Fellow delegates, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor honored itself and the movement, both of Canada and of the United States and wherever our jurisdiction extends, to invite to this convention a representative man of the Canadian people, a member of the Canadian government. That gentleman is with us this morning, having accepted the invitation, and it affords me pleasure to introduce to you the Honorable N. W. Rowell, President of the Dominion Privy Council and Acting Secretary for External Affairs, or, as we in the United States would say, Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I have the pleasure of presenting to you the Honorable Mr. Rowell.

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE N. W. ROWELL

It affords me very great pleasure that I accepted the invitation you so graciously extended to me to pay a visit to this meeting and representative gathering which voices the sentiments of the toilers of our two countries. We recall with great pleasure and satisfaction the visit you were good enough to pay to us, Mr. President, two years ago to the city of Ottawa. Members of the convention will be interested in knowing that it is not often the Parliament of Canada affords the privilege to one who is not a member of that Parliament to address its members in the House of Commons. On three occasions during the war that privilege was accorded: once to the distinguished representative of our gallant ally, Mr. Viviani, ex-President of France, who visited the United States and Canada during the war to convey the greetings of France to the nations on this side of the Atlantic; on another occasion the Honorable Mr. Balfour, the representative to us of the Mother Country, England, who visited the United States and Canada as High Commissioner of that country to convey the greetings of Great Britain to the United States and Canada in the midst of the war; and the third distinguished representative who was accorded the privilege of addressing the House of Commons was your President, the man who spoke for the toilers of these two countries. I may perhaps consider this a return visit for the honor and courtesy of that occasion.

On that occasion, Mr. President, you spoke to us of the resolution, the determination of the people of the United States, and particularly of the toilers of the United States, to stand true to the cause to which they had committed themselves and to fight out the issue until the Prussian militarism was destroyed and liberty and democracy were again made secure for the world.

Today we need not discuss the problems of the war. This is happily ended, and today I do not come to bring you a message in reference to war, but rather a message in reference to the days of peace.

Our two nations, the United States and Canada, have given to the world an example of the possibility of two nations living side by side and settling all their international differences and disputes by reason, rather than by the sword. For more than a hundred years our two peoples have lived side by side, and every difference that has divided us, every dispute that has arisen, has been adjusted by peaceful means to the great benefit of our two nations; and we believe that what is possible between our two countries should be possible between all the nations of the world.

I believe further, Mr. President, that no class in any land is more directly, more vitally interested in the peaceable settlement of international disputes than are the toilers in all our lands. I know the conditions in my own country, and I assume that what is true of Canada is true also of the United States and the other nations that took part in the war. Something over sixty per cent of all the men who enlisted in the Canadian forces—and you know we had an enrollment of something over 600,000 men—with our limited population in Canada more than sixty per cent of those who enlisted were classed as manual laborers in their attestation papers. Mr. President, if our international differences are to be settled by the sword, the workers must do the bulk of the fighting and in the end they must bear the brunt of the burden. When we take the after consequences of war, the burdens of taxation that must be borne by the people, and take the after consequences of war as they are seen in Europe today—poverty, distress, famine, disease and death, who suffered most from those awful consequences following the war? The toilers, more than any other class in the community.

And so today, in coming to you with a message of peace and good will and in the interests of international co-operation, I feel that I am coming to a body of men vitally interested in the important problems we are discussing. I believe gatherings such as this make an important contribution to international good will.

You meet here, side by side, representatives of our two nations, to discuss subjects in which we are both interested. I venture to think, as you talk over these matters one with another, that you will find that the lines of division are very small, very insignificant, compared with the great, fundamental concurrence of thought which you hold in common. As a matter of fact, the great majority of our international misunderstandings, international differences, come from a lack of knowledge, a lack of appreciation of the viewpoint of the other party. The closer we can get together, the more frequently we meet together, the more constantly we exchange views one with the other, the

more truly will we remove misunderstandings and come to know the viewpoint of the other, and thereby promote international co-operation and international peace.

As we in Canada and the United States have set the world an example during the past hundred years of how international disputes can be settled by reason rather than the sword, I believe, Mr. President, it should be the high privilege of our two countries, hand in hand, to help lead the world in the century that lies before us in the peaceable solution of all international disputes and problems. I can think of no higher ideal that any two nations could entertain than the one I have suggested to you.

Now I know, Mr. Chairman, there are differences of opinion about the League of Nations. I am not going to enter into a discussion of that matter here. I know there are differences as to what the Covenant of the League should contain; but I believe that I voice your sentiments, Mr. President, and the sentiments of the workers of both lands, and of the public-spirited citizens of both lands, when I say there should be some form of international agreement, some method of international co-operation, some means by which the enlightened conscience and judgment of mankind should be brought to bear upon all international disputes that arise, so that peace and justice may be maintained without a resort to the arbitrament of arms.

And so I do hope that we in Canada, speaking only for our own country, have accepted the League of Nations, and we have entered it; we have accepted the international labor organization that we have entered into it, and we intend to pursue the course upon which we have entered, because we believe it is not only in the national interest, but in the interest of the peace and progress of the United States.

What you do in the United States is a matter to settle yourselves, but I am sure that you will agree that the ideals we have maintained between us with such great benefit to the two nations should be extended to the other nations of the world.

Mr. President, may I say a word of tribute to you for the splendid work you did as chairman of the Labor Commission of the Peace Conference at Paris. I want to pay my tribute to the chairman and to the members of the Commission for the preparation and incorporation in the Treaty of Peace of the labor clauses of that Treaty. It is the first time in any great international agreement to which the nations of the world had committed themselves that the welfare of the toiler is declared to be a matter of supreme international concern to all the peoples of the world. It is the first time in history that certain great principles relating to labor and its position and status in the world have received international recognition, and I believe the toilers of this continent owe a great debt of gratitude to the chairman for the important part he played in working out those principles and in securing their incorporation in the Peace Treaty.

I said a moment ago that we had accepted those principles. We joined in the International Labor Conference at Washington, we have applied those principles to some of the practical problems facing us in our country at the present time. I recall, Mr. President, while you did not honor us very frequently with your presence, that on one occasion you moved a resolution that the proposed eight-hour convention should be referred to a sub-committee of the conference for consideration and report. That struck me as such a sane suggestion that I seconded it. The convention voted it down by a majority of three or eight. We discussed the matter three days more, and after three days I had the honor to move the same resolution and it was unanimously adopted. That shows, Mr. President, how wise we both are in dealing with these matters. But certain very important conclusions were reached at that conference.

Now we are very closely related industrially, our two countries, the United States and Canada. The very fact of the existence of this body shows how closely we are related industrially; the very fact that you are here joined in one great organization shows how close is the identity of interest in our two countries on industrial matters. I want to say to you, Mr. President, in all seriousness, while the government of Canada must decide for itself, or the various governments possessing legislative authority must decide for themselves what they are going to do in connection with the conventions and recommendations adopted at Washington, it will make it much more difficult for our Parliaments and Legislatures to act if you do not move along the same lines at the same time. And I say this in the interests of the workers of Canada, who are anxious to see these laws and functions put into effect. If you move ahead with us, this continent moving together along this advanced program, it not only means a great deal for the toilers of this country, but it means a great deal for the toilers throughout the world. And as at the Peace Conference at Paris they recognized what a vital relation all these labor and economic problems have to the peace of the world, so will steady progress, solid, substantial progress along same lines in harmony with the labor clauses of the Peace Treaty tend to remove the injustices from which the toilers in all lands suffer, will tend to establish the social and economic order on a more stable basis, and will make for the permanent peace and progress of the world. And it is to this high and noble purpose that we are all called, in our common effort at international co-operation and international good will.

One word, Mr. President, in conclusion. In the year 1914, before this war broke out, our two nations were engaged in preparing for the celebration of the one hundred years of peace. You had appointed committees on your side of the line; we had appointed committees on ours. Our preparations were rudely interrupted in

August, 1914, when we suddenly found ourselves engaged in the greatest war in history. Some three years later you found yourselves engaged in the same titanic struggle. We celebrated the one hundred years of peace between our two countries, not by erecting some granite shaft, some marble monument to commemorate that event; we celebrated it by the sons of our two countries laying down their lives in France and Flanders in order that militarism might be overthrown and peace restored to a war-cursed world. Having commemorated the hundred years of peace by helping bring back peace to the world, let us now unite our efforts in a noble purpose to seek to bring to all the nations of the world, to give to all the nations of the world as a splendid, God-given heritage, the hundred years of peace which we have enjoyed.

President Gompers: It is not my intention to respond on behalf of this convention to the messages and expressions of good will made to us by our fraternal delegates and by the representative of the Dominion Government, certainly not in a manner befitting the important occasion; but I can not, and I doubt that you would permit me to allow the occasion to pass by entirely unannounced and unresponded.

May I then, as briefly as it is possible to do so, say that there is not a word uttered by the three men who have honored us by their presence and their addresses that can fall lightly upon the hearts and the minds and the conscience of the delegates here assembled. In their name, may I say that we are honored by your presence, gratified by the expression of your views and deeply impressed by the fervent words of international friendship and solidarity; and working in one great common cause, to help all the people of our respective countries and of the world, to emerge from the terrors of the struggle just closed, emerge into an era of peace and good will that we may enjoy the fruits of our wonderful countries, the treasures of our manhood, our womanhood and our childhood, and that we may bring to the world the fundamental principle and high ideal that after all we have one common heritage, to defend our right to live in peace and work out our salvation and destiny in our own way.

We had the experience, in part, of what has come to be known as the One Big Union. To us, to the men and the women of labor who have studied the history of the struggles of the workers throughout the whole world, and in each country and from all time, we know that there is a camaraderie among the men of labor of each particular craft, or trade, or industry—that is also true of all professions—and though they feel a wonderful regard for all others, that spirit of camaraderie evolves and maintains a position of unity and co-operation much closer than to all the world.

We love our neighbors as ourselves, or at least we are commanded to do so, but it is doubtful that there is generally the concept that we love our neighbors quite as well as we do ourselves. And so with the organizations of the workers. Indeed these facts are typical of every living creature, of every living thing. Whether it be the beasts of the forests, whether it be the birds of the air or the fish in the seas, there is a natural attrition of life with life and no amount of sophistry or pretention can wipe out that natural condition.

The One Big Union! It reminds me of an attempt at breaking eggs for the purpose of making an omelet, and then the cook, finding that the omelet has not turned out as he would like it, undertaking to bring about the restoration of the omelet into the egg shells. In the American Federation of Labor movement as represented by our two countries, and in the industrial affairs and the labor movement of Great Britain, we find that the unions of labor are constantly extending their powers, or their claims to power, in gathering in the unorganized workers. We say that our movement is not a close corporation, it is not a hidebound institution, but to open the doors of our movement wide and not only ask and urge, but send out our missionaries to the men and women of toil, asking them to come in and join with us, both in the advantages secured and to be secured, and to meet the obligations and duties evolving upon enlightened men and women.

And in the American labor movement on both sides of the line we have established, in addition to our local unions, our city central bodies, our national or dominion congresses or conventions, departments of the organized workers of the various unions of an industry, or of kindred industries, working out the highest ideal of co-operative effort and yet maintaining the autonomy and integrity of every trade and calling.

At the time when I attended the British Trades Union Congress at Derby two years ago I heard a remark made which seemed to me to be quite important then, as it does seem to me now, that a committee might be appointed, and which was subsequently appointed, for the purpose of working out a solution of the jurisdiction problems, "the overlapping," as it is more frequently called in England, and the expression was that the committee having the subject matter in charge would by its report to the next Trades Union Congress finally and forever settle these jurisdiction disputes. I remember very definitely that when I had the honor of addressing the Congress I wished the committee luck in their project, and said if there was anything in the history of the American trade union movement that could contribute to the final solution of jurisdiction disputes and claims it was at the disposition of the committee.

In reading the report of the proceedings of the last British Trades Union Congress held at Glasgow I find that the problem has not been solved once and forever, and

I doubt that it will ever be solved so long as labor is essential to human civilization and so long as the human mind continues to work out new inventions, new tools, new machinery, new devices, and so long as the human mind shall offer substitutes for materials already in existence. As a matter of fact, though the jurisdiction problems rise up and create discord, disputes and sometimes conflicts, yet, uncomfortable as it sometimes makes me, I know it is the constant endeavor of the human race in industry to find a way out that shall establish the best possible relations and conditions. It is the struggle of the human family, it is part of the struggle in this great industrial problem.

We all claim to be willing to aid in progress; we all look forward to the time when tomorrow shall find a better expression of human needs than today. Many of us fail to understand that for every gain in the progress of the human race there is some form of compensation that we pay for it, that the law of compensation obtains and that some of us are afraid of the pain and the trouble which encompasses and accompanies the human struggle for freedom and progress.

The American labor movement, as I try to interpret it, is our willingness to bear whatever pain and trouble and sacrifice may be necessary in order that progress shall be made and civilization established. We realize the fact that there is no royal road nor any short cut to human disenfranchisement, no more than the life and the renewed life of the human race can be accomplished without pain and travail, no more than we can expect the infants just learning to walk, with the falls and mishaps to which it is heir, can be entered in a marathon race and be expected to compete with the best athletes. It is the human struggle and human progress through struggle.

I shall not attempt, particularly at this time, to speak of labor parties and political action. More than likely this will come before the convention in a concrete form. In any event, our policy has been outlined and declared. Forty years of experience, forty years of success and triumph, forty years of setbacks, but forty years of overcoming difficulties and problems and finally attaining the purpose for which we were organized.

In human progress there is action and reaction. The pendulum of movements and of progress swings one way and then another. In the labor movement, for the interests, for the rights, for the advancement of the workers and for the advancement of the whole people, for centuries the pendulum stood still, not at the center of gravity, but always down, down, hard upon the workers of the world. The pendulum has swung partly toward the other side, and we breathe more freely, meet more openly, declare our position more manfully, and more intelligently.

The demands which labor movements make, not only upon employers, but upon society, the demands made upon government and upon employers, upon society for the service labor performs and gives to society, and without which service

progress would be impossible and civilization would come to a standstill. Labor makes the demand for a better and a higher life, to be regarded, not as men typified by the "Man with the Hoe," with bent back and receding forehead, not with a supplicant's knee, but as men demanding their just recognition and the reward to which they are so justly entitled.

And we are going to press forward and upward and onward, never lagging in our effort and our course. There may be here and there some who will not subordinate their individual preference to the general good. The labor movement, while it does not attempt to express the unanimous views of all those in whose name it speaks, does expect that the moral obligation devolves upon all of us to see to it that the standards and the banner under which we struggle and the demands which labor makes shall receive the moral support of all our people.

We do not set ourselves up as part of or superior to the governments in whose countries we live; we do not claim anything of this character, but the men and the women in the labor movement are the militant forces which appeal to the conscience of all our people. Even Canada, with her wonderful activities and all the sacrifices of her people in this great and awful struggle which has come to a close, did not send her entire manhood to France and to Flanders. Canada sent her available fighting men. The manhood and womanhood of Canada were no less interested and vitally affected by the war than were those who went to the front. It is the comparative few in a nation who are the militant defendants and advocates of the rights and hopes and the interests of the people at home.

And so with the labor movement industrially. All the workers are not organized men. Regrettable as that may be, it is true. But those who are organized, even though we use the term militantly, those who are by peaceful and lawful means exercising their industrial rights, are the vanguard and form the great army of labor in defense of and for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of all the people.

Honored Sir, may I say that I am profoundly impressed and appreciative of what you have said in regard to our movement in our common countries, and the very high compliment you have seen fit to pay me. With you, we are one in believing that it is pitiable that the United States has not ratified the Covenant of the League of Nations, not only for the great ideal of making a sincere effort to maintain the peace of the world, and that such a catastrophe as that which came over the world six years ago shall never again be possible; at least, the effort might be made that such a war should never again occur.

In addition to this labor draft convention by which all should help, all the peoples and all the governments should help, in raising the standards of the working people of this work-a-day world, and particularly to help the workers in the most backward countries. They can do little or

nothing for the working people of the United States or of Canada. As a matter of fact, we want little of their help, but we can help others, and I hold it to be the duty of far-seeing, thinking, humane men and women to give a helping hand to lift those who are so far down to take their places among the civilized manhood and womanhood of the world.

I believe if the question itself were submitted to the people of the United States to ratify or defeat the Covenant of the League of Nations, without any other entangling question, the people of our country would by an overwhelming vote show that they desire a League of Nations. If a question of this character is brought into a campaign and is part of declarations of all the political parties, enveloped and covered and perhaps overwhelmed by other problems of an internal character, with the person of one candidate to represent all these ideas, the whole question of a League of Nations may be lost. It is regrettable that the question in itself might not have had the opportunity for the consideration and the determination of the people of our country.

In any event, we are as we are; we are making the best progress that it is possible and giving our aid to any movement that shall help to bring about that day for which the poets have sung and of which the philosophers dreamed and for which the masses of the people have always found it necessary to struggle, the day when universal peace and brotherhood and good will shall obtain now and forever.

Again, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Ogden and Mr. McClellan, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, I extend to you not only a welcome but gratitude and appreciation for your words of welcome and advice.

Secretary Morrison: I have here a letter which contains the information that the merchants and business men of Montreal are being solicited by a canvasser representing the Burns Detective Agency who claims to be publishing a book with inside information about what goes on in the convention of the American Federation of Labor. This is to be furnished for fifty dollars a copy. I want to call the attention of the delegates and the public to the fact that the conventions are open, that there are no secret proceedings, and it is not necessary for the merchants or business men of Montreal to pay fifty dollars for such a book.

Vice-President Mahon in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Joseph Ryan, Central Federated Union, New York

City, and James Costello, Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, There is a strike now in effect for fourteen weeks of the Longshoremen employed on the piers of the Coastwise Steamship Companies of my city; and

WHEREAS, The Transportation Trades Council of the port of New York and vicinity, an organization composed of the district councils of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stabliemen and Helpers, and the International Longshoremen's Association, have given their fullest support to this strike, and have been instrumental in arousing the public as a whole to the serious complications caused by the interruption of freight and its consequent congestion; and

WHEREAS, The steamship companies have taken the position that there is nothing to arbitrate in the situation existing; and

WHEREAS, The Merchants Association of New York City, in support of the contentions of the steamship companies involved, have made public a campaign to create a fund of \$5,000,000 for the express purpose of forcing on the organized workers of New York City an open shop policy; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this is only the first move of a nation-wide attempt at making the organized workers subservient to antagonistic interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Fortieth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., in session assembled, pledge our support to the Transportation Trades Council in their fight to get better conditions for the men employed on the piers and ships in New York harbor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we shall resist any attempt by the Merchants Association of New York City, or any other so-called body, whose purpose shall be the creating of the open shop or its surrounding issues.

The introducers of this resolution appeared before your committee and asked that the matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation. Your committee concurs in the request.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37 was recommitted to the Committee last week for further consideration. Your committee, after considering the resolution, reports as follows:

Resolution No. 37—By J. W. Chambers, Railway Coach Cleaners, Union No. 16088:

WHEREAS, The interest of the Trade Labor Principle can only be protected by the effort put forth by the wage earners, who are not prejudiced on creed, sex or color;

WHEREAS, The Colored workers have become a factor in the labor world and perform one-seventh of the labor performed in the United States, he is appealing to the trade and labor unions of

America in the Convention assembled to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles whereby he can secure the rights and recognition that he is justly entitled to;

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen claim jurisdiction over the Coach Cleaners' classification of work, and the International Brotherhood, Boiler Makers, Blacksmiths and Machinists, deny Colored workers the right to membership on the grounds of racial lines adopted in their constitution. This in itself creates an unrest and distrust among the workers, which will never be removed until such discriminative laws are repealed; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled take immediate action on enactment of such resolution that will prohibit any International Organization from adopting racial lines in their constitution.

In the hearing held on this resolution it developed that many of the statements therein contained were incorrect. You will note that the last Whereas specifically states that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen claim jurisdiction over coach cleaners, and that the Boiler Makers, Blacksmiths and Machinists' organizations deny to colored workers the right to membership on account of racial lines adopted and in their constitutions. For these reasons the convention is asked to take action to prevent any international organization from adopting laws on account of racial lines.

The facts in the case are these: The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen claims jurisdiction over coach and car cleaners, but do not admit to membership colored workers following that occupation on account of the law in their constitution prohibiting the admission of colored workers. The president of the International Brotherhood of Railway Carmen assured the committee that he will place this matter squarely before his next convention in two forms: first, to admit colored coach and car cleaners to membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; or, second, failing to do so, to surrender all claim to that class of work.

The Boiler Makers have no law in their constitution prohibiting the admission of colored workers following their trade or any branch of it. The Blacksmiths issue charters to colored workers of the trade and have no law denying admission to colored workers. The Machinists have nothing in their constitution prohibiting the admission of colored men of the trade.

Your committee, under these circum-

stances, can only recommend that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen eliminate from their constitution all reference to the admission of colored workers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Chambers asked permission to make amendment to the committee's report.

The chairman stated that the subject was closed, but if there were no objections Delegate Chambers would be allowed to state his amendment.

Delegate Chambers suggested that the report be amended by the insertion of a provision as to the time the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen should be amended. He suggested that this be done before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The chairman stated that the motion could not be entertained; that opportunity was given for discussion or amendments before the question was put, and Delegate Chambers failed to take advantage of it.

President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Conboy: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization.

(Signed)

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman
SARA A. CONBOY, Secretary
A. J. KUGLER
WM. A. NEEB
THOMAS L. FARRELL
H. L. MORRISON
W. S. BROWN
CHARLES H. MOYER
E. J. MANION
JOHN P. BURKE
F. J. McNULTY
DAN INGRAHAM
FRED W. BAER
LOUIS LANGER
G. G. JACOBS

Committee on Organization.

Secretary Conboy: I move the adoption of the report of the committee, as a whole. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: The report of the delegate to the last British Trades Union Congress has not been referred to any committee. The chair refers that report to the Committee on International Relations.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employes: On account of the sudden death of one of our representatives in Montreal Saturday evening, Brother John J. Handley, it has been necessary for Brother Emanuel Koveleski to leave the city for a few days. We, therefore, ask that he be excused from further attendance until his return.

President Gompers: If there is no objection that will be done.

At this time I think we should follow the practice of years, and in the name of our revered departed, the men and the women in the labor movement of Canada and the United States, the men and women who have helped in the great cause of human justice, disenfranchisement and freedom, the delegates to this convention and the friends will arise and remain in silent meditation in honor to the memory of our sacred dead.

All the audience arose and remained standing in silence, with bowed heads, for the space of one minute.

The chairman announced that report of fraternal delegates would be resumed.

Secretary Morrison escorted to the platform the fraternal delegate from the Women's International Union Label League, Miss Anna Fitzgerald of Chicago, who was introduced by the chairman.

ADDRESS OF MISS ANNA FITZGERALD

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I am sure this is somewhat of a surprise to me this morning. It is about five years since I have been classed among the fraternal delegates to this convention, so while I listened this morning with pleasure to the addresses of the other fraternal delegates I did not expect to be called upon to speak. However, I will not lose this opportunity to say to you that the Women's International Union Label League extends its greetings and pledges its cooperation to the American Federation of Labor.

While our work may seem of little importance to you, those who have given the matter considerable thought believe it is of great importance. We believe the time has come when the women must be interested in this great movement. We find in this Dominion that the women have not taken a very active part, and it seems to me as if the labor movement is overlooking one of its great assets when it does not bring in the women.

In our work we find that many of the women in the homes of men who are active in this movement know but little of the work and less of their responsibility. In the organization I have the honor to represent we feel that we have a body of unselfish women, working along in our own simple way, but at all times using the money that is earned under union conditions to purchase union made goods. It does seem to me, as simple as this is, that we could well afford to give a little more time in this direction, and I hope when you return to your homes you will no longer overlook this part of the work of the labor movement. Interest your women in the labor question. It is absolutely necessary, I believe, to the real progress of the American Federation of Labor! I know we have made wonderful strides,

but I feel we have overlooked one of our best and most helpful methods of progress, that of directing the purchasing power in the hands of our women.

Give this matter your serious consideration. Interest the women in your homes in the label movement. And I want you especially to speak to the representatives of the central bodies and state federations of labor who come so close to the local unions. They have been doing a great deal along this line in the past, but we have received very little help from some of the organizations to which we are very helpful. Our organization is working steadily along the same line, and always with the American Federation of Labor. I thank you.

Miss Ethel M. Smith, Fraternal Delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League, was escorted to the platform by Vice-President Mahon and introduced to the convention by President Gompers.

ADDRESS OF MISS ETHEL M. SMITH

Mr. President and Delegates: Like my predecessor on the platform, I did not know I was to be called upon and I am afraid I do not know what to say except to offer greetings from the National Women's Trade Union League which, as you know, as you were originally responsible for its existence, was intended and is working for the purpose of getting the women workers of the country into trade unions. We find it a difficult job, as no doubt you all realize, but we find it more and more important; and I am sure you are recognizing its growing importance because of the great number of women that are in industry and of the very serious competition of low-paid women workers with other women workers as well as with men. And of course until they are all organized and members of trade unions that competition will be a very serious matter.

I am very glad to say that in addition to our organization work we have a very considerable legislative victory to report. You know, of course, that during the war the Secretary of Labor created a Woman's Bureau in the Labor Department because of the great need of attention to the problems of women workers during the war. That Bureau, however, was not permanent, it could be continued only as appropriations were granted by Congress; and any one of those appropriations, when reported in an appropriation bill, was subject to a point of order and could be eliminated by the will of one man.

That happened this year in the Appropriation Bill in the House, but we had already introduced into Congress a bill making this Bureau permanent. That bill had passed the House and was before the Senate. It passed, I am glad to say, just before Congress adjourned and has now been signed by the President. That Bureau will continue, of course, the work it has been doing, to study the problems and the interests of women workers, and one of the things which I think trades unionists do not fully know is the low wage for which women are now working.

I wonder if you know that in Philadelphia, where the wages of candy workers before the war averaged \$400 a year, that the wages of candy workers now average \$450 a year—a war increase of \$50 a year. There are not many trades that did not get more of an increase than that. I wonder if you realize how many women are working for eight and ten dollars a week and under poor conditions. State after state is asking the Women's Bureau to investigate the conditions that exist in industries, and those reports are going out to enlighten the people and especially, I trust, to stimulate our trade unionists to see that those women are organized.

I am sure that you are proud to know that at the head of the Woman's Bureau is a trades union woman, very well known to you all, Miss Mary Anderson, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. She has been the head of that Bureau and her work has been commended by those who know of it.

It was also possible for us, with the help of the women of the country and the trades unionists of the country, to restore the appropriation in the Appropriation Bill as it passed the Senate, increasing the appropriation from \$40,000 to \$75,000. The complaint was made that that was too much to give, and yet \$75,000 for the interests of twelve million wage earning women is a very small sum.

Of the total expense incurred during the current year the amount which was utilized for the interests of women and children was 56-100,000 of the total, and the amount devoted to the study of labor problems was just about the same. For general education it was a little less. The total for human welfare interests, for labor problems, for all sorts of educational and humane purposes, was just one per cent of the total of five and one-half billion dollars.

We were able to succeed in this legislation because of the help of the people in the States, and particularly of the women who were interested in this Bureau. That is one thing the Women's Trade Union League is trying to do constantly, to reach out into new groups of women and secure from women who are not trade unionists themselves support for our legislation and our organizing work. Through the devotion of women of industry in the great convention of the National League of Women Voters, a convention of five or six hundred delegates representing every State in the Union, and most of them not trade unionists, the industrial division of that convention offered a platform and program providing for endorsement and advocacy of collective bargaining through trade unions, and especially for the organization of women workers. That plank was unanimously adopted and we have been able to call upon those women to help us in our problems and they have helped us nobly.

I hope we will continue to enjoy what we have enjoyed and appreciate so much, the help of trade union men and women to advance the interests of the wage working women of the country. I thank you.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"The combined locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers extend to their brothers who are delegates to this convention a cordial invitation to attend a mass meeting to be held in Old Dominion Square Methodist Church, 174 Windsor Street, at 8 o'clock p. m., Monday, June 14th."

This communication was signed by James

Broderick, President, No. 492, B. of E. W. President Gompers called for reports of committees. The announcement was made that several committees were working and no reports were ready for presentation.

To enable the committees to complete reports during the afternoon, at 12:30 the rules were suspended and an adjournment was taken to Tuesday, June 15th.

EIGHTH DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

Montreal, Que., Can., June 15, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

The name of T. J. Murphy, Bricklayers and Masons, was substituted for that of William J. Bowen, of that organization.

Absentees—Gillmore, Schneider, Richard, Proebstle, Greely, Manley, Boyer, Hyland, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Nelson, Conway (H. J.), Desepie, McAndrews (J. J.), Todd, Schlesinger, Morrison (H. L.), Bock, Maitland, Langdon, White (J. P.), Kennedy, Valentine, Hedrick, Hannah, Bergstrom, Kearney (T.), Anderson (C.), Rau, Marks, Dunwoody, Flynn (P.), Shay, Dougherty, Blusey, Curtis, Hatch, Graves, Ely (S.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Jones (D. M.), Caddy, Lennon, Dart, Stewart (R. G.), Witherell, Rogers (R. E.), Owens, Oplinger, Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill, Stanley, Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Hemsley, Freind, Taylor, O'Dell, Barnack, Raisse, Keavney, Gagnon, Jagers, Lanoux, Dunlop, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Bower, Gebhardt, Green (R. J.), Curran, Wood, Harrell, Williams (J. W.), Talbot, Ellis, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, Schoonover, Davies (Wm. J.), Longe, Carlock, Hall, Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, LaRose, Heywood, Hodge, McKnight, Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Griffard, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Gabrio, Morse, Malone (M.), Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Stevens, Smallwood, Wilcox, Allen, Wilson (F.), Tait, Reynolds, Engle, Wiltashkin, Rhenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, Jones (J.).

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Gas Workers' Local No. 16517, Ottawa, Can.—Peter Peebles, 1 vote.

Park and Recreation Department Gardeners and Laborers' Union No. 16138, Boston, Mass.—Peter J. Mullen, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Salem, Mass.—Frank H. Forsyth, 1 vote.

International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada—Albert Roy, 121 votes.

The committee recommended the seating of the delegates named in the report. The recommendation of the committee

was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate MacGowan, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates O. A. Anderson, Bernard, Kavanaugh, Joseph Ryan, Albert Workman, T. V. O'Connor, O. A. A., Simon P. O'Brien:

WHEREAS, The Coastwise Branch of the International Longshoremen's Association on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast are out on a strike for over two months, contending for recognition and adjustment of demands, filed by them with the Coastwise Steamship Companies more than nine months ago, for increases in wages and betterment of conditions for the employees of said companies; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid steamship companies have refused said demands, pleading poverty, inability to grant any increase in wages, and refusing to arbitrate and compromise the issue, on the other hand employing strike-breakers, declaring for the open shop; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, and the various crafts directly affected, pledge our support to the Coastwise Longshoremen in their fight for recognition, and against the policy of the open shop in said craft.

Your committee is in full sympathy with the intent and purpose of this resolution, and recommends concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Anderson, of the Longshoremen, made a brief statement in which he reviewed the history of the troubles of the Coastwise Branch of the organization and pointed out that the strike was called only after all other efforts at obtaining a settlement of their demands had been exhausted. He stated that seven months intervened between the time the demands were presented and the time the strike was called. That in that time the steamship companies had seen fit to grant an increase in pay to the deep-water men, but would not consider the granting of a

increase to the coastwise men. He told of the efforts that had been made by the steamship companies at Galveston to intimidate the men on strike, how they had brought in strike-breakers and had attempted to create friction between the white and the colored men, and how they had otherwise tried to create an impression in the minds of the people that there was lawlessness and disorder among the strikers.

In closing, he asked the support of all the allied crafts and the moral support of the American Federation of Labor in the interests of the men for whom he spoke.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 6—By Salem (Mass.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There is a strike in existence at the plant of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation, situated in Beverly, a strike which involves the Machinists, Local 348, Federal Labor Union 10354, Federal Labor Union 10008, and Foundry Employees, local union 91, a strike which is not for better wages or shorter hours, but a strike for a principle; and

WHEREAS, The Molders' Union has taken a stand in favor of the employers by remaining at work while over 3000 men and women are struggling for the very existence of their organizations, in their fight against "Individual Contract," and for the principle of collective bargaining; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Salem and vicinity protest against the stand taken by the International Officers of the Molders' Union, by remaining passive to the existing conditions, and thus encouraging the employers to prolong this battle; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we hereby petition the convention of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon the International officers of the Molders' Union the necessity of their co-operation with the other organizations involved in this struggle.

Inasmuch as the subject matter complained of in this resolution received the earnest consideration of the recent convention of the Metal Trades Department, and a comprehensive program was agreed to by all organizations at interest, your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Jesse G. Francis, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, Henry R. Broening, Edward D. Bletz, of Maryland, District of Columbia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has championed the cause of the workers in demanding for them the

right of collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing, and the education of the toilers to the necessity for unity of action in order that we may have freedom, both industrially and politically; and

WHEREAS, Believing that the injury to one is the concern of all, and that such unity of action properly directed will assist in solving some of the industrial questions confronting us; and

WHEREAS, For eighteen years prior to 1918 the seventeen crafts employed and working under separate agreements at the Crown Cork and Seal Company plants, Baltimore, Md., were enjoying conditions brought about by their organizations in the plants of this concern, whose lustiness grew to be the leaders in their particular industry through the patronage and co-operation of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, During the past two years, as craft agreements expired and the officials of this concern refused to renew them or meet with the representatives of the crafts involved, resulting in hundreds of men of various crafts being discriminated against and forcing hundreds of strikers to cease work in protest against the unfair and arbitrary attitude of the company; and

WHEREAS, The Crown Cork and Seal Company, of Baltimore, Md., in their attempt to disrupt organized labor in this locality, have repudiated or abrogated all working agreements with the following organizations: Federal Labor Union No. 10875, Sheet Metal Workers' Union No. 122, United Association of Plumbers, Steamfitters and Helpers No. 438, Painters, Local Union No. 1, Carpenters and Joiners Local No. 101, Metal Polishers No. 11, Iron Molders No. 19; and

WHEREAS, The following organizations are on strike because of agreements abrogated and refusal on the company's part to consider renewal: Carpenters and Joiners No. 101, Iron Molders No. 19, International Association of Machinists, District No. 12, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers No. 23, Stationary and Operating Engineers, Patternmakers; and

WHEREAS, The crafts discriminated against and on strike, through the Baltimore Federation of Labor, have used every legitimate method to drive the products of this concern off the market by circulating letters to local unions and central bodies, setting forth the true conditions. The success of this move has been curtailed by reason of the fact that an agreement exists between this concern and Federal Labor Union No. 14204, an organization of girls who operate machines putting cork in crowns, and while the letters put out by the Baltimore Federation of Labor are bringing ready response, letters have been sent out by the Crown Cork and Seal Company stating that they are fair to organized labor, basing their claim that their goods are manufactured by labor with whom they have an agreement signed by Samuel Compers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Frank Morrison, Secretary. These letters are very misleading in character and misrepresent the entire situation. While pleading fairness they are doing everything possible to

break down the conditions of organized labor even to the extent of hiring gunmen to intimidate pickets and attack labor representatives: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, do herewith abrogate the existing agreement with the Crown Cork and Seal Company, and that this concern be declared hostile to organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this action be made known to all International Unions, State and Central bodies, with a request that this firm and its products be placed on the "Unfair" and "We don't patronize" lists, and with a further request that all local unions, State and City federated bodies, appoint committees to wait upon breweries, bottling establishments, etc., in all localities to drive their goods from the market until such a time as the Crown Cork and Seal Company changes their attitude towards the crafts affected and the Trades Union Movement.

Your committee recommends that resolution No. 40 be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions that the grievance referred to herein be investigated, and that the organizations referred to in the fifth "Whereas" be summoned to attend such investigation; and if said investigation disclose the facts to be as stated in the resolution, the Executive Council is hereby instructed to endeavor to adjust this matter, and in the event of failure to do so that the relief requested in this resolution shall be granted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: The chair would like to inquire from the secretary of the committee to which portion reference is made concerning the granting of relief.

Delegate MacGowan: The relief granted is the first "Resolve," breaking the existing agreement between the American Federation of Labor and this concern.

President Gompers: The President of the American Federation of Labor advises this convention that there is no such agreement existing between that company and the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Mahon: If the investigation discloses that, it is within the power of the Executive Council to act.

President Gompers: But between the time of the publication of this resolution and the report, and the time that the Executive Council can conclude its investigation, the injury to the good name of the American Federation of Labor has been accomplished, and I felt it to be my duty

to make that statement at this time so as to dissipate any unfounded suspicion or judgment.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers International Union:

WHEREAS, The Excelsior Motor Cycle Company, manufacturers of the Excelsior and Henderson Motor Cycle, and the Arnold Schwinn Bicycle Co., manufacturer of the World Bicycle, located in Chicago, Ill., owned and controlled by the same parties, have for the past nine months, and are at present, waging a fight against organized labor. They have refused to grant the shorter work-day, and the union scale of wages, and have secured an injunction which prohibits our members, or their friends and sympathizers, from in any way conducting peaceful picketing, or from telephoning, writing or speaking to any of the strike-breakers employed by these concerns. The members of the Polishers International Union and their officers have done all in their power to bring this unfair firm to a sense of fairness, but they have been unable to do so. Also attempts have been made by the Chicago Federation of Labor to adjust these differences, but have also failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Convention condemn the arbitrary stand of these two concerns, and that the Executive Council be requested to endeavor to make an adjustment of this affair; failing to do so, that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify all central labor unions, all State Federations of Unions, all labor papers and all internationals of the action of these concerns.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Schoenberg, Machinists, discussed the question briefly and stated that if the Polishers had given the Machinists their support when the strike of the Machinists occurred, the Polishers might now have had a satisfactory settlement.

Delegate Britton, Metal Polishers, in answering the contention of Delegate Schoenberg, stated that at the time of the Machinists' trouble at the Excelsior Motor-cycle Company in the city of Chicago, there was not a man in the shop who was a member of the Machinists' Union; that it was a disorganized strike, and that the Polishers had several times asked the Machinists to join them in the Metal Trades so that unity of action might be brought about.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In answer to inquiries by Delegates Parker, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Flore, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, as to what disposition was made of Resolution No. 112, referred from the Committee on Adjustment to the Committee on Boycotts at a previous session, the secretary stated that through some oversight that resolution had not yet reached the committee, but that it would be considered and reported upon later.

Reports of all the committees were called for in their order, and none were prepared to report.

Delegate Max S. Hayes, Typographical Union, moved that a committee be appointed to visit the various committees whose work was incomplete and ascertain when they would be prepared to report to the convention. In supporting his motion, Delegate Hayes stated that apparently the important committees were lagging or delaying their reports. (Seconded.)

Delegate O'Hara, of the Hatters, expressed the opinion that the motion was an act of discourtesy to the committees, particularly those committees to which important subjects and matters requiring very lengthy consideration had been assigned.

Delegate Sweeney, Tailors, supported the motion of Delegate Hayes, and said in part: If there is any discourtesy it seems to me that discourtesy is on the part of the committees. I believe that this convention is a little greater than the committees, and that they should consider the fact that men are here to legislate purely for the organizations that sent us here, and not to crowd the business of this convention into one or two days and ram something down the throats of the delegates when they haven't time to digest it. This very same game was tried at Atlantic City, and certain important matters, like the salaries of officials, came up when most of the delegates were on their way home. It is pretty near time that the committees would understand that we know what we came here for, that we can do a little of our own thinking and we can do it without a machine.

Delegate Trummer, Tailors: I move as an amendment that any committee failing to report before twelve o'clock tomorrow noon, all resolutions committed to them will be taken away and he placed before this convention for action.

President Gompers: In the opinion of the chair, it is scarcely fair to the men and women who are delegates to this convention to have their motives impugned and their honesty questioned, particularly when they are at work for the Federation and are denied the opportunity of being here. The committees which have not yet reported have been in nearly constant session, and they have been at work considering the voluminous report of the Executive Council, a report containing 239 printed pages, they have been considering resolutions and declarations. There may be some of us who are so brilliant that we can decide the thing at once without any further consideration. Perhaps the committees are constituted differently and want time to think over what they will report to this convention.

The question of appointing a committee as proposed by Delegate Hayes is one thing; to inquire when the committees may give us some intimation as to when they will be in position to report—that is one thing; but to make charges against the men who are serving the convention and have been denied the opportunity of being here, coming to Montreal to attend the convention and they haven't had a chance to be in the convention more than an hour or two, it is unfair, that's all there is to it. I felt it essential to the honor of this convention and to our good name, as well as the rights of the men who are absent doing that work, to make the explanation that I have. If you will consent, we will stop the discussion of this matter just now and proceed to vote upon the motion of Delegate Hayes.

Delegate Weber, Musicians, stated that he was a member of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and that he resented as unfair and uncalled for the imputation that he or any other member of that committee was one of a machine. He stated that delegate after delegate had appeared before that committee, and that an endless amount of time and had been given to these hearings.

The motion offered by Delegate Hayes was defeated.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, moved that a special order of business be set for ten o'clock Wednesday morning, June 16, to hear the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Clarke supplemented the mo-

tion with a brief statement in which he set forth the enormous amount of work the committee had to do. He stated also that he believed the committee, through its continued sessions, had settled satisfactorily some disputes of long standing.

The motion offered by Delegate Clarke was adopted.

Delegate Julia O'Connor, Electrical Workers, obtained unanimous consent to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates Julia S. O'Connor, James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, C. L. Love, M. T. Joyce, J. J. McAndrews and Edw. Barton, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; James R. Sweeney, Chelsea Labor Union; H. L. McDougall, Federal Labor Union No. 14451; J. M. Hourigan, Schenectady Trades Assembly; and W. E. Wolcott, Federal Labor Union No. 15251:

WHEREAS, Organization work among telephone operators is attended by grave difficulties owing to the oppressive anti-labor policy of the Bell Telephone Company and its associated companies; and

WHEREAS, This policy seeks to perpetuate the present unorganized condition of the telephone industry, and to that end has herded its operating employes into so-called associations, company-initiated, company-controlled and company-financed; and

WHEREAS, These associations are wholly destructive of the opportunity for genuine collective bargaining, are wholly false in economic theory, wholly vicious in tendency, reposing such organized power as they accumulate in the hands of the telephone company to be used against the interests of the operators; and

WHEREAS, These alleged "employees' associations" are active agencies for the dissemination of falsehood and innuendo against the legitimate unions of telephone operators where they exist; and

WHEREAS, They seek to secure and hold their membership by persecution, by threats of reprisals, with company voting on company time, on company premises, and at the insistence of company officials; compulsory attendance at meetings presided over by company officials; circulation with signature demanded of papers headed with a declaration of satisfaction with existing wage and work standards—these methods but instance the unwholesome determination of this corporation to maintain its tyrannical and feudalistic labor policy; and

WHEREAS, The telephone companies of the country (with one or two notable exceptions) with the advantage on their side by reason of the youth, the helplessness, the inexperience in organization matters of the operators, have carried on a consistent and largely successful policy of stamping out union organization; and

WHEREAS, The Telephone Operators' Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the organization having jurisdiction, is, by reason of the short period of its existence, wholly unequipped with the resources to carry on an adequate organization campaign against the telephone companies; and

WHEREAS, The unprotected condition of these young women, both as to wages and as to opportunity for the expression of any measure of industrial democracy, challenges the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the fortieth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Montreal, pledge its support to the organization of the telephone operators of the country, and calls upon State Federations, city central bodies, all regular and volunteer organizers, to assist in the complete organization of the telephone industry.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Gainer, Letter Carriers, obtained the unanimous consent of the convention to read the following resolution:

Resolution No. 120—Introduced by delegations from National Association of Letter Carriers; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Railway Mail Association; and National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in a number of preceding National Conventions has indorsed by resolution the principle of Retirement legislation for Civil Service Employees; and

WHEREAS, The counsel and assistance of the official and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor has been granted without measure in co-operating with affiliated Civil Service organizations in seeking to secure the enactment of this legislation; and

WHEREAS, The right of organization of Government employes to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor has been challenged in some quarters and the value of such affiliation questioned in others,

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned representatives of affiliated Civil Service organizations, take this means of testifying to the high character of service rendered the cause of retirement by the American Federation of Labor; and expressing in behalf of the employes of the Federal Service the sincere and abiding feeling of appreciation for this practical and consistent evidence of concern in their welfare.

On motion of Delegate Gainer, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

At 11:40 a. m. the rules were suspended and the convention recessed until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

EIGHTH DAY--Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m., Tuesday, June 15th, Vice-President Green in the chair.

Absentees—Gillmore, Schneider, Richard, Proebstle, Manley, Boyer, Hyland, Laurendeau, Barnes (J. M.), Fitzgerald (E. H.), Nelson, Brown (M. J.), O'Connor (J. S.), McAndrews (J. J.), Morton, Schlesinger, Morrison (H. L.), Bock, Maitland, O'Connor (T. D.), Murray (P.), Hayes (F. J.), Moore (J.), White (J. P.), Kennedy, Valentine, Hannah, Kearney (T.), Anderson (C.), McHugh (W. H.), Dunwoody, Burns (G. F.), Flynn (P.), Shay, Dougherty, Blasey, Curtis (T. J.), Graves (E. E.), Spencer (W. J.), Howard, Ely (S.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Jones (D. M.), Caddy, Lennon, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Witherell, Rogers (R. E.), Owens, Opfinger, Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill, Stanley, Stansberry, Hasard, Evans (J. R.), Emsley, Feind, Taylor (C.), O'Dell, Murray (J. F.), Barnack, Sims, Ralsse, Kearney, Gagnon, Rhone, Jagers, Ornburn, Dunlop, Fitzgerald (J. T.), Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Wood, Harrell, Williams (J. W.), Talbot, Turner, Ellis, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, Schoonover, Davies (Wm. J.), Longe, Carlock, Hall, Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, LaRose, Heywood, Hodge, McKnight, Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Gabrie, Morse, Malone (M.), Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Flynn (J.), Stevens, Smallwood, Steele, Wilcox, Allen, Wilson (F.), Tait, Reynolds, Engle, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bopd, Jones (J.).

Secretary Morrison read a communication from the General President of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers requesting that Henry Stehmer be substituted as a delegate for Stanley Cherrington.

Secretary Morrison moved that the request be compiled with and Henry Stehmer seated. (The motion was seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee: I suppose I am too late to interpose as an objection to a special order for tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, which will probably cut off the Committee on Resolutions from completing its report during that session. I suppose one committee is as important as another, but both for regularity and for printing in the official proceedings, the committee reports should be as nearly continuous as pos-

sible. If you vote early and often on our report this afternoon we will get through; but if not, we will report this afternoon and then give way to the other committee tomorrow.

Our report is in two parts; first, the subjects from the Executive Council's report to the convention, and second, in the form in which the resolutions occur by their number. Sometimes, because of their similarity, we have had to bunch a few of the resolutions together, but as nearly as possible that order will be followed.

Secretary Grey, of the Committee, read the report:

Compulsory Military Training

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council and the above captioned the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council's efforts in opposing the substance of the bills advocating compulsory military training be given hearty commendation, and that the Executive Council be requested to continue its opposition to all legislation of this character.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Minimum Wages

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, in connection with Resolution No. 62, the committee reported:

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Luther C. Stewart and Chas. L. Weigand:

WHEREAS, The Nolan minimum wage bill for employes of the United States Government providing a minimum rate of \$3.00 a day for such employes has failed of passage in the United States Senate after passage in the House by an overwhelming majority; and

WHEREAS, The failure of the Senate to act upon this measure upon adjournment of the recent session of Congress, has again registered the unresponsiveness of the Upper House to the needs of the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled calls upon the Senate to pass this Bill immediately upon the re-assembling of Congress for the next session; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Reso-

lution be sent to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the candidates for President at the coming election.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Soldiers' Relief

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee finds in this portion of the report a specific instance of the failure of Congress to enact essential legislation in connection with the Nation's duties and problems presented by the reconstruction period.

We recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continue its assistance to the end that legislation giving adequate relief to our soldiers will be enacted.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

War Risk Insurance

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends endorsement of the Executive Council's action, and a continuance of the activities in connection with this question.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Postal Wage Legislation

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, in conjunction with resolutions No. 71 and No. 73, the committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Because of the inadequate wage standards in the Federal Civil Service, the efficiency of governmental institutions is being seriously impaired through large numbers of resignations with resultant economic loss to the people; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming increasingly difficult to secure and hold competent employes through regular civil service channels, by reason of these low wage standards and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Joint Congressional Wage Commission, appointed at the suggestion of the A. F. of L. has made a report on re-classification and wage adjustments in the postal service that is unsatisfactory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the repre-

sentatives and officers of the affiliated organizations of Postal employes in securing a higher wage standard than that now existing in the postal service, and in perfecting the legislation to secure better working conditions and classification.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Various duties are required of railway postal clerks in connection with the services rendered; and

WHEREAS, While the major part of their duties is in the actual distribution, handling or supervision of the mails, yet a considerable amount of study is required of them while at home; and

WHEREAS, Railway Postal Clerks contend that the day of service should be definitely apportioned and allotted to the duties required of them; and

WHEREAS, The Joint Commission on Postal Salaries recently recommended to the Congress, who on June 5th, 1920, enacted into law a provision establishing a standard not to exceed an average of eight hours per day, "including proper allowance for all service required" of them, thus leaving the apportionment of the time indefinite; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be assisted to maintain the right to participate in determining the proper allowances and apportionment of the eight hours for the various duties required of them; and be it

RESOLVED, That if such right is not accorded to the employes every assistance will be given to secure definite determination of the status and hours of service of railway postal clerks by the Congress of the United States.

Your committee endorses the Executive Council's activities in connection with the subject and recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Rehabilitation of Cripples

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee expresses its appreciation of the Executive Council's success in having the objectionable section eliminated from the bill.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Seamen

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council's action and recommends that its activities in this connection be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Compulsory Arbitration

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee heartily approves of the Executive Council's opposition to compulsory arbitration and recommends that it should actively continue its efforts.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Anti-Trust Legislation

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council's efforts be endorsed, and that it continue its watchfulness and efforts to prevent any repeal of the law prohibiting the use of appropriations for the prosecutions of labor or farmers under the anti-trust act.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Railroad Training Act

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee voices its opposition to the bill introduced by Senator Thomas of Colorado and recommends that the Executive Council continue its opposition to measures of such character.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Newspaper, Mailing Privileges

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the subject be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to oppose the zone system.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: I am not sure I understand the position of the Executive Council on this postal matter. I understand they are opposed to the zone system; I presume they are in favor of some system.

Secretary Frey: The bill to which the Executive Council refers provides that all publications given second class mailing privileges must be printed in the English language, if printed in the continental United States, and must be originated and

published for the dissemination of information of a public character. Trade Union publications must be printed in the English language. Then it gives the zone rates.

Delegate Gainor asked from what source the Executive Council expected postal revenues to be derived. He asked also if the recommendation would mean, if carried out, a reduction in the present revenues, and that the attitude taken was that the post office department shall be operated on a self-supporting basis and postal rates provided that shall be adequate to support it.

Chairman Duncan, in replying to the questions, said in part: The opposition offered by the committee to the zoning system is because of the enormous expense that would be added to the mailing of publications and materially affecting trade union journals. The plan in the past has been for a rate per pound wherever it might go throughout the United States, and the zoning system adds so much to the cost of mailing that many trade union publications would have to go out of business because of the cost. The United States carries a letter from Boston to California for two cents. It costs the same price to send a letter from Boston to Fall River. The committee has no idea that in mailing a trade union publication it should cost eight cents a pound going to one part of the country and one or two cents a pound going to some other part of the country. We desire the method of charging for publications giving information to our people shall be followed in the future as it has been in the past, instead of trying to tax them out of existence by an exorbitant mailing rate.

President Gompers: If the convention will permit, the chair would like to add something supplementary to what the chairman of the committee has said. The American Federation of Labor has for years declared for a low rate of postage, a postage of two cents on first class mail, a lower rate than that which obtains in the third class mail, a low rate of postage for parcel post and second class rates for newspapers and magazines, including trade union journals.

The policy of the Federation upon that subject has been emphatically expressed time and again, and it was deemed unnecessary to heap precedent upon prece-

dent, declaration upon declaration, upon a similar matter. But there is one thought, which, with others, I have endeavored to express in regard to the postal system of the United States. Some of the administrators of that great Department have always desired to show a surplus, or, if not a surplus, that the department should pay for the service it renders, while others have deplored when there has been a deficit. I have insisted that it was not necessary for any department of our government doing a public service to be self-sustaining.

We do not ask that the Army of the United States shall be self-sustaining; we do not ask that the Navy of the United States shall be self-sustaining, nor the Interior Department, the State Department, nor the Treasury Department. And why the Post Office Department? We do not even ask in our localities that the school system shall be self-sustaining. These are great expenditures which the people make through their government, in the interest of the government to be of service to the people, and we should get away from the idea that any one particular department must be self-sustaining or conducted for profit.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Gainer, who referred to the fact that the cost of letter postage had not advanced as other commodities have advanced in the past few years. He stated that the revenues of the department would have to come from postal matter, out of the treasury or from the pockets of the men, and that the tendency of the Post Office Department was to take it out of the pockets of the men.

Vice-President Woll, in discussing the question, said in part: It is my firm conviction that the government receives at the present time sufficient revenue in that department to warrant the wages asked by the employes. The report of the Executive Council does not deal with an increase or decrease in postal rates, it deals with what is known as the zone system. It is the first time in our country that a proposal has been made to charge the people of California ever so much more to receive their literature than those situated close to the printing centers. We protest against that un-American system of charging people distantly located a higher rate of postage than those who

are located nearer the printing industry. We believe that however far the distance may be that literature, wherever it may be printed, ought to be charged as letter postage is now charged. If the zoning is justified in the second class postage, then surely it is justified in the first class postage.

Delegate Williams: Some of the delegates ought to understand that at the present time the weekly newspapers are paying on a zone system, although not as large as this. A few years ago we paid one cent a pound to mail out a weekly paper. Today it runs as high as two and one-half cents a pound, according to the zone. If this bill goes through, it will be cheaper to mail a paper in the farthest zone by first class mail. The report of the committee ought to be approved.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Retirement

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee noted with interest that the effort to exclude trade unionists from the operation of the law was defeated, and commends the Executive Council for its activities.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Coal Strike and the Lever Act

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has carefully examined this portion of the report. It refers to one of the most important events which has occurred in the history of American industries. The position taken by the Executive Council was in harmony with the spirit and principles of the American trade union movement, and we recommend that the action as incorporated in this report be approved.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The Boston Police

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, in conjunction with Resolution No. 50, the committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Seymour C. Butler, City Policemen's Union 16807, Boston, Mass.:

We, the officers and members of the City Policemen's Union No. 16807 of Boston, Mass., do hereby present for your consideration and such appropriate action as your honorable body may deem fit and proper, the following:

WHEREAS, At the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Atlantic City, N. J., in May, 1919, said organization did after due deliberation decide to admit members of Police Departments of cities to the ranks of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Boston Police Department under the said decision did apply for, and was granted a charter on the 2nd day of August, 1919; and

WHEREAS, The Police Commissioner for the City of Boston on the 11th day of August, 1919, promulgated the rule known as Rule 35, Section 19, of the Police Department of the City of Boston, and reading as follows:

"No member of the force shall join or belong to any organization, club or body composed of present or present and past members of the force, which is affiliated with or part of any organization, club or body outside the department except that a post of the Grand Army of the Republic, the United Spanish War Veterans and the American Legion of World's War Veterans, may be formed within the department"; and

WHEREAS, The Police Commissioner of the City of Boston did in accordance with the above rule summon before him the officers of said City Policemen's Union No. 16807, nineteen in number, for violation of said rule in that they joined an organization outside of the Police Department, namely the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said rule is retroactive and in violation of the principles of the Constitution of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, The Police Commissioner by virtue of said rule did dismiss from the Police Department nineteen officers aforesaid; and

WHEREAS, Members and officers of said Policemen's Union went on strike September 9, 1919, by reason of the oppressive and tyrannical methods and tactics of Police Commissioner Edwin U. Curtis, and also by reason of the intolerable conditions with respect to their employment, and are still on strike; and

WHEREAS, Twelve hundred and sixty members of City Policemen's Union No. 16807 are now victimized for joining and belonging to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, All the conditions complained of by the Union that were directly the cause of the strike have been changed, and all those concessions granted the present members of the Police Force of the City of Boston, who were appointed to fill the places of the members of the Union who were obliged to strike in

order to better their conditions as hereinbefore recited; and

WHEREAS, A great many of the old men of the City Policemen's Union No. 16807 are in destitute circumstances and are unfit for any other kind of employment; be it

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates of the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby pledge to said City Policemen's Union No. 16807 our moral support and financial assistance to its cause until a satisfactory conclusion of said strike is reached.

The substance of Resolution No. 50 is of such a character that your committee is of the opinion that a statement on its part should accompany the committee's recommendation.

Prior to the summer of 1919, the municipal authorities and police commissioners of a majority of American cities had failed to give any adequate consideration to the urgent necessity for higher wages to policemen; a cost of living which had practically doubled since 1914, had not met with any practical or satisfactory consideration by the majority of American municipalities. The policemen's efforts to have the serious problem of their wages given adequate consideration met with seeming indifference or incapacity on the part of a majority of local authorities.

Immediately following the bureaucratic action of Police Commissioner Edwin U. Curtis, of Boston, which led policemen to doff their uniforms, police commissioners and municipal authorities not only throughout New England, but generally throughout America, seemingly awoke to the necessity of paying to policemen a wage which would enable them to maintain a decent standard of living for their families. Throughout the New England territory as well as in other sections, the police force within a few months after September, 1919, were given advances in salaries approximating the rates which had been requested by the police of Boston.

That the Boston policemen's request was fully justified is indicated by the fact that the men employed to fill their places after the strike were given the wages and other improved conditions which the Boston policemen had requested in a respectful and proper manner.

There has been a widespread effort to place the responsibility for the unfortunate condition which arose in Boston upon the organized police force of that city.

The public has not been aware that the reason which led to a large number of Boston policemen, who, during the war, had fought upon the fields of France and Flanders, to lay aside their policemen's uniform, was the fact that nineteen of their number had been discharged from the force because they had affiliated themselves with a policemen's organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, it was not the discharge of these nineteen policemen which created an intolerable condition; this arose because of the arbitrary and tyrannical method adopted from the beginning by Police Commissioner Edwin U. Curtis, who, among other acts subsequent to the policemen's organizing, had promulgated a rule that members of the police force could not affiliate with any organization, club or body outside of the department, except that of the Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, the United Spanish War Veterans and the American Legion of American World's War Veterans.

Under Commissioner Curtis' bureaucratic methods, the Boston policeman had been denied the right to organize for the purpose of taking up with the Commissioner or other authorities the vital question of their salaries and terms of employment.

Your committee is of the opinion that the responsibility for the conditions which arose in Boston should be placed squarely and completely upon the Police Commissioner, and that his attitude and his methods should be condemned as tending to make loyal, active and vigilant police departments an impossibility in a democratic country.

The policemen are and must be regarded as guardians of the peace and protectors to the citizens. In donning the uniform they assume a responsibility to the citizenship of the municipality. The citizens have a right to expect a constant and loyal service on the policemen's part; but the police cannot fulfil their full duty if they are forced to suffer rankling injustice through tyrannical or arbitrary over-officials, or are to be prevented from presenting their claims for higher wages when the welfare of their wives and children makes this an absolute necessity. The policemen owe a duty to the public, but the public owe an equivalent duty to those who are employed to wear the policeman's uniform; and the public owe it

to themselves to see that no arbitrary, bureaucratic or tyrannical methods are allowed to develop on the part of those who are in direct administrative authority of the police forces.

The committee recommends that the convention pledge its moral support to the members of the City Policemen's Union No. 16807, and that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to assist in the establishment of adequate methods of representation for policemen, and the adjustment of their grievances, coupled with an effort to secure the reinstatement of the members of the Boston Policemen's Union.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Extremist Propaganda and Movements

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The committee feels that this portion of the report of the Executive Council is of sufficient importance to justify its being read in full to the convention.

(The report in full was read by Secretary Frey).

Your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Political Prisoners

The committee reported upon the part of the Executive Council's report under the above caption in conjunction with the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Eighteen months after the signing of the armistice which put a virtual end to the world war, thousands of men and women, among whom a distinguished Presidential Candidate, are still held in the federal penitentiaries under exceptional laws passed in a moment of national hysteria; and

WHEREAS, None of these prisoners is guilty of any crime or of any overt breach of the law, save that of dissenting from the national and foreign policies of the Democratic administration, and entertaining unorthodox views about war and government, none of which is, or ought to be punishable in a nation truly based upon freedom of thought and conscience; and

WHEREAS, All such similar political dissenters, conscientious objectors and philosophical opponents of the war, including prisoners of war, have been re-

leased in every civilized nation of the globe, thus singling out America for the unenviable distinction of being the only country that still keeps harmless political idealists in jail; and

WHEREAS, In addition to this most grievous lack of equality, foresight and clemency, the Federal Administration still continues to search, arrest, jail, disband, suppress and deport entire labor bodies and regularly constituted political parties; without any regard whatever to our constitutional guarantees, the very foundations of free government; and

WHEREAS, Fledglings, entreaties, protests and exhortations on the part of public spirited citizens, civic bodies and societies, both in America and abroad, have failed to obtain a cessation of this reign of administrative and judicial terror; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in National Convention assembled in Montreal, Canada, feels in duty bound to, and now does emphatically protest against any further useless and inhuman incarceration or social idealists and demands their immediate release, as well as the complete restoration of the freedom of speech, press, assemblage and association without any restrictions, qualifications or judicial interpretations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to attain these ends which aim at the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the Constitution of the United States over the dictatorship of the Capitalist class, the American Federation of Labor is determined to use any and all lawful means at its disposal, including a general cessation of work throughout the land.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate John G. Owens, of the Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, That nearly two years of peace, following the World War, finds in American Civil and Military prisons, or under bail pending trial or appeal, large numbers of men and women whose offense or alleged offense is of a political nature; and

WHEREAS, The sole justification for such prosecution and imprisonment was that of war-time necessity, which no longer exists, and that no useful purpose can be served by continuing to inflict punishment upon men and women who have no criminal instincts; and

WHEREAS, That without exception every democratic country in Europe which was associated with us in the prosecution of the war, full amnesty has been granted to the political, industrial and religious war opponents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of Local Union No. 11, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, of Cleveland, Ohio, believe that the further prosecution and imprisonment in the United States of a body of political offenders is contrary to the democratic idealism and traditions of freedom to which our country is committed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we accordingly urge

upon the President of the United States, and upon the Attorney General of the United States, the Secretary of War, and upon the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor, with all the earnestness at our command, the necessity of granting an immediate amnesty to all prisoners whose religious, political or economic beliefs formed the basis of their prosecution, trial and imprisonment.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates C. L. Shamp and Joseph W. Morton, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers; Edward I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters; William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists; Joe N. Weber, of the American Federation of Musicians; Benjamin Schlessinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; W. E. Bryan, of the United Leather Workers' International Union; J. A. Franklin, of the Boiler Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The signing of the Peace Treaty finds in American civil and military prisons, or under bail pending trial or appeal, numbers of men and women whose offense is of a purely political nature; and

WHEREAS, The sole justification for such prosecution and imprisonment, that of war-time necessity, no longer exists; and

WHEREAS, In all democratic countries of Europe which have been associated with us in the prosecution of the war, full amnesty has been granted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor, in fortieth convention assembled, that the further prosecution and imprisonment in the United States of political offenders is contrary to the democratic idealism and the traditions of freedom to which our country is committed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we accordingly urge upon the President of the United States, upon the Attorney-General of the United States, and the Secretary of War, to make all efforts possible to secure the granting of amnesty to all prisoners whose political beliefs formed the basis of their prosecution, trial and imprisonment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we accordingly urge upon the United States Senators and Representatives to support Senator France's Joint Resolution S. J. 171 for amnesty and S. 1233 to repeal the Espionage Law.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with Resolutions Nos. 13 and 18, and recommends concurrence with Resolution No. 24 and the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to

adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Schoenberg, Machinists: I move that this convention grant an opportunity to Mrs. Lucy Robins, representing the Central Bodies Federation of New York, to address this convention on the subject of freeing political prisoners. (Seconded and carried.)

ADDRESS OF MRS. LUCY ROBINS

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I can hardly add to what the committee brought in, a resolution signed by the international officers of many organizations; in fact, I am almost certain that had we thought of it, or had we had the time to do so, and thought it necessary, we could have had the signature of every delegate here to that resolution. The resolution that was read to you previous to this resolution, on extremist propaganda, also gave you enough ground and justification to unanimously adopt the resolution on political prisoners.

It was not until the Lever Act and the Espionage Act began to be used against organized labor in every strike, that organized labor determined to go into this fight and to carry it to a finish to repeal these laws and to release the political prisoners.

I wish you had the opportunity we had to listen to the appeals and the pleadings of mothers, fathers and relatives of the men and women who are in jail. I wish you could have seen the records of most of the men and women who are in jail. I must say here that we owe a great deal to the president of the American Federation of Labor, after he had received hundreds of communications from organized labor, bona fide unions of the American Federation of Labor, urging him to do all he could to bring about the release of political prisoners and repeal these laws that have been used against labor. It was through his efforts that we had a conference with the War Department.

If you had seen the records of those men and the reasons given for their being in jail, none of you would rest until they were released. There were originally 13,000 of these prisoners. Seven thousand of these men volunteered, went across, gave up their near ones and dear ones, with the hope that they were fighting in a battle that would make this world a better place to live in. They went there as free men, men who had enjoyed liberty all their lives, American citizens, but because they were placed in abnormal surroundings and at times rebelled against their officers or their fellow soldiers, or because they were suffering from shell shock, turned back and ran when under fire. For these offences they were court-martialed and given from five to fifteen years' imprisonment. There are still 1700 of them in barracks and jails who will not come out unless you help them. You have already succeeded in releasing many of them.

The War Department informed us that while they may release many of them,

they cannot release them as a whole. They claim that some of these men had prison records before they went to the army. When we asked what these prison records were in their civil life, the War Department would not give us that information. We said, in case they did not show these records, we would be forced to defend every one of them. If these men had prison records because they had been arrested during strikes or because of picketing, we would not consider that a prison record, but a badge of honor.

The second class of prisoners are the conscientious objectors. You would think these men were revolutionists or disturbers, but if you were to meet them face to face you would be surprised, just as the colonels and other officers were surprised, for many of them are college men. They claimed they would rather stand any consequences than to go into the army, because they did not feel that war was fought for the good of humanity at large. I may differ entirely from them, but we must not forget that our constitution provides liberty to express our minds under all conditions. These men have done nothing else than express their opinions. And even though they were justified in imprisoning those men during the war, there is no use keeping up war-time animosity in order that they may put over something else on labor. That is what they are trying to do.

The third class are imprisoned under the Espionage Law, and they differ very little from the others, only that most of them are old men, or very young men, or women. Some of them did very little. If you were to meet those boys and girls you would know that they certainly were harmless, that they did not intend to overthrow the government, as stated by the Department of Justice. Some of them who are really children are sentenced to twenty years in jail because they made statements or repeated statements made by someone else.

I know by our file records that throughout the country organized labor has done constructive work to bring about the release of political prisoners and to repeal the war-time laws. They are doing it with the hope that our country, and the men and women of our country, will again enjoy the privilege given them to express their minds, to organize and to protect their own interests as workers.

So far we have many resolutions before the House and before the Senate, introduced by many Senators and many representatives, both on the Republican and the Democratic side, all of them asking the repeal of war-time laws and bringing about the release of these political prisoners and the repeal of the Espionage Law. In that the other countries have done away with war-time feeling and action.

Not only organized labor is taking this attitude, but churches throughout the country have taken the same attitude; they are working hand in hand with you on resolutions before the Senate and the House; there are synagogues and fraternal organizations from the Atlantic to the Pacific

working in the same way to bring about the release of these political prisoners and the repeal of the Espionage Law, in that way restoring the right of free speech and free assemblage.

I know that every one of you has gone through enough in the last year's struggle in the labor movement to know the importance of at least taking away that power from them so that they will not be able to use those war time laws against you. I hope you will unanimously adopt the resolution and the report of the committee and help us accomplish the thing we have set out to do—restore freedom of speech and of the press.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Healy, Firemen: The address of Mrs. Robins is very interesting and instructive. It is a subject the people ought to know more about, and I therefore move that it be published in full in today's proceedings. (Seconded and carried.)

Mooney Case

Upon the part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee recommended that the Executive Council continue its efforts to prevail upon the Governor of California to grant a pardon.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee reported that Resolutions Nos. 14, 28 and 105, all bearing on the same subject matter, had been considered jointly. The secretary of the committee read Resolution No. 14:

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The people of Russia, having arisen from their millennial oppression, have overthrown the old Czarist government as well as the oligarchy of the capitalist class and have established a free and equitable government based on the universal duty to work and the right of all toilers to have and enjoy the full product of their labor, thereby doing away with industrial slavery and economic injustice, the elimination of which we hold to be the ultimate aim and finality of the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The imperialistic nations of the world, terrorized at the thought of this most glorious example spreading through the earth, have encircled the Russian nation with an iron ring of bayonets and are attempting to starve our Russian brothers into failure, submission and humiliation, through a most inhuman, brazen and cowardly economic blockade; and

WHEREAS, The government of the United States has openly been, and now still covertly is, an accomplice and an abettor in this most heinous crime against

a free sovereign people with whom the American people have always been at peace and for whom they never felt but the warmest feelings of sympathy and friendship; and

WHEREAS, The downfall of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic would mean the defeat of the age-long aspirations of the workers throughout the world and would inevitably redound to the everlasting shame of organized labor, whose indifference and apathy alone would be held responsible for such a monstrous offense against humanity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in Montreal, Canada, goes hereby on record as favoring and urging most earnestly and emphatically the complete, final and thorough lifting of all blockades, obstacles and barriers, of any character whatever, that in any way encroach upon the natural rights of the Russian people to travel and take their goods through all the land and sea routes of the earth; while, at the same time, it calls upon the Government of the United States to take at once the necessary steps to reopen commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia and officially recognize the Soviet Government as the only true expression of the will of the Russian people, chosen by their free suffrages, defended and hallowed by their blood.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Antonini, Garment Workers, supported the resolution in a brief statement in which he said that thousands of workers in the United States were in sympathy with the spirit of the resolution.

Delegate Hayes (Max), Typographical Union, asked that the two remaining resolutions bearing on the subject be read.

Secretary Frey read Resolutions Nos. 28 and 105 and the report of the committee:

Resolution No. 28—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we urge upon Congress and upon our Government, in conformity with the principle of national free self-determination and the spirit of fair play, the lifting of the blockade against the much-suffering people of Russia, and the renewal of commercial relations with that country.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate James A. Duncan, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The noble defensive fight waged against tremendous odds by the workers of Russia for the right to work out their own salvation without outside interference commands the admiration of all lovers of liberty throughout the world, so much so that it is now appears

impossible to induce soldiers of what we are accustomed to term enlightened nations to take the field against them; and

WHEREAS, The continued attacks of Japanese and other armies is compelling the use of transportation facilities to move soldiers, which are greatly needed to move food, thus causing endless suffering to be endured by the starving millions of people, largely women and children; and

WHEREAS, Truthful reports furnished the United States Government by such reliable personages as William C. Bullitt, Capt. W. W. Pettit, Lincoln Steffens and Raymond Robbins, and accepted as authentic by our peace delegates, including President Wilson, show that the workers of Russia are the most slandered of any in the world, and contrary to the stories circulated are among the most considerate of their womenfolk and children, giving them every preference in order to minimize the evil effects of under-nourishment; and

WHEREAS, It is conceded upon all sides that the Russian Soviet government cannot be crushed by force; and the world cannot have the peace that humanity demands as long as war continues in Russia; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor respectfully urge the government of the United States to exert its best influence to the end that Japanese and all other foreign troops be immediately withdrawn from the territory of the former Russian Empire and the blockade lifted; that peace be established with and between all of the peoples of that great land, and such steps taken as can be mutually agreed upon to furnish them with food and credits; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual call select a suitable committee to present this matter to President Wilson and such other officials as they deem proper.

From the information presented to your committee it was made apparent that no such embargo exists as is suggested in Resolution No. 23. Your committee therefore recommends as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 23 and 105 the following:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is not justified in taking any action which could be construed as an assistance to, or approval of, the Soviet government of Russia as long as that government is based upon authority which has not been vested in it by a popular representative national assemblage of the Russian people; or so long as it endeavors to create revolutions in the well-established, civilized nations of the world; or so long as it advocates and applies the militarization of labor and prevents the organizing and functioning of trade unions and the maintenance of a free press and free public assemblage.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers:

I move to amend that the American Federation of Labor, in 40th Annual Convention assembled, sends a delegation to Russia to investigate conditions in order to know the truth of conditions in Russia.

Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle, opposed the report of the committee, and said in part: I must say that I am astounded at the report of the committee on Resolution No. 105. Would we for one moment allow the people of Russia, of Germany, of Great Britain, or of any other nation to come to the United States and dictate to us what form of government was best for us? I venture to say that every last man and mother's son of us would arise in his might and answer back with all the fight and manhood that is in him. I know that possibly it is unpopular, in an American Federation of Labor convention at least, to say one word in behalf of my Russian brothers, but regardless of the cost I am going to undertake to at least express one sympathetic voice in this convention.

There has been much camouflage on this Russian situation; our own diplomats have camouflaged back and forth, right and left, all the way down the line, both in the United States and Canada and in other parts of the world, as well as at the Peace Conference. Some people may take issue with Mr. Bullitt; I don't know Mr. Bullitt, but I recognize him as a man who went over to Europe, believing that he was giving that period of his life to advance the interests of human kind. I believe that he was absolutely conscientious and I would take his word as to what conditions are in Russia.

(Delegate Duncan then quoted several passages from a report made by Mr. Bullitt, containing declarations made by Lloyd George, Mr. Clemenceau, President Wilson and others with regard to the Russian situation.)

Delegate Duncan, in closing his statement, expressed the hope that the convention would go on record in a very definite way as being opposed to any further blockade and as showing their willingness that the Russian people should, in the future, have the opportunity to work out their own salvation without outside interference.

Delegate Mary Goff, Garment Workers, spoke in favor of the resolution. She referred briefly to conditions in Russia as

she had learned of them, and urged the convention to take action whereby these conditions among the working classes of Russia could be relieved.

Delegate Grange, Seamen, in supporting the report of the committee, stated that he was in full and absolute sympathy with the Russian people in their efforts to get justice, but stated he also believed the time was not ripe for the American Federation of Labor to endorse any Bolshevik government. He said the greatest trouble in the labor movement for the past few years was due to the efforts put forth by the Bolshevik sympathizers to overthrow the government of the United States and the organized labor movement.

Continuing, he said: We have the best form of government that I know anything about, and I am not going to take any chances with Mr. Lenine or Mr. Trotsky, after the things I have heard and the things I believe about them. They are not for the working people any more than the Czar of Russia was; they are looking out first, for Lenine, and second, for Trotsky. Mr. Chairman and delegates, those very Bolsheviks in my own organization left nothing undone during the progress of the war in the attempt to tie our hands, in order that Lenine and Trotsky and Kaiser William might lick the Allies and bring a Soviet government to America. Thank God, they didn't succeed, and they won't succeed. I feel that as far as the working people of any part of the world are concerned, we should extend to them whatever assistance we can, but let me say that the American Federation of Labor cannot endorse any Bolshevik government.

Delegate Trummer, Tailors: I move as an amendment to the report of the committee that Resolution No. 28 be endorsed by this convention.

President Gompers: The amendment is not in order. The report of the committee is before this convention, and it is to the effect that the resolution be non-concurred in. If you desire to adopt Resolution No. 28 you can accomplish it by defeating the report of the committee.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, discussed the question briefly and said that, in his opinion, the report of the committee was antagonistic to the struggle of the Russian people. He said further that he did not wish to condemn the report of the committee without knowing the full

truth of the situation, and that was his reason for offering a motion that the American Federation of Labor send a delegation to Russia to make an investigation.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: A great many matters have been brought into the discussion from the floor that either had nothing to do with the committee's report or else are a part of that camouflage that has been associated with the efforts to instill the theories of Bolshevism into the minds of the American workers.

Your committee gave very lengthy consideration to this subject, and before going into the argument I would like to call your attention to what the convention of the American Federation of Labor did last year. It adopted this position: that it would refuse to endorse the Soviet government of Russia or any other form of government in that country until the peoples of Russia, through a constituent or other form of national assembly, representing all of the people, through popular elections, shall have re-established a truly democratic form of government.

The members of the committee have as humane hearts, have as much horror and regret for the suffering of women and children as it is possible for any of those who oppose the committee's report to have. The committee has been unable to find any reasons, since the convention last year, for believing that the Soviet government is any more a government established by the people of Russia than it was a year ago. In fact, the evidence coming from Russia and from its highest authorities would indicate that last year we did not realize the full suppression of the desire of the Russian people to have a government of their own. Certainly the peoples of Russia should have a government of their own, but apparently they have less government of their own than they had a year ago, and perhaps the sufferings of the women and children and of the men in Russia would be relieved more quickly if the Communist Party, in control of the army now, were overthrown and the people given an opportunity to have a national assembly of their duly elected representatives who could decide what form of government they desired.

The committee is not endeavoring in its report to indicate what form of government the Russian people should choose for

themselves. The committee's report provides, however, or recommends that this convention do nothing which will be of assistance or give comfort to the Soviet government of Russia until such time as the Russian people themselves have had the opportunity of stating that that is the form of government they desire.

I have no intention of quoting reports from investigators who have gone to Russia. I am unwilling to be governed by the information that they bring back when I can secure more authoritative information, and the committee was honest in its belief and decision that this Soviet government is not the representative government of Russia, but is an autocratic, military group who have fastened themselves upon the Russian people; that this government is not a democracy, but is opposed to the methods and forms of democracy, as shown by the official statements of Lenin and Trotsky. As a committee, we know of no higher authority on the policies and intentions of the Soviet government than those two men. They don't believe in democracy; they believe, among other things, in establishing scientific management into industry. Lenin has advocated not only scientific management, but has advocated its details, the use of the stop watch for determining the length of time in which a workman should perform a job, the payment of bonuses, the payment of premiums. That is not enough to condemn a government; that is a matter of mistaken judgment, but listen and hear with me for a moment while I read to you from Lenin himself, quoting first from pages 51 to 67 of his statement on "The State and the Revolution":

"We want the Socialist revolution with human nature as it is now; human nature itself cannot do without subordination. There must be submission to the armed vanguard of the proletariat."

In this reference to the armed guard of the proletariat he has reference to the Communist Party, which does not represent one-hundredth of the people in Russia today, a group comprised at the present time of not over 350,000, who rule that nation of over 112,000,000. This is how he says the people should be controlled:

"Until people grow accustomed to observing the elementary conditions of social existence without force and without subjection there must be suppression, and it is clear that where there is suppression there must also be violence and there cannot be liberty or democracy."

Your committee does not believe in as-

sisting a government that is guided by these principles. And as further evidence that this form of government is in no sense a democracy, I want to read something from Lenin's January speech of this year, which he made before the Soviet Economic Congress:

"No matter what domain of Soviet activity we turn to, we see a small portion of conscious proletarians, a still greater number of the less conscious and at the very foundation an enormous mass of peasants who have all retained their individual economic habits of free commerce and speculation. Such are the conditions under which we must act and which demand appropriate methods of action. The experience of our army proves to us that a primitive organization based upon the collectivist principle becomes transformed into an administration based on the principle of individual power. . . .

"In the organization of the army we have passed upon the principle of command by committee to the direct command of the chiefs. We must do the same in the organization of Government and industry. . . .

"Through committee power and its development we have arrived at autocracy, but it does not give that rapidity to our work which is required by the situation. In the autocracy of the chiefs of Communism and the Communist domination of the people lies the pledge of our success."

And then, in referring to compulsory labor in industry, not only in war but as a principle, Lenin says:

"This is but the beginning of our work. There will be many drawbacks at first, much will have to be altered, but the basis itself cannot be unsound, as it is the same on which our entire Soviet structure is founded." (I. e., "this is not a temporary military expedient") . . .

And then Trotsky, speaking at the same time, said in part:

"All artisans will be sent into the woods and transferred from one place to another, according to the indications of the government. We will have no pity for the peasants; we will make labor armies of them, with military discipline and Communists as their chiefs. These armies will go forth among the peasants to gather corn, meat and fish that the work of the workmen may be assured."

I don't care to weary the convention by reading lengthy excerpts of their references to the trade unions, only to say this: that the position taken by Lenin and Trotsky is that these trade unions must be subservient to the Soviet government.

This committee has not condemned the Soviet government; it has reported to you that you refuse to give comfort and assistance; that you refuse to take a step which will be looked upon by the Bolsheviks as a recognition of their government until such time as there is evidence

that it is a government representing the people of Russia.

When we have before us such evidence as this, when the committee comes in here with a report, after the experience which our American trade union movement has passed through, and recommends that we decline to assist that government until such time as there is evidence that it is a representative government, why is it that the committee's report meets with so much opposition? Is it because there are Bolshevik representatives or emissaries in America at the present time endeavoring to foster revolution against the government, endeavoring to destroy the foundations of the trade union movement? I think, Mr. Chairman, that the position of the committee is not only in line with the trade union experience of this country, not only in defense of the spirit of the workers that that liberty and democracy which we contend for shall prevail, but entirely in line with our position as citizens of the United States and Canada.

Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: I wish to offer an amendment to the recommendation of the committee—that this convention urge upon the United States Government a cessation of its activities in upholding the blockade against Russia, and that it recognize and uphold the right of reciprocal trade with all peoples and countries with whom the nation is at peace; that the convention protest against the supplying of ammunitions and other war supplies to nations or elements making war on Russia, and that Russia be left unhampered to work out its own problems. (Amendment seconded.)

Delegate Cannon, in supporting the amendment, contended that the situation in Russia at the present time and since the revolution was a parallel one to that which existed in this country at the time of the American Revolution. He stated that there were so many conflicting reports coming out of Russia that it was difficult to get at the real truth of the situation. While not advocating the endorsement by the convention of the Soviet government, he felt that action should be taken which would make it possible to give to the women and children of Russia the food and medical supplies which he said they were in need of. The press reports, he said, concerning Russia were as untrue as the press reports concerning the labor movement.

Vice-President Duncan favored the adoption of the report of the committee, and stated that the misinformation to which Delegate Cannon referred, especially as regards the blockade, was responsible for the many different opinions on the subject. He said, in part:

These resolutions and the agitation connected with them, however they may be worded, mean a recognition of the Soviet government of Russia. I do not agree with the expression of Delegate Duncan, of Seattle, that it is unpopular in this convention to refer to our Russian brothers. They have been referred to as brothers by others as well as by himself, and they will be as long as they need our assistance—and they surely will get it—in their attempt to obtain their freedom and for the establishment of a stable form of government in that country.

Referring to the first meeting held in Petrograd which might be said to be of an elective character, Vice-President Duncan related in detail the circumstances of that election, at which seven hundred delegates were present, and at which most of the business people refused to vote; how the Provisional Government remained in power for a short time; how Kerensky lost his opportunity to bring about a stable government; and finally, the coming of Lenine. He referred to the election under Lenine which was largely under Bolshevik management and authority, and at which contention arose between the Bolsheviks and the peasants, the peasants finally succeeding in nominating their candidate by a two-thirds vote, after which Lenine ordered a warship to come down the river and land the marines, who were sent into the hall with bayonets and guns to order the meeting to disband. He pointed out that Lenine and those standing for his methods do not want a social democracy; that he is not in favor of the peasants and does not believe they are fit to trust with government; that he believes only in a peasant condition with a dictatorship.

With reference to the blockade, Vice President Duncan said in part: 'There is an enormous amount of grain in south-eastern Russia held intact by the Bolsheviks, so that the men who might fight against them will not get it. The Bosphorus is open; there is traffic in the Black Sea, but the Bolsheviks won't allow food and drugs needed for these starving

people to reach them unless there is more of it than the Red Army needs. It is generally understood that any country in the world that wants to do commercial business with Russia at the present time has little difficulty in finding a way to do it, but every effort that is made by any government, including the government of the United States, is met by the opposition of Lenin and his friends, that there is nothing doing until the governments of the world recognize the Soviet. That is made a bargain on their part with reference to food and clothing, and even in connection with the imprisonment of men of other countries who are still in prison; they refuse to let them go unless the country asking for the release first recognizes the Soviet government.

In order that we might have some information in this convention and also that the committee dealing with these resolutions might know the position of the Government of the United States upon the subject, President Gompers sent this telegram to the Secretary of State at Washington, D. C.:

Honorable Bainbridge Colby,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

It is important that I should know status of trade relations between the United States and Russia as sanctioned by our government. Kindly telegraph answer to me at Windsor Hotel, Montreal, Canada.
SAMUEL GOMPERS.

This is the reply:

Washington, D. C., June 12, 1920.

Honorable Samuel Gompers,
Windsor Hotel,
Montreal, Canada.

Replying to your telegram of June eighth from Chicago, there is no licensed or regular trading between the United States and Russia at present. There have been, as you know, several conferences on the subject of the removal of restrictions against trading with Russia. These conferences have been held in Europe and their course has been carefully observed by this government. They have so far been void of result. The Soviet government is insistent upon political recognition as a condition precedent to a renewal of any commercial contact. While this government has no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of the Russian people or to suggest the kind of government they should have, the existing regime in Russia does not represent the will or consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people. It repudiates every principle of harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals, and is based upon the negation of honor and good faith and every usage and convention underlying the structure of international law.
(Signed) BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

I don't know why some of the speakers have endeavored to create a feeling that some effort is being made by this committee, or this convention, or this labor movement on the North American continent against the working people of Russia. The Russian working people love the working people of America; they told me so all over that great country as far as I had a chance to meet them. The organized workers of North America will be found to be among the best, if not the best friends of the Russian working people.

It is true that we have things in our democracy which do not taste well in our mouths, but we resent them, we fight against them; we fail sometimes, but again we win. Sized up, however, we have the greatest democracy and the greatest republic in the United States that so far has been known to history, and the Russian people expect, when an opportunity is given them, to try to have a similar democracy to that which we have here in the United States and practically in Canada. What we need today is to send a word of cheer to these people, that whenever they are permitted to express what kind of government they should live under, and whenever they express it, that the people of the North American continent will be with them to a man and woman to help them build up that great country and their own welfare. But that cannot be done when a small minority, guided at the present time by the gun and the bayonet, is the only apparent expression of government that Russia presents.

A motion to close debate was adopted.

Secretary Morrison re-read the report of the committee and the amendment offered by Delegate Cannon.

The chair declared the amendment of Delegate Cannon defeated.

Delegate Trummer, Tailors, asked for a division on the question. The request was complied with, but the vote in opposition to the amendment was so manifestly large that the chair declared it defeated without a count of the negative votes.

Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle, requested a roll call vote on the amendment. The request was not supported by the necessary number of delegates.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions Nos. 14, 28 and 105 was adopted by a very large majority.

At 5:45 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, June 16.

NINTH DAY--Wednesday Morning Session

Montreal, Que., Can., June 16, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Schneider, Manley, Boyer, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Nelson, Schlesinger, Morrison (H. L.), Maitland, Taylor (J. A.), Murray (P.), Hayes (F. J.), Moore (J.), White (J. P.), Kennedy (T.), Valentine, Carey (J. T.), Hannah, Flynn (P.), Blasey, Curtis, Hatch, Graves (E. E.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (D.M.), Lennon, Stewart (R. G.), Witherell, Owens, Oplinger, Stanley, Hensley, Freind, Bernack, Ralsse, Keavney, Gagnon, Jagers, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Fleury, Talbot, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, Schoonover, Longe, Hall, Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Weber (C. F.), Gabrio, Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Wilcox, Allen, Wilson (F.), Tait, Reynolds, Engle, Witaszkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, Jones (J.).

[The following portion of the report of the committee on Executive Council's report should have been included with the portion of the report printed in Tuesday afternoon's proceedings, but was omitted through an error.]

Railroads

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

In connection with this portion of the report, your committee desires to express its approval of the Executive Council's activities and opposition to the Cummins-Esch Bill. We heartily agree with the expressions of condemnation voiced in the report and with the specific reasons which are given for condemnation of the law.

We recommend to the convention, the adoption of an unyielding opposition to any legislation which would establish a condition under which workmen may not quit their employment singly or collectively whenever their terms of employment or conditions of labor become unsatisfactory or intolerable.

We recommend that the Executive Council

be and is hereby instructed to use its most earnest efforts to have the labor sections of the Cummins-Esch Law repealed.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, reported the recommendation of the seating of James Lord, representing the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, with one vote.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers, moved that the election of officers and the selection of the next convention city be made a special order of business for Friday afternoon, June 18, at two o'clock. The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, Secretary of the Committee, presented the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:—

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Executive Council's Report begs leave to submit:

We would respectfully call the attention of the delegates to this convention to the magnitude of the task imposed on the officers of the American Federation of Labor during the year just passed. The unusual amount of work mapped out for the officers and the Executive Council by the Atlantic City Convention of June, 1919, was greatly augmented by reason of the many unforeseen but tremendously important questions which arose during the year; especially is this true because of the efforts of the reactionary elements in the various legislative bodies and the manifestations of hostility to labor coming from sources of influence and power. In addition to these a large number of emergency problems were presented incident to industrial disturbances, calling for advice or action on the part of the Executive Council. The tremendous labor thus neces-

sitated has been met with such unremitting devotion to the interests of the workers and the cause which finds its expression in the American Federation of Labor as justifies your committee in asking that this convention express its appreciation of the work done by these men on whom is laid the trust of guarding at all times the American Labor Movement from attacks of enemies, either within or without.

Your committee recalls with keenest regret and sorrow the fact that the President of the American Federation of Labor has been bereft by the death of her who was his life's companion, who had stood by his side through stress and storm, through trial and triumph; who had shared with him as his helpmate and companion the vicissitudes and the pleasures of a life devoted not to self but to service.

Words are of little value in measuring the sympathy which goes out from all who knew her and know him; but we cannot refrain from recording in the proceedings of this convention a simple tribute to the life of a noble woman, and to express to Samuel Gompers as earnestly as language will permit such condolences as are within our power.

Delegate McCullough moved the adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded, and Delegate McCullough at the request of the President, assumed the chair while the convention acted upon the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate James Wilson in the chair.

Resolution No. 1—Delegate Patrick F. O'Meara, of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is an organization in Willimantic, known as the "Works Department" of the United Textile Workers of America, that has in its membership building trade mechanics that do not belong to the local unions of their respective trades, which is in direct violation of Article 10, Section 1, of the constitution of the United Textile Workers of America, which reads as follows:

"In places where there are unions of the different crafts in the trade no textile worker will be allowed to join any union outside of their own craft if there is a union of their craft in the place"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct its delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to bring this matter before said convention and have the International officers of the United Textile Workers of America force these members referred to above into their respective local unions by August 1st, 1920.

Your committee heard statements in reference to the point at issue in this case, and the representatives of the Textile Workers stated that they were ready and willing to assist in turning over the mem-

bership involved to their properly affiliated unions.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions in carrying out this assurance.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 25—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Labor Movement of America has had to contend during the last few years, as evidenced in the steel workers' and miners' strikes, against an unprecedented use of injunctions which have hampered the legitimate attempts of the workers to improve their conditions, and which constitute a positive threat to the normal development of organized labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to launch a nation-wide movement, in conjunction with the National, International and Central bodies affiliated with the Federation against this dangerous and unwarranted judicial recrimination; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to organize at the National Headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, a legal department to serve as a clearing house for the defense of all labor organizations connected with the Federation, against whom the use of the injunction is directed in the course of their legitimate trade union activities.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Mahon in the chair.

Resolution No 44—By William F. Quesse, Chicago Flat Janitors' Union, Local No. 14332; S. E. Kelleher, Chicago Janitors' Union Local No. 1541; Chas. MacGowan, Boiler-makers; E. W. Leonard, United Association; J. H. Walker, delegate Illinois Federation of Labor; Thos. Redding, Sheet Metal Workers; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers:

WHEREAS, The workers known as Janitors, Janitresses, Scrub Women, Window Washers, Watchmen, etc., are yet to be organized in most of the cities of North America; and

WHEREAS, Where these workers insisted upon a better wage and living conditions, the employer would show that workers of the same kind in other cities where they were not organized were receiving far less; and

WHEREAS, Whenever it became necessary for the workers to strike to obtain better working conditions and wages, the employer would import workers from cities that were not organized to take the place of the strikers; and

WHEREAS, There are now sixty or

more locals of these workers scattered out with a small membership in some cities that have expressed their desire to form an International Union; and

WHEREAS, These workers believe that organizers who are workers in these crafts are better able to explain to the workers of the same crafts in the unorganized cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That when these different crafts can show a membership of ten thousand or more, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call a convention of such workers for the purpose of forming an International Union of Building Service Employees of America.

Your committee heard the parties at interest and recommend the reference of the entire subject matter to the Executive Council with instructions that it investigate the claims of the petitioning federal unions, and that a charter for the establishment of the international union be issued if in the discretion of the Executive Council it be found not to conflict with the interests of any chartered body of workers now recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Mat Lewis, Little Rock, Ark., Freight Handlers No. 16738; Wm. Shaw, Local No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio; Joe H. Wilcox, Local 18810 B. H. F. H. Station Men; Frederick Wilson, No. 146685, Coach and Car Cleaners, Wichita Falls; James J. Pugh, No. 16559, Cleveland, Ohio; W. M. Carlock, No. 16579, Knoxville, Tenn., Freight Handlers; F. Phaire, No. 16702, Philadelphia Coach and Car Cleaners:

WHEREAS, As a result of the European War, the world is passing through a period of unrest never before known in the annals of history; and

WHEREAS, During this period of unrest citizens are clamoring and pleading for justice from those in power; and

WHEREAS, The American negro fought in the World War for the freedom that is due every human being; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the freedom and democracy thus won by the sacrifices of all should be dispensed regardless of race, creed or color; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the national committees of the dominant parties.

The American Federation of Labor has never countenanced the drawing of a color line or discrimination against individuals because of race, creed or color. It recognizes that human freedom is a gift from the Creator to all mankind and is not to be denied to any because of social position or the limitations of caste or class, and that any cause which depends for its suc-

cess on the denial of this fundamental principle of liberty cannot stand. We therefore concur in the resolution and recommend its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates John H. Donlin, B. T. D., A. F. of L., and Wm. J. Spencer, B. T. D., A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The American citizens protest against Oriental Coolie Immigration; and

WHEREAS, The ground for their protest is rooted in the cheap standard of living and the ability of the Coolie workers to live on less; and

WHEREAS, We desire very properly to preserve the population of America in hope of advancing American workers and American standard of living; and

WHEREAS, Exclusion legislation has been established as a National American policy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Building Trades Council of California, in twentieth annual session assembled, that we hereby endorse United States Senator James D. Phelan's Constitutional Amendment and pending exclusion bills; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask of Congress as follows: First, cancellation of the "gentlemen's agreement"; second, exclusion of "picture brides" by action of our government; third, absolute exclusion of Japanese, with other Asiatics, as immigrants; fourth, confirmation and legalization of the principal that Asiatics shall be forever barred from American citizenship; fifth, amendment of Sec. 1 of Art. XIV. of the Federal Constitution, providing that no child born in the United States of Asiatic or Oriental parents shall be eligible to American citizenship, unless both parents are eligible for such citizenship; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we petition both Houses of Congress, the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, and the President of the United States in behalf of this legislation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor, its affiliated departments and international organizations, to co-operate and press the above legislation until it is successfully attained.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for its action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates John Donlin and Wm. J. Spencer:

WHEREAS, One of the greatest projects ever undertaken by the United States Government was the building of the Panama Canal, and now the Canal is in operation and its revenue equal or nearly so to its operating expense; and

WHEREAS, This project is a monument to the American skill and industry, and we cannot conceive of any reason why its Operating and Mechanical De-

partments should not be manned by American citizens. During the building and actual digging of the canal emergencies may have existed to cause the employment of alien labor, and provision was made for such emergencies in the Manual of Information concerning employment for Panama Canal Service "Form 151." We feel, however, that advantage is and will be taken of those emergency clauses by the further employment of alien labor in the Operating and Mechanical Departments; and

WHEREAS, "The Panama Canal Record" (the same being a Report of the Governor) shows the working force in the Canal Zone to be 22,478 of which 4,247 are Gold Employes and 18,231 Silver Employes—Aliens. This continued and increasing employment of Alien Labor, in our opinion, is a menace to the success of the operation of the Canal, especially so when alien labor is predominant in the Operating and Mechanical Departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take up with the proper authorities the amending of the aforesaid Manual of Information in order to eliminate the emergency clauses that now permit the employment of alien labor in the Operating and Mechanical Departments, and further to take up with the Panama Canal Commission the proposition of employment of American citizens only in the Operating and Mechanical Departments.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for its action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, An agreement was entered into by the International Longshoremen's Association and the Coopers' International Union relating to Dock Coopers' Local No. 6 of New York City; and

WHEREAS, The contract has not been lived up to by the International Longshoremen's Association, but has been, on the contrary, broken and abrogated on many occasions; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has transgressed and are still transgressing on the rights of Dock Coopers' Union No. 6, regardless of said agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at convention assembled demand that the International Longshoremen's Association immediately stop trespassing on the rights of Dock Coopers' Local No. 6 and that the International Longshoremen's Association recognize the agreement entered into; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if the International Longshoremen's Association does not stop trespassing upon the rights of Dock Coopers' Local No. 6, by revoking Cargo Repairers' Local No. 908 of New York City, their International Charter shall, at

the expiration of thirty days from the close of this convention, be automatically revoked.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to bring about a conference of the parties at interest, at the earliest convenient time, for the purpose of adjusting the matter in dispute.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate E. L. Edgerton, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, It is now nearly two years since the Armistice was signed and hostilities ceased; and

WHEREAS, During all this time the Congress of the United States has enacted no remedial legislation for reconstruction or to reduce the high cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The prices for the commodities of life are at the highest level ever known and are still being raised by the manufacturers, operators and profiteers; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has demonstrated its power to advance the wages of the workers and will continue to advance them if this price-boosting continues; and

WHEREAS, It seems like utter folly that these transactions should continue, thereby causing strife and struggles between employer and employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we may try to help bring about a more harmonious relationship between the employers of our country and their workers, the Executive Council is instructed to extend and invitation to the Associated Industries and such other representative bodies of business men as in their judgment are necessary to meet with them, for the purpose of devising ways and means of and creating a voluntary arbitration body to settle labor's grievances in the future.

The subject matter contained in this resolution has been dealt with by the Executive Council under the captions of "High Cost of Living," and the several Industrial Relations Courts, and the policy of the American Federation of Labor with reference to Arbitration, and its serviceability in the settlement of industrial disputes is so thoroughly established that we do not deem it necessary to give further expression in the form of a resolution. We therefore recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration in connection with the subject matter embodied in the reports referred to.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates John Coefield and E. W. Leonard, United Association Plumbers and Steamfitters:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its conventions at Atlanta, Georgia, and Rochester, New York, decided that the pipe fitting industry was exclusively in the control of the United Association, and also decided in this same manner at the same conventions for the United Association in its controversies with the International Association of Machinists, these convention decisions against the machinists' intrusion upon the jurisdiction of work belonging to the United Association were also fortified by three decisions of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, After every reasonable effort has been made by the Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United Association to secure an understanding with the International Association of Machinists, and failed to reach an understanding after several meetings; be it

RESOLVED, That the International Association of Machinists be directed by the A. F. of L. to immediately cease infringing upon the work and duties of the members of the United Association, and to further relinquish all their claims on all classes and characters of pipe fitting.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to bring about an adjustment of the dispute between these organizations.

Your committee further recommends that the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance be given representation at any conference on this subject which may be held under the direction of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates Joseph Ryan, of Central Federated Union, New York City, and James F. Costello, Central Labor Union, Brooklyn, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court denying Longshoremen the benefits of State Workmen's widows and children are suffering that such employment is Maritime, leaves longshoremen and similar workers practically without protection in case of accident; and

WHEREAS, Longshore work and other Maritime employments are known to be extremely hazardous of life and limb; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of longshoremen's Compensation Laws on the ground privation because their compensation has ceased as a result of the Supreme Court's decision; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend the creation of a Federal Workers' Compensation Insurance Fund for Maritime employments, under the administration of a Federal Workers' Compensation Commission, or the State Commissions as are presently constituted, with deputies in the principal ports, through which shall be provided adequate medical care and cash compensation.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to bring about such changes in the compensation laws of the United States, or of the several states under whose jurisdiction maritime laborers fall, as will remedy the deplorable situation complained of, and afford to these workers the relief they are justly entitled to.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, Jos. B. Connors and T. C. Cashen, of the Switchmen's Union of North America:

WHEREAS, A movement has recently been started by a band of irresponsible agitators, encouraged by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, and other unfriendly employers of labor, for the purpose of discrediting the recognized organizations in the Railway Service; and

WHEREAS, This conspiracy has coerced Switchmen and other employes, by misrepresentation, to participate in an attempt to tie up railroad transportation contrary to the laws and rules of the recognized organizations to which they are affiliated, which they, as members, helped to make, and which they pledged themselves to observe faithfully and loyally; and

WHEREAS, It has been reported that a number of locals of affiliated organizations are giving moral and financial aid to this secessionist movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 40th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn the action of the officers and members of this secessionist movement who are trying to disrupt the standard recognized organizations on railroads; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the various affiliated organizations be requested and urged to instruct their locals to refrain from giving moral or financial or assistance of any kind to any secessionist movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That central and state federations be advised of the laws relating to secession movements, and that they be further informed that assistance, moral, financial or otherwise, to any secessionist movement will be considered a breach of the terms and conditions under which charters of organization and affiliation are granted, and that the best interest of the trade union movement demands, that full power, influence and assistance should be given the recognized and affiliated trade union organization, to the end that secession and disruption may be put to an end speedily and effectively.

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

The report of the committee was adopted.

Kansas Court of Industrial Relations

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above cap-

tion, your committee reports consideration at the same time of Resolutions Nos. 2, 12, 22 and 32, as these all deal with the same subject matter. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Patrick F. O'Meara, Connecticut State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Legislature of the State of Kansas has enacted a law known as the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Law, which is in defiance of all our concepts of freedom and justice and democracy, and which nullifies the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which prohibits involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime; and

WHEREAS, Legislation of this character is futile as well as wrong in spirit and principle and makes law-breakers of workers who exercise their rightful activities in the struggle to improve human life and the conditions surrounding it, a fact already abundantly proven in Kansas, where more than 2000 men are now on strike in protest against the law; and

WHEREAS, There is a tendency toward the enactment of similar legislation in other states of the Union—legislation which the experience of other countries as well as our own has proven impotent and wrong; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn without qualification the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Law and pledge our support in securing its repeal; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the American Federation of Labor and all national and international trade unions to exert every effort in aiding to carry into effect the spirit and purpose of this resolution, warning the labor movement that vital principles of human liberty, freedom, justice and democracy are in jeopardy, and that the rights of the workers cannot be made safe until the concept underlying the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations is destroyed finally and completely.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Alex. Howatt, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State Legislature of Kansas has recently, at the behest of Governor Henry Allen, passed what is known as the Court of Industrial Relations Law, which law gives to the Governor of the State the power to appoint the said Industrial Court and which law also gives to the said Industrial Court arbitrary powers in the fixing of wages and working conditions of the workers within the State of Kansas; and

WHEREAS, Governor Allen has appointed on this Court two corporation lawyers, who have no sympathy with organized labor or any knowledge or conception of labor's problems, and as a third member of said court, the Governor's former Private Secretary and which so-called Industrial Court, on the face of it,

has no interest in the welfare of the working class; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the purpose of this law is to chain the working class to their jobs and place them in the position that the negro workers were in before the abolition of chattel slavery; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the passage of the said Law is a part of a preconcerted movement upon the part of Big Business and the profiteering interests in general to crush labor in order that plutocracy may march on to its goal of world conquest without international interruption; and

WHEREAS, We believe that if this so-called Court of Industrial Relations becomes fixed and established in the State of Kansas, that it will rapidly spread to the other states of the Union and that organized labor and labor in general will thus lose all of the progress which they have struggled for and achieved in the last one hundred years; and

WHEREAS, District No. 14, of the United Mine Workers of America, in Kansas, have seen fit to challenge the validity of this modern fugitive slave law, passed at the behest of Governor Allen and the corporate interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemn without reservation the Court of Industrial Relations Law; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention condemn Governor Henry Allen of Kansas and his despicable efforts to enslave the working class of Kansas and finally the working class of the United States in prostituting his office as Governor of Kansas to the work of crucifying the working class; and, be it it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn the efforts upon the part of the corporation interests through the State administration to fasten government by injunction upon the people of Kansas; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge to the United Mine Workers of America, District No. 14, and all organized labor in Kansas, the loyal and undivided support of the organized labor movement in the stand which they have taken in challenging the efforts of Governor Allen and his subservient tools to enslave the working class of Kansas.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Robert Dunlop of the Omaha (Neb.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, At the recent Constitutional Convention held in the State of Nebraska, beginning December, 1919, and ending March 25th, 1920, was submitted as one of many proposed amendments a new provision permitting the creation of an industrial commission to administer laws relative to labor disputes; and

WHEREAS, Said proposal is to be voted on at a special election to be held throughout the State of Nebraska, on the 21st day of September next; and

WHEREAS, The text of said proposal is as follows:

"Laws may be enacted providing for the investigation, submission and determination of controversies between employers

and employes in any business or vocation affected with a public interest, and for the prevention of unfair business practices and unconscionable gains in any business or vocation affecting the public welfare. An Industrial Commission may be created for the purpose of administering such laws and appeals shall lie to the Supreme Court from the final orders and judgments of such commission"; and

WHEREAS, The said Constitutional Convention expressly voted down a proposed amendment to said proposal to the effect that nothing in said proposal would abrogate rights of labor guaranteed elsewhere in the constitution, and by that act declared it to be its intent that laws passed under the proposed amendment would supersede the constitutional guarantees, such as freedom from involuntary servitude and the right of private contract for one's labor; and

WHEREAS, The passage of such a constitutional provision by any state would be more far-reaching than the passage of a mere law for such a court as has already been done in the State of Kansas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the matter of the said proposal be referred to the Executive Board of the A. F. of L., with power to act in the premises, and in particular to take such action in its own behalf or in co-operation with local labor organizations as may be calculated to defeat said amendments at the said proposed September election.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Chas. M. Moore, of the Colorado State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of Colorado has an Industrial Commission Law known as the "Can't Strike Law," and for many years no attempt was made to enforce said law; and

WHEREAS, In the recent Miners' Strike in November, 1919, said law was enforced, and members of the Miners' Union arrested. Some of the cases have been tried in the District Court of Denver County, and Judge Butler of that district rendered a decision in favor of the Miners, said decision is being appealed to the Supreme Court of Colorado, by the Attorney General of that State. Balance of cases have been argued in the District Court of Weld County, two months ago, and at present writing no decision has been rendered; and

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers of America, through their Representative, Robert Foster, has made arrangements to carry these cases through the Supreme Court of Colorado, involving between \$5000 and \$6000 expense; and

WHEREAS, The final decision in these cases will affect the entire labor movement of that State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the event the decision of the Supreme Court upholds said law that we request the American Federation of Labor to define some policy of carrying said cases to the Supreme Court of the United States, with the understanding that the entire labor movement shall bear their pro-rata share of said expense.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Your committee has read with interest the succinct and lucid presentation of the subject by the Executive Council and recommends its earnest study to all the delegates as well as to the membership at large. It presents in a compact but impressive way the contents of statutory laws, which are the expression of an effort to deprive the workers of not only their most potent weapon of defense, but of the last line on which they may depend for protection in their struggle to better their condition of living and to secure a more just proportion of the result of their productive effort. Carefully masked behind a screen of so-called industrial optimism involving the shibboleth of "continuous production," these enemies of labor approach the citadel of labor's strength. If it be permitted that by law men are to be forbidden to cease work, singly or in groups, at such time as they by counsel together have determined, is the point beyond which they can no longer go in submissive effort, the state of enforced labor becomes not a theory to be discussed but a fact established.

The operation of such a law, even under the most generous interpretation, becomes a confiscation of liberty and property and a denial of human rights. In the Kansas law this element is most emphatically exhibited, because the law places the so-called wage court beyond the reach of those who are most directly affected and intimately concerned in its operation, through the fact that the court is the creature of an appointing power in itself beyond approach. So potent and dangerous a weapon should not be trusted in the hands of any man.

The American Federation of Labor throughout its history has consistently favored the settlement of wage disputes and conditions of employment by resort to the doctrine of collective bargaining, in which the parties agree on terms mutually satisfactory, meditating or conciliating all points at issue, with voluntary arbitration available for the determination of any question arising which cannot be adjusted by methods of conciliation or mediation. This organization has consistently, at all times, opposed the policy of compulsory arbitration, and it now again records its opposition to this destructive policy, no

matter under what guise it may be presented.

Your committee would recommend that Resolutions No. 2, No. 12, No. 22 and No. 32, be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to co-operate with the organized labor bodies of the states of Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado, to assist them in securing the relief they ask in bringing about the repeal of the laws involved, and the defeat of the proposed amendment to the constitution of the state of Nebraska.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor, suggested the amendment of the report to include instructions to the Executive Council to co-operate with all States wherever such bills as that covered in report of the committee may be introduced. He stated that a bill of that nature would be presented at the next session of the Wyoming State Legislature.

Vice-President Mahon: The report practically covers what the delegate seeks to have embodied in it as an amendment. It refers to all cases that may come up at this time.

Delegate McCullough, Secretary of the Committee: The committee naturally refers in its report only to the situation specifically presented by the resolutions before the committee, but the language of the report of the Executive Council is much broader and more inclusive than these resolutions; and if you will read the report of the Executive Council on this subject you will find that it does take cognizance of not only the existing law, but of possible laws of this kind.

Delegate Fox: The explanation of the committee is entirely satisfactory to me.

Delegate Howatt, Kansas State Federation of Labor: I believe this convention should make its position more definite and more clear on this question. This is a question that concerns the labor movement of the entire country, and in my opinion it is the beginning of a movement that is intended to destroy organized labor and to enslave the working classes of the entire nation. I don't know just what the report of the committee means, whether it means that the organized labor movement of this country is pledging its loyal and undivided support to the organized workers of Kansas or not.

I have introduced a resolution to this

convention asking the American Federation of Labor to pledge their loyal and undivided support to the United Mine Workers of America and to the organized labor movement of Kansas, and I believe that this convention should be big enough—I believe it is big enough—to adopt a resolution something along those lines, making their proposition clear and definite to the employers of labor and the legislative bodies of this country, that the American Federation of Labor intends to stand behind the organized workers to a finish against the so-called industrial court law of Kansas.

We know something about this law in Kansas. They say they believe in collective bargaining. Governor Allen said that over in New York, and he says that every place he goes; but I want to tell the delegates here today that while they say they believe in collective bargaining, you must make your bargains the way they want you to. The Industrial Court is meeting in Pittsburg, Kansas, today for the purpose of considering our contract with the coal operators, considering some sections of our contract that they intend to set aside; they have already rendered a decision down there setting a side not only one section of that contract, but they have also put their pencil through two or three sections of our constitution and they have told us that our constitution must also be amended.

Organized labor in America has fought and struggled and suffered too long to go back to the old system again. The United Mine Workers of America in Kansas went on strike to compel the coal operators to recognize our organization, to establish the right to belong to a union, with the hope that when the fight was won we might be able to stand up and say that at last we were free men. Now Governor Allen comes in after all these years, after all the suffering and struggle of the past, and he says now that he is going to put us back where we were years ago before we had an organization. I want to try to impress upon the delegates here today that we have some fight on our hands in Kansas. Kansas in the first place is an agricultural state; we haven't as much organization as you have in many other large states, and we need the support of the organized labor movement in this country in this fight. We have made up our minds, as far as the United Mine

Workers of America are concerned—and I believe I can speak here today for nearly all of organized labor of Kansas—that come what may, we intend to fight this law to a finish. We don't propose to permit the Kansas legislature, even with an unscrupulous governor at its head, such as Governor Allen has proven himself to be, to chain the workers of Kansas to their jobs like a pack of slaves. That is the intent of this law; we intend to stand up like free men, like American citizens, and proclaim to the people of this country that we intend to fight to the last ditch to establish the principle of freedom in Kansas. We believe in the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said: "This country cannot be half free and half slave." The organized workers in Kansas today say that the working people cannot be half free and half slave, and we want the organized workers of this country to back us up in this fight; and we will teach Governor Allen, before he gets through with us, that he has undertaken a bigger job than he anticipated when he began. It is true some of the men may be put in jail, but I want to say for the United Mine Workers of that district that at least 90 per cent of the coal miners of Kansas are ready and willing to go to jail before they will surrender their rights as American citizens.

Governor Allen expected to ride into the White House on the strength of his so-called Court of Industrial Relations and his activities during the coal strike in Kansas, when he tells the people of America how he saved millions of people in Kansas from freezing to death, and the people of America believed him because they don't know the truth. But the real facts are that Governor Allen told the coal miners in our district during the strike that he was the biggest coal operator in the world, and that he was going to give them the first chance to work for him, and if they refused, then he was going to get somebody else to dig the coal. The workers stood true to their principles as union men and true to their fellow workers in other parts of the country and refused to dig coal for Governor Allen. During his trip, Governor Allen learned that union coal miners were not scabs for the governor of a great state any more than they were scabs for the coal operators. He then said he would find some way to compel the miners and other organized workers

to stay on the job, whether they wanted to or not, consequently he called a special session of the Kansas Legislature, and with the assistance of a few corporation lawyers, drafted what is now known as the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. He has appointed two corporation lawyers and a former private secretary to act as this Industrial Court. Neither one of the three men, as far as I can learn, had ever seen a coal mine until they came down into the Pittsburgh District a couple of months ago, and they are the men who intend to adjust our grievances; they intend to tell us what our wages are to be, and they say to us that this is a good law; they admit it themselves, and in order to compel organized labor to believe that it is a good law they have fixed a penalty of two years in the penitentiary and a five thousand dollar fine for every man who calls a strike in this great country of ours that we call free-America. This is some of the democracy, I suppose, that we fought for during the great world war. And they say to the individual miners, or to the individual workers of any class of labor, that "if you go on strike yourselves you will be fined five hundred dollars apiece and one year in the county jail." Some more of the democracy that we have been fighting for!

But, notwithstanding that fact, I am glad to say that the United Mine Workers of America in Kansas have told Governor Allen and the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations that they are going to strike whenever they feel they have a right to strike.

When the Industrial Court came to Pittsburgh a couple of months or so ago, the first day they landed twenty-five hundred miners went on strike right in front of them. The Attorney General came out with a statement in the paper that night, and he said: "If you don't go back to work tomorrow morning I will put every one of you in prison." When the coal miners saw that in the paper, eleven thousand went out the next morning, and they were on strike about seven days. After they were out three or four days the Attorney General said: "Well, they are not striking against the Industrial Court, and for that reason apparently they can strike just as long as they want to." Then in another day or two the entire District was out on strike, and while the Industrial Court was sitting in Pitta-

burg, 12,000 coal miners were on strike for two weeks. Governor Allen came out with a statement in the papers that this law would be rigidly enforced, just the same as all other laws on the statute books of Kansas. Then, in another day or two, when he saw the men refused to return to work, he came out with another statement, and said: "We will only arrest the Radicals." All they had to do then was to say they were Conservatives, and they would let them go. In another day or two he came out with another statement, saying that "they would only arrest the Radicals." All they had to do then was to resign as officials for thirty days. Then he came out with a further statement, and said: "The State of Kansas is going to be patient with the coal miners until they return to their right senses." Think of it! A Governor allowing 12,000 men to defy one of his laws every day for two weeks!

He realizes he has a law in Kansas that he cannot make good on, and that is the reason he said he was going to be patient with the miners until they returned to their senses. I want to say to you today that he is going to be patient some more; he is going to be given every opportunity to demonstrate to the people of this country whether or not he can make good on this law. We claim he can't make good, because there are too many union men in Kansas, and because we believe the organized labor movement of this entire country is going to stand behind us in this fight, because we recognize what it means. They have said down there that if they get away with this law successfully in Kansas they would establish it in every State in the Union, and I believe that is the intent and the motive on foot at the present time. We see the employers of labor in all parts of the country declaring for the open shop. I believe there is a concerted movement among the employers of labor in all parts of the country to destroy organized labor.

I was speaking about the amount of coal Governor Allen produced. I just want to give you information here so that you may carry it back home. During the three weeks that Governor Allen had his so-called volunteers in the coal fields of Kansas, he produced as much coal with one thousand volunteers and two thousand soldiers to protect them as the Illinois coal miners can produce in one day.

And Governor Allen has been around the country telling the people how he kept three million people in Kansas from freezing to death; and the coal he produced will cost the taxpayers of Kansas about \$200 a ton.

Without making any complaint as to the report of the committee, I believe that this convention should make our position clear and definite and serve notice on Governor Allen, the Legislature of Kansas, and employers of labor in this country, and on the governments and legislative bodies of the other States in America, that the organized labor movement of America is going to be behind the organized workers of Kansas in this fight to a finish, so that they in the other States may know what to expect if they attempt to enact a law to enslave the workers.

The law that has been enacted in Kansas is a disgrace to the State and an insult to free, organized workers in the State of Kansas. I know Governor Allen is very anxious to see whether or not this convention makes its position clear as to whether they stand behind us in this fight or not, and for that reason I hope the convention will concur in the resolution that has been presented on this question. I don't care whether it is my resolution or not; there is one other that fills the bill, but I would like to see the convention make its position distinct and clear, that they are behind us in this fight.

Delegate McCullough re-read the report of the committee in substantiation of his claim that the report provided for all the things Delegate Howatt asked for.

Delegate Howatt: If the report of the committee carries with it the adoption of these resolutions, that is entirely satisfactory.

Delegate McCullough: It certainly does. Delegate Trummer, Tailors: Does the recommendation of the committee carry with it the actual endorsement of the resolutions?

Vice-President Mahon: You have just been so informed.

Delegate Bowen, Alabama State Federation of Labor, discussed the question briefly and proposed the following amendment to the report of the committee: That wherever anti-strike legislation or the establishment of Industrial Courts is contemplated, it will be the duty of State Bodies to immediately notify the Executive Council of the American Federation

of Labor, and they are hereby instructed by the Fortieth Annual Convention to immediately take all steps at their command to render all assistance possible to defeat same.

Vice-President manon: That is all included in the report of the committee and in the Executive Council's Report, and the amendment is unnecessary.

Delegate MacGowan, Boiler Makers: With all due respect to the opinion of Secretary McCullough, of the committee, I have never understood it to be the practice of this convention to consider a resolution adopted when the report of the committee remains silent on the subject and refers the same to the Executive Council. I have never understood that that carries with it the complete endorsement or approval of the resolution.

Vice-President Mahon: It depends upon the language and the nature of the different reports. In this report it so specifies and gives instructions to the Executive Council which does endorse the resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Report of Trustees of the A. F. of L. Building

Executive Council's Report under the caption "Report of Trustees of the A. F. of L. Building:"

Your committee notes with much interest the facts contained in this report and wishes to congratulate the Trustees and the American Federation of Labor on the fact that the Trustees are enabled to report to this convention that the magnificent headquarters building at Washington is free of all indebtedness. The business acumen, far-sighted judgment and executive prudence which brought to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, year after year, a recommendation that this project be entered upon is now more fully justified, and the great congress of the organized workers of America now finds the fruition of that faith in its destiny in the possession of a great headquarters building at the capital of the United States, a center for its activities from which goes out its influence to all the toilers of the world.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor, Its Grievances, Protests and Demands

Executive Council's Report, under the caption "December 13th Conference." "Labor, Its Grievances, Protest and Demands."

Your committee endorses the wisdom of the Executive Council in assembling this conference and we heartily commend the expressions of that conference, which are set forth under the caption, "Labor, Its Grievances, Protest and Demands." We especially commend this portion of the Executive Council's Report to the study of all, both in and out of the organized labor movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Non-Partisan Political Campaign

In the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Non-Partisan Political Campaign" is set forth the basis for the action taken by the Executive Council and its authority for appointing the necessary committee to organize the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign to be carried on under the guidance of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that this action of the Executive Council be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Presidential Industrial Conferences

In the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Presidential Industrial Conferences," your committee notes with interest the action of the Executive Council in selecting representatives to take part in the conference of October 7, 1919, and we endorse the statements set forth by these delegates as expressive of the attitude of the workers in relation to the industrial problems involved, not only in the reconstruction program but in the continuance of the social life of the people who are coming up into a newer and better existence.

We recommend that this convention approve the action of the Executive Council in connection with this important attempt to give vitality to the great, fundamental principles of justice upon which the organized labor movement rests.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Constructive Demands

In the Executive Council's Report under

the caption "Constructive Demands," your committee recommends the endorsement of the principles herein laid down by the Executive Council, with especial reference to the concluding sentence of this section of the report: "We cannot be driven as slaves, but we can give mighty service in a common effort of humankind."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee on Labor

In the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Committee on Labor," will be found a resumé of the work of this committee.

We recommend that this convention endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council that the committee be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

High Cost of Living

Upon the Executive Council's report under the caption "High Cost of Living," and Resolution No. 26, the committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 26—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Owing to the profiteering, greed and speculation of millmen, jobbers, manufacturers and retailers, women's garments have become so abnormally high-priced that a large portion of the population of this country cannot afford to buy new clothes, a situation which threatens unemployment and misery to the great masses of workers engaged in the women's wear industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call upon Congress to start an immediate investigation of the deplorable conditions of the women's garment industry and to enact effective legislation to cope with such speculation and profiteering as prevail in that industry.

Your committee directs the attention of the delegates, and through this convention of the public in general, to the statistics furnished by the Executive Council, showing the enormous profits reaped by corporations, companies and individuals dealing in the necessities of life.

It is difficult to discuss in temperate language the inordinate greed of the profiteer who has so shamelessly swollen his hoard of pelf by looting those at his mercy. The enormous and inexcusable increase in the cost of living is not due to natural conditions. It was inevitable that the intrusion of a war of such stupendous

magnitude as that so lately over should not have produced a general and almost cataclysmic disturbance of price levels; but when the war was over and products of labor were no longer being poured without stint or regard into the maelstrom of destruction, we might with reason have looked for such readjustment of industrial conditions as would at least have checked the upward flight of the cost of living.

At the Atlantic City Convention in 1919 the hope was confidently put forward that the peak of high prices had been passed. Experience has proved the contrary. At no point has the advance in wages kept pace with the advance in prices, and however strenuously the worker sought relief, he found himself hopelessly at a disadvantage in the unequal contest.

This phase of the situation has been carefully dealt with by the Executive Council in its report to this convention, and your committee recommends that this convention endorse the program of remedy presented to it by the Executive Council.

Your committee has considered Resolution No. 26, second day's proceedings, in connection with this section of the Executive Council's Report, and recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it deems necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Report of Labor Legislation

In the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Report of Labor Legislation," will be found a summary of the legislation enacted since the report was made to the Atlantic City Convention up to April 15, 1920, as well as a summary of the hostile legislation defeated through the activity of the Legislative Committee; also reports considering a large number of important topics in which labor is immediately interested or vitally concerned.

Among the sub-captions under this general heading referred to this committee were those dealing with "Sedition," the "Espionage Act," the "Department of Labor," "Immigration," "Profiteering," "Steel Strike Investigation," "Strikes," "Kentucky's Syndicalism - Sedition Law," the "Colorado Industrial Commission Law," and "Industrial Commissions."

With some of these topics this report deals in connection with other divisions of the Executive Council Report and with resolutions properly relating thereto.

In connection with the report of the Executive Council under the sub-heading of "Sedition," we wish to congratulate the American Labor Movement, as well as the people of the United States, that through the vigilance of the President of the American Federation of Labor the insidious so-called Sterling-Graham peace-time sedition bill was brought to public notice. The storm of deserved condemnation and indignant disapproval aroused when the contents of this proposed statute was made public, shows how quickly the mind of the American people reacts in the presence of danger. The language of the report deals with this bill effectively and conclusively, and we recommend its perusal to all.

Under the sub-heading of "Espionage Act," the Executive Council reports briefly on the status of the several measures intended to repeal that war-time law, the necessity for which has vanished with the passing of active war, and which we hope will soon be brought to an end by the establishment of formal as well as actual peace.

Under the sub-heading "Department of Labor," the Executive Council reports that "there has been a constant endeavor on the part of certain members of Congress to keep whittling away at the Department of Labor." We regret exceedingly that conditions exist which warrant the Executive Council in making such report to this convention. The service of the Department of Labor of the Government of the United States has been of inestimable value to the people of the United States, no matter what their station or calling in life. It is to be deplored that members of Congress should for any reason undertake to hamper in any way the proper activity of a department of the government whose existence is of such great use as this one has proved during the short time it has existed.

Your committee again wishes to record its implicit confidence in the personal integrity, as well as official character, of Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of President Wilson. We trust also that in the search for proper avenues through which to exercise economy in the administration of the Government of

the United States that the Congress may direct its attention to other and less serviceable departments of the Government, and make more liberal provision for carrying on the great work set on foot by the first Secretary of Labor.

We commend the earnest efforts of the Executive Council to secure for Secretary Wilson and his department the proper support from Congress.

Under the sub-heading, "Immigration," the Executive Council reports on its activity in connection with the various immigration matters that have arisen within the past year. These have had to do especially with regulation for the admission temporarily of various groups of unskilled laborers. The Executive Council and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor have been vigilant and unremitting in combatting the attempts to break down the laws, and opening the gates to the unskilled workers who might be attracted hither by the high rate of pay and whose presence might in a short time result in such a congestion of the labor market as would result in great confusion and produce a most unfavorable situation.

We commend the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor for their activity in this regard.

Under the sub-heading of "Profiteering," the Executive Council reports that Congress "failed to enact a single constructive measure that would aid in checking profiteering."

Your committee regrets that this is true. We have dealt with this subject in another part of the report.

Under the sub-heading, "Steel Strike Investigation," the Executive Council reports on the proceedings under S. R. 188. We commend President Gompers for his action in appearing before the Senate Committee and informing that body concerning certain historical facts in relation to the steel industry, which the investigators might not otherwise have obtained. We also commend his action for objecting to those provisions of the law which proposed compulsory settlement of labor disputes.

Under the sub-heading of "Strikes," the Executive Council reports on the bills introduced by Senator Thomas, Senator Poindexter and Senator Edge, all aiming at the prevention of strikes and providing for extreme penalties to be inflicted on any who violate the law.

The position of the American Federation of Labor on this point is made plain in another part of this report, and we here only reiterate what is there said, commending the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor for their zeal in combatting these unfair and discriminatory efforts on the part of the enemies of labor.

Under the sub-heading of "Kentucky's Syndicalism-Sedition Law," the Executive Council presents a comprehensive review of that remarkable statute, as well as some sharp critical remarks concerning its contents and the circumstances under which it was passed and signed by the Governor. It falls within the scope of the report made in reference to the Sedition Laws and that referring to the Industrial Courts. Your committee cannot pass this, however, without commending the language of the Executive Council to the careful consideration of all.

Under the sub-heading "Colorado Industrial Commission Law," the Executive Council also reports on the endeavors made to restrict labor by statutory enactment. These also are included in the portion of the report previously referred to.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Bolander, Journeymen Tailors: I would like to ask a question of information. What different action has the Executive Council taken in reference to the Kentucky Sedition Law?

Secretary McCullough: The Executive Council has not taken action further than to discuss the matter. We have information from a delegate from Kentucky that the matter is being brought before the courts of that state for the purpose of getting as speedy an interpretation of the law as possible, and until the case has been properly presented and considered by the courts there is nothing that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor can do in the premises.

President Compers: Except to aid in its repeal.

Secretary McCullough: It is understood, of course, that the Executive Council is aiding to bring about a repeal of the law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Porto Rico—San Domingo

In the Executive Council's Report under the caption of "Conditions in Porto Rico—San Domingo," the Executive Council re-

iterates the action taken in conformity with the resolution of the 1919 convention, which "directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a committee of three to visit the island of Porto Rico for the purpose of investigating labor conditions," and also the action of the Pan-American Federation of Labor which requested the A. F. of L. "to investigate complaints and grievances in relation to the condition of the workers of Santo Domingo."

Peter J. Brady, of the Photo-Engravers' Union, and Anthony McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, were appointed to undertake that mission. The detailed reports of Commissioners Brady and McAndrew are before the convention, being printed as a supplement to the report of the Executive Council, beginning on page 218 and continuing to and including page 239.

The informative character of these reports, together with that of Santiago Iglesias, President of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor, is such as merits careful perusal by all the delegates. These reports throw a flood of light upon conditions that exist at our very door and under American Government.

The island of Porto Rico is a part of the United States, and it is a matter of deep reproach to the government of the United States that in the years since these islanders came to be an integral part of that great nation, so little has been done to improve conditions or produce a better way of living for the people who had been so long repressed by the monarchy under which we found them. It is to our shame that it may be truthfully said that these unfortunate human beings were merely transferred from Spanish to American exploitation.

San Domingo has been under American tutelage for many years, but beyond the improvement in the governmental finances of that country not much has been done for these inhabitants. We realize that these people have been peculiarly unfortunate in the past, but this does not lessen in any way our responsibility to them and should, if anything, emphasize the duty of the government of the United States to exert all proper efforts and employ whatever means it may to bring the inhabitants of Santa Domingo, and Hayti as well, up to a higher standard of civilized existence.

Your committee recommends that the recommendations of the Commission be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to take whatever action is necessary to carry out the plans for improvement in social and industrial conditions in these islands.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Second Pan-American Financial Congress

In the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Second Pan-American Financial Congress," the Executive Council reports on the meeting of the representatives of the Pan-American nations, dealing with questions of vital import, especially those concerning the material affairs of business, industry and commerce. As no mention or provision for considering the question of labor was made at the first Pan-American Financial Conference, held in 1915, President Gompers, through the proper channels, asking that Labor be considered at the second meeting. He was informed that no arrangements had been made for the study of social questions involving labor, and therefore the resolution he presented in company with Professor Kemmerer, of Princeton University, was withdrawn. President Gompers, however, succeeded in impressing on the Commissioners attending the conference the necessity of giving careful consideration to the item of labor as a factor in all the business problems and relationships between the Pan-American countries, and the Council reports that it "is the opinion that it is of the utmost importance that the work begun in the Second Pan-American Financial Congress be continued, and recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to pursue the course indicated in the work already done by means of participation in the next Pan-American Financial Congress, and by utilizing whatever opportunities may present themselves prior to the holding of the next Congress."

Your committee commends the activity of President Gompers in this matter and recommends that the request of the Executive Council be concurred in.

The report of the committee was adopted.

History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book

The Executive Council's Report, under the caption "History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book."

The Council again calls attention to this serviceable publication, and recommends

that the President of the American Federation of Labor should be directed to use whatever plan may in his judgment be the most effective to obtain a wider distribution of the book; it is also recommended that arrangements be made to include in the next edition the proceedings of the 1919 and 1920 conventions.

Your committee concurs in these recommendations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Health Insurance

In the Executive Committee's Report, under the caption "Health Insurance," the Executive Council recommends to the convention that the entire subject matter be referred to a committee to be selected by the Executive Council; that this committee shall make a study and investigation and report to the Executive Council at the earliest possible time, and that this report be submitted to the Executive Council at the 1921 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in these recommendations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Hatters—Cap Makers

Executive Council's Report, under the caption "Hatters—Cap Makers," your committee heard statements from the parties at interest regarding the status of this controversy, and we recommend that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council with the recommendation that it take the necessary steps to enforce compliance with the previous decisions of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, in connection with the jurisdictional questions in dispute; and we further recommend that the Executive Council continue its good offices in the direction of bringing the parties together with a view to the amalgamation, if possible; or in the event of failure to amalgamate, the establishment of a working agreement that will produce harmony in the hat and cap industry in all its branches, to the end that these articles may be produced under union conditions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lawlor, United Hatters: I rise to offer an amendment to the report of the committee. I will read the amendment later. I am opposed to the report of the committee wherein they recommend amal-

gamation, if possible, between the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, or a working agreement if that amalgamation is impossible.

This controversy goes back to 1914 when it first came before convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in the conventions of 1914, 1915, 1916 and 1917, as well as by committees of the Executive Council, it was admitted that the Cap Makers flagrantly trespassed upon the jurisdiction of the United States Hatters. The decisions given in our favor were such that in the 1917 convention the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers were told that unless they ceased trespassing upon the jurisdiction of the United Hatters they would be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor. The date set for suspension was January 1, 1918. The Cap Makers were to hold a convention in May, 1918, and they asked that the time set for suspension or expulsion be extended until they had an opportunity to hold that special convention. Such a convention was held in New York City, and was, I understand, attended by President Gompers. Notwithstanding his urgent request that they comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor they refused, and because of that refusal they were immediately suspended. They continued flagrantly to trespass upon the jurisdiction that belongs to the United Hatters of North America.

Delegate Lawlor discussed at some length the action taken in a convention held by his organization in May, 1919, and his appearance before the Executive Council to ask that the Hatters be granted jurisdiction over the making of velvet hats. At that meeting of the Council the question was asked why he did not ask for jurisdiction over the entire headgear industry. In reply to that question Secretary Lawlor stated that the United Hatters were not asking for that jurisdiction, but it would be taken up in their convention then in session. Later that convention decided to ask for such jurisdiction, not because they wanted cloth hat and cap making, but they felt they owed it to the organized labor movement to supply cloth hat and caps with an authorized label.

Delegate Lawlor then referred to the resolution introduced by the Hatters in the 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor asking for jurisdiction over the entire headgear industry, including the

making of cloth hats and caps, and the introduction of a resolution by some other organizations calling for the amalgamation of the two bodies. He quoted the report of the committee, which was concurrence in the resolution calling for jurisdiction over the making of cloth hats and caps by the United Hatters and non-concurrence in the other resolution. He read from the printed proceedings a statement made by President Gompers in that convention.

In concluding his discussion Delegate Lawlor stated that the United Hatters did not desire amalgamation with the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, but they wished that organization to cease trespassing upon their jurisdiction rights. Delegate Lawlor then read the following amendment to the report of the committee:

That all reference to amalgamation or conciliation be eliminated from the committee's report and the following added:

"That the jurisdiction formerly held by the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of America, namely, the making of all cloth hats and caps, be retained for them by this body until January 1, 1921, pending compliance with the decision of the American Federation of Labor.

"Should the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers fail to comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor by that date the jurisdiction for the making of cloth hats and caps be granted to such organization as may claim the jurisdiction, and in the opinion of the Executive Council is almost entitled to it." (Sounded.)

Delegate Lawlor, during a later discussion, stated that if the United Hatters organized or took in locals of cloth hat and cap makers, these locals would be immediately turned over to the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers when they complied with the decision of the American Federation of Labor, and was willing to have this made part of his amendment.

Delegate Wilson (J. S.), Chairman of the Committee, said in part: The committee gave extensive hearings to all parties in interest. In the first statement of the committee we recommend that the Executive Council take the necessary steps to enforce compliance with previous decision of the American Federation of Labor. There is no objection to that on the part of the Hatters; but we recognize the fact that there is a difference between the United

Hatters and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers organizations, and recommend that the Executive Council continue its good offices in the direction of bringing the parties together with a view to amalgamation if that is possible. In the event of failure to amalgamate we recommend the establishment of a working agreement that will produce harmony in all the branches of the hat and cap industry.

We do not believe this convention can afford to say, if this amendment is adopted, that jurisdiction shall be accorded to an organization other than to the one that now has it, and that the organization securing the jurisdiction shall take the position that there shall be no conference, no effort of any kind made, for the purpose of bringing the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and the United Hatters into one organization, or to arrange any settlement whatever for putting this question in a position where it shall finally be removed as a controversy from within our organizations. It appears to the committee that the report we are making is in line with the endeavor of the Federation to bring the organizations together to settle the question, by amalgamation if possible, and if not by amalgamation, by an agreement that will eliminate this controversy.

Secretary McCullough: The representatives of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers are not seated in this convention because of the fact that their organization is suspended. It is not my intention to enter into a defence or an explanation of the position of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, but simply to state what the president of that organization told the committee in the presence of Delegate Lawlor. He stated that they are now ready to turn their entire organization over to the United Hatters of North America, asking only that their membership as at present constituted be accepted as members of the United Hatters of North America, and be permitted to work as they are now working under agreements and contracts.

Delegate Lawlor stated that the Hatters did not take the position that there should not be a conference or that efforts should not be made by the Executive Council to bring the organizations together, but they felt that the time for such conferences would be when the organization that is now fighting the American Federation of Labor and the United Hatters has carried out the decision of the A. F. of L. Replying

to a statement of the secretary of the committee, Delegate Lawlor called attention to the fact that if an amalgamation took place, in accordance with the numerical strength of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, as stated to the committee, would have but forty per cent of the membership and the Cap Makers would have sixty per cent of the membership, and for that reason amalgamation would be unfair to the union he represented, which had always been loyal to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lawlor stated that if debate had not been closed by reason of a motion to refer he would have announced in 1919 convention of the A. F. of L., when action was taken on the Hatters' case, that if the organization he represented took in or organized locals of cloth hat and cap makers, these locals would be immediately turned over to the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers when they complied with the decision of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers, replying to the statement of Delegate Lawlor, and speaking with reference to the portion of his remarks, quoted from the proceedings of the 1919 convention, said in part: We know that it is not an easy thing for an organization, once having acquired jurisdiction over an industry, to turn back the membership to another organization. I think the experience of the American labor movement shows the difficulty that such a transaction would involve. In the amendment which Delegate Lawlor now proposes, there is contained the declaration that if the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' organization does not yield to the decisions of the American Federation of Labor by January 1, 1921, the jurisdiction over cloth hat and cap making shall be turned over to any organization that claims jurisdiction, which the Executive Council may deem justified. There is no declaration that if the organization of Cloth Hat and Cap Makers should yield after the first of January, that the membership in that trade should be turned over to that organization.

Delegate Lawlor: I make that declaration now to be added to the amendment. I am willing that it should be a part of the amendment, which I now offer if agreeable to you.

President Gompers spoke at length upon the function and duty of the Executive Council to make every possible effort to

adjust difficulties between organizations such as those in question. He referred to the large number of disputes settled in past years, usually without suspending either organization. He referred also to the fact that a number of international unions in past years declined to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and in discussing the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward local unions of such internationals, President Gompers said:

"There were a number of the local unions of those unaffiliated organizations that made applications to the American Federation of Labor to be chartered as local unions. Did we issue charters? No. On the contrary, we informed these local unions that if they favored affiliation to the American Federation of Labor they should fight it out in their own internationals and bring the influence of their affiliation to their international unions to bear so that the international union as an entirety and a body would become affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. We said we would take no action, directly or indirectly, that would bring about the disintegration of an international union. As a result of the course pursued by the American Federation of Labor, these international unions finally became affiliated with our Federation."

Delegate Lawlor again spoke on the amendment, discussing principally the conditions in New York City, where the United Hatters were most affected by the course pursued by the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.

The report of the committee and the amendment offered by Delegate Lawlor were read by Secretary Morrison.

A viva voce vote was taken upon the amendment. The result was in doubt and a division was called for. After a count by the secretary and assistant secretary, it was announced that 136 votes had been

cast in favor of the amendment and 135 opposed to the amendment.

Delegate Bolander, Journeymen Tailors, requested a roll-call on the amendment.

Secretary Morrison announced that the request for a roll call would require the support of 58 delegates, 10 per cent of the number seated in the convention.

The request was supported by only 56 delegates, and the roll was not called.

Vice-President Mahon: The amendment of Delegate Lawlor is adopted.

Delegate Duncan (J. A.), Seattle: Is this not equivalent to the revocation of a charter? The jurisdiction is taken away.

Vice-President Mahon asked President Gompers to take the chair and rule on the question.

President Gompers: The chair answers that jurisdiction is not taken away by this convention. The question of jurisdiction has until January 1, 1921, to run. It is not equivalent to, nor in fact, a revocation of a charter.

Delegate Cannon: What would be the status of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers after January 1, 1921?

President Gompers: That is a question which must be determined at that time. At present it is not within the province of the chair to answer.

Delegate Cannon: But if the jurisdiction is taken away by the adoption of this amendment, would that not be equivalent to taking away a charter?

President Gompers: It would not. The amendment provided that the jurisdiction be accorded to an organization which claims it and which is justified in the opinion of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted.

At 12:50 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

NINTH DAY--Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison read a request from the President and Secretary of the Theatrical Stage Employees that Harry L.

Spencer be seated as a delegate in place of Charles C. Shay, absent on account of ill health. On motion the request was complied with and the delegate seated.

Absentees—Boyer, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Schlesinger, Bock, Maitland, Hannon, Hogan (S. C.), Murray (P.), Hayes (F. J.),

Farrington, Moore (J.), White (J. P.), Valentine, Hannah, Kearney (T.), Anderson (C.), Leonard, Flynn (P.), Blasey, Stillman, Curtis, Graves, Jones (J.W.), Ely (S.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Cunningham, Jones (D. M.), Caddy, Lennon, Kelley (F.), Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Witherell, Rogers (R. E.), Owens, Oplinger, Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill, Stanley, Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Hemsley, Freind, Taylor, O'Dell (E. W. A.), Knight, Murray (J. F.), Barnack, Sims, Keavney, Gagnon, Jagers, Dunlop, Wilkinson, McKosky, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Heck, Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower (A. P.), Spencer, (H. L.), Hourigan, Wood, Canavan, Harrell, Williams (J. W.), Talbot, Ellis, Mezzacapo, Posey, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, Schoonover, Davies (W. J.), Longe, Carlock, Hall (W. J.), Brown (S.), Maund, Gron, LaRose, Heywood, Boyd, Hodge, McKnight, Lewis (M.), Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw (W.), Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Weber (C. P.), Woodmansee, Kelleher (S. E.), Gabrio, Gould, Morse, Malone (M.), Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Flynn (J.), Stevens, Smallwood, Wilcox (J. V.), Allen, Wilson (F.), Jenkins, Fair, Reynolds, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, Robbins, Jones (J.), Fitzgerald (A.).

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Jewelry Workers—Metal Polishers—Machinists

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

We note the action taken by the Executive Council, in its endeavors to bring about a settlement of this dispute, and we endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council "that unless agreement shall have been reached either on a basis mutually agreeable between the representatives of the two organizations involved, that upon the expiration of ninety days from the adjournment of this convention, the charter of the Jewelry Workers shall stand suspended."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Beardsley, Jewelry Workers, discussed the question and stated that since the Atlantic City convention in 1919 a strike of considerable proportions in his industry in New York City prevented their holding the conferences recommended to bring about a settlement of this difficulty. He pointed to the fact that the Jewelry Workers were able to arrive at an agreement with the Machinists, and ex-

pressed the hope that if further opportunity were given, the same results might be attained in the controversy between the Jewelry Workers and the Metal Polishers. He further expressed the belief that the adoption of the committee's report and the consequent suspension of the Jewelry Workers within ninety days would only serve to intensify the feeling between the members of the two organizations. He asked the delegates to vote down the report of the committee, and give the organizations involved another opportunity to work out their differences between this time and the next convention.

Delegate Britton, Metal Polishers, in defending the position of his organization, stated that they were ready and willing at all times to meet the Jewelry Workers, but that the antagonistic attitude of the latter organization and its representatives did not tend to ameliorate their differences. In substantiating his statement to the effect that the Jewelry Workers had shown a spirit of antagonism, he read certain letters and documents signed by the officials of the Jewelry Workers' organization, and referred to certain incidents in Chicago, Rochester, and elsewhere, that he said only served to widen the breach between the two organizations.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, took exception to some of the statements made by Delegate Britton. He, too, pointed to the agreement arrived at with the Machinists, and stated it was his belief that if the proper spirit were shown, the same arrangement could have been arrived at with the Metal Polishers. He pleaded for more time to try to work out an understanding and stated the Jewelry Workers would make an honest effort in that direction.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, made a brief statement regarding the local situation in Rochester, and said the Jewelry Workers would not grant the label to the Bastian Brothers firm in that city unless every man in the shop, from the floor sweeper to the polisher, the plater, the pressmen and everybody else, was forced to join the Jewelry Workers' organization.

Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, in supporting the position taken by the Jewelry Workers, expressed the belief that it was unfair to give them only ninety days to accept an agreement that

must be entirely satisfactory to the other party, with no limitations placed upon the other party to the controversy.

Delegate Wilson, in explanation of the report of the committee, said: This matter has been before the American Federation of Labor for a long time. The representative of the Jewelry Workers in his statement to the convention would lead you to believe that the proposition submitted by the Executive Council, which has been agreeable to the Metal Polishers as a solution of the question, involves the turning over of metal polishers now members of the Jewelry Workers to the Metal Polishers' organization. That is not a fact. In the proposition of the Executive Council it provides that "unless they shall remain members of the Jewelry Workers, unless they desire to become members of the Metal Polishers," and during the hearing before our committee, in our desire to bring these two organizations into agreement, the question was asked of the officer of the Jewelry Workers' Union: "If the Metal Polishers now members of the Jewelry Workers' Union want to join the Polishers' Union, would he object?" And his answer to the question was that he was too honest to answer the question. Last year at Atlantic City we succeeded in getting them to verbally agree to a proposition that would bring about a solution of this question, and when the statement was reduced to writing the Jewelry Workers refused to attach their names to the document. We made our report to the convention last. A year has transpired and the provisions of the convention last year have not yet been carried into effect.

It is true that an agreement has been entered into by one party to this controversy as it existed last year, namely, between the Machinists and the Jewelry Workers. The Executive Council submitted a plan that gives to the Jewelry Worker the right to retain the polisher now in his organization, but in going into new fields they must recognize the jurisdiction as granted to the Metal Polishers, but those polishers who are now in the Jewelry Workers' Union, if they elect to leave the Jewelry Workers and join the organization of their trade they have that right. It is to that that the Jewelry Workers object, and from our efforts to adjust this controversy, from the attitude assumed by the Jewelry Workers, it seems to the members

of the committee impossible to bring these organizations into agreement. The proposition as submitted by the Executive Council is fair, and the Metal Polishers agree even to allow those men who want to remain in the Jewelry Workers' Union over whom they have jurisdiction in their charter rights and by decisions of the American Federation of Labor, to remain there; but there shall be no trespass upon that jurisdiction in new fields. Your committee is strongly of the opinion that if this matter is to be adjusted it must be in accordance with the recommendation of the Executive Council.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Electrical Workers—Engineers

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

In the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Electrical Workers—Engineers," the Executive Council reports its efforts to secure an adjustment of the matters in dispute between these organizations.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its endeavors in this direction, and recommends that it continue its attempts to bring about an understanding between the parties at interest.

The report of the committee was adopted.

War Veterans' Association

In the Executive Council's Report under the caption "War Veterans' Association," the Executive Council reports on the attitude it has maintained toward the several organized groups of war veterans.

We commend the impartiality of the Council in dealing with this question and endorse its position.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, T. C. Cashen, Dan P. McKillop, Jos. W. Morton, James A. Duncan, H. C. Diehl, J. B. Etchison, Wm. Hannon, Edw. J. Evans, C. N. Glover, Jas. A. Norrington, A. C. Hughes, C. L. Shamp, Fred C. Boland:

WHEREAS, The situation which now exists in the steel industry is more favorable for organization, the workers rapidly recovering from their recent strikes and having the utmost confidence in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, In order for a campaign of organization to succeed in the huge, trustified steel industry, there must be the closest co-operation of all the interna-

tional unless in interest, as was shown by the great campaign of 1918 and 1919; and

WHERRAS, The Amalgamated Associations of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, whose jurisdiction embraces fully per cent of the steel workers, has withdrawn from the national organization committee, and that committee is now confronted with the alternative of either securing the reaffiliation of the Amalgamated Association or abandoning the work of organization in this field; and

WHERRAS, The National Committee knows of no way to secure the reaffiliation of the Amalgamated Association against its will, yet to discontinue the work of organization, so full of promise, is to throw the steel workers entirely at the mercy of the Steel Trust, and thus cast an everlasting stigma upon organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deprecates the withdrawal of the Amalgamated Association from the National Committee for organizing iron and steel workers, and expresses the hope that some means may be found by which its reaffiliation and renewed co-operation may be brought about.

Your committee heard the parties at interest, and recommends that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions that it call a conference of the presidents of the several national and international unions concerned, with a view to making arrangements for the continuation of the organization campaign in the iron and steel industry, with the full participation of all national and international unions involved.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, arose to discuss the question:

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: I rise to a point of order. I understand that the committee's report refers this matter to the Executive Council. The adoption of that report of the committee would preclude the discussion of the merits of the controversy.

President Gompers: The chair finds himself in the predicament of being required, in compliance with his conscience, to rule reversely to the ruling he made at the last convention when the same subject was under consideration. At that time the chair ruled, mistakenly, that a motion to refer precluded discussion. Since last year the matter was brought to my attention, and, on looking up all the rules of order and parliamentary proced-

ure, I found that the chair erred, and that a motion to refer is open for discussion. The point of order is, therefore, not well taken.

Delegate Lewis: May I inquire, then, if under that ruling the discussion is limited to whether or not the subject matter shall be referred?

President Gompers: No, sir; the chair, by his study of parliamentary procedure in all the manuals, finds that the subject is thrown wide open.

Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, then discussed the subject at some length, reviewing the history of the steel strike, the great odds which had to be encountered in reaching the steel workers, and in educating them to be aims and purposes of the American labor movement, and the final success which had been achieved in laying the foundation for a permanent organization of these workers. He urged that all possible pressure be brought to bear to continue the work of organizing them under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor and the Organized Farmers

In the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Labor and the Organized Farmers," the Executive Council reports that "during the year just closed there was an increasingly harmonious relation with organized farmers, and an increasing understanding of their mutual interest in the great problems confronting the nation." The Executive Council also takes cognizance of the similarity of the position of the farmers and the wage workers in their relation to and suffering from the malpractice of profiteers and gamblers, and recommends "that instructions be given the Executive Council to continue the development of friendly, harmonious and co-operative relations with the great, bonafide body of organized farmers."

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its activity in promoting and fostering harmonious relations between organized labor and organized farmers, and heartily concurs in the recommendation that such activity be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Jurisdictional Controversies

In the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Jurisdictional Controversies

sies," the Executive Council calls attention to the efforts that have been made by conferences and otherwise to bring about an understanding between the several affiliated organizations which have matters in controversy.

Your committee takes pleasure in reporting to this convention that considerable progress has been made in the direction of settling a number of disputes that have been before the American Federation of Labor for a long time.

We are especially pleased to report that after conferences with the committee and between themselves, the representatives of the International Association of Machinists and the American Flint Glass Union have reached a basis for settlement which promises to terminate the long-standing dispute between these organizations.

Your committee feels warranted in expressing the belief that if the future negotiations between the parties at interest are pursued in the spirit manifest before the committee, that the issues will be happily resolved and that the organizations affected will be enabled to go forward in harmony and mutual helpfulness.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Recommendation of Committee on Executive Council's Report

Your committee recommends that this convention express its condemnation of the practice of clothing strike-breakers or strike guards, under control of private individuals or agencies, in the uniform of the United States Army or Navy. The uniform of the great nation of freedom should be everywhere a badge and symbol of human rights and liberties, to which the A. F. of L. is traditionally devoted, and should never be permitted to become the insignia of tyranny or oppression, as embodied in the practices here complained of.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Conclusion

Your committee has carefully considered all the matters referred to it by this convention; it has granted full hearings to all interested parties who sought to be heard on any of the matters before the committee.

In closing our report we want to renew a caution given many times in these conventions, that delegates and international officers show more consideration for

the Executive Council by settling petty disputes and minor grievances without bringing them as additional burdens to the men whose time is so generously and unstintingly given to the service of the workers. We realize, as this convention must, that the Executive Council does not shirk or evade any of the responsibilities laid upon it, or tasks set before it by the convention, but we also realize that these men are human, and that there is a limit to human capacity for work. The great movement in the direction of a shorter workday is entirely forgotten, apparently, when it comes to referring matters to the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES WILSON, Chairman
T. W. McCULLOUGH, Secretary
GEORGE L. BERRY
JOHN L. LEWIS
C. L. BAINE
T. V. O'CONNOR
JERE L. SULLIVAN
FRANK X. NOSCHANG
WM. P. CLARKE
W. A. CAMPBELL
WM. J. BOWEN
WM. H. JOHNSTON
JOHN COEFIELD
JOS. N. WEBER
HENRY B. PERHAM

Delegate McCullough: Mr. Chairman, this completes our report, and I move its adoption as a whole. (Seconded and carried.)
Treasurer Tobin in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

Resolution No. 43 was withdrawn by those who introduced it, inasmuch as it was intended for the Building Trades Department convention rather than this one, and it deals with the same question that is dealt with in Resolution No. 72, which will now be presented by the committee.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Robert G. Ewald, of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Sheet Metal Workers Local Union No. 105 has for years been engaged in an attempt to organize the sheet metal workers of the city of Detroit and to unionize the various shops; and

WHEREAS, A firm known as the R. C. Mahon Co., doing business in the city of Detroit, of which Russell C. Mahon, Orlando L. Mahon and Ida M. Buskin, children of Wm. D. Mahon, International President Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of Ameri-

ca and a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are the principal owners, managers and stockholders; and

WHEREAS, Said firm employing union sheet metal workers up until the year of 1914 decided in that year to employ non-union men, thus compelling the union workers and dues-paying members of the organization to cease work to uphold their union principles; and

WHEREAS, W. D. Mahon, at that time a stockholder of the R. S. Mahon Co., was requested on numerous occasions by the officers of Sheet Metal Workers' Union Local No. 706 and the officers of the Detroit Federation of Labor to adjust matters and to return to a union shop basis and to use his influence with his children, the principal stockholders and owners, to that end, and that these efforts proved futile; and

WHEREAS, Orlando L. Mahon, son of Wm. D. Mahon, is employed as Secretary by the latter in his capacity as president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, while at the same time running a non-union shop and employing non-union men in preference to dues-paying members of the organization, thus casting grave reflection upon the organized labor movement of this city and this country; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of W. D. Mahon, member Executive Council of American Federation of Labor, in the controversy between the Sheet Metal Workers Union No. 105 and the concern owned and managed by his children principally and of which W. D. Mahon was stockholder at the time the dispute took place and for sometime afterwards, has been and is one of general indifference and even hostility to the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, thus betraying a spirit which is in violation of his oath of office and contrary to all recognized practices and professions among union men, not to wrong a fellow union man whenever it is possible to prevent such wrong and injury; and

WHEREAS, It is incompatible with the principles and declarations of the American Federation of Labor to have in its midst a man who so callously and heartlessly treats with his brother unionists and declines to assist them in their righteous struggles for union principles and recognition, when it was in his power to render them incalculable service without inflicting any injury upon himself and members of his family; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit Federation of Labor, in regular meeting assembled, does hereby go on record instructing its delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in June, 1920, in the City of Montreal, Canada, to bring this resolution before the delegates to this convention, calling their attention to this abominable state of affairs existing on account of the unfair, unheard of and anti-union attitude assumed by W. D. Mahon, in the controversy above described, which has worked incalculable harm to the labor movement of the City of Detroit; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its influence and disciplinary power to compel W. D. Mahon, or any other officer in its ranks, to have greater respect for the good name and reputation of organized labor, and to so conduct his private business and his dealings with labor as not to interfere with the legitimate workings of labor organizations.

In connection with this resolution, your committee had before it all parties at interest. The undisputed facts are that W. D. Mahon had been financially interested in the R. C. Mahon Company for a period approximating one month and nine days as a result of financial assistance given to the firm at a time when it was operating a union shop. After February 9, 1914, W. D. Mahon held none of the company stock or was financially interested in the firm. No evidence was presented to your committee which would indicate that W. D. Mahon was in any way personally responsible for the non-union conditions established and maintained by two of his adult sons and a married daughter. Evidence was introduced that he was opposed to and deeply regretted the policy of the R. C. Mahon Company, and it was agreed by those interested in the resolution that W. D. Mahon had on all occasions when requested assisted in bringing about interviews with the R. C. Mahon Company, which had for their purpose an adjustment of the non-union condition existing within the plant. Inasmuch as W. D. Mahon cannot be held responsible for the acts of his adult sons and daughter, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers, requested, on account of the publicity that had been given the resolution, that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. He offered the suggestion as an amendment to the committee's report.

All the members of the committee who were present agreed with the secretary and chairman of the committee to accept the suggested amendment.

Delegate Walker (J. H.): Before a vote is taken I want to be clear as to what the report of the committee means. The amendment of Delegate Hynes is to refer to the Executive Council to make an

investigation. Does the amendment mean that the report of the committee will not be adopted?

Treasurer Tobin: There is no amendment made. The report of the committee is non-concurrence, but the committee has agreed to embody in its report the suggestion of Delegate Hynes that the Executive Council make an investigation.

Delegate Bradley, in a brief discussion, opposed the recommendation of the committee, as its adoption would invite criticism of organized labor in its campaign against the non-union shop.

Vice-President Woll spoke briefly in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee, as amended by the suggestion of Delegate Hynes, was carried.

Resolution No. 60—By Luther C. Stewart and Chas. L. Wiegand:

WHEREAS, The wage scale in the United States Civil Service was established more than sixty years ago and has never been systematically revised; and

WHEREAS, This scale is now inadequate, inconsistent, unequal and without just relation to the skill of the work performed, or to the increased cost of living;

WHEREAS, The inefficiency of the government service is suffering by reason of high turnover and actual vacancies in hundreds of positions, for which the wages offered are insufficient to attract any workers; and

WHEREAS, The continuance of the existing condition is wasteful of the public money and unjust both to the workers and to the taxpayers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, calls upon the Congress of the United States immediately to reclassify the Civil Service and adopt a wage scale commensurate with the skill, training and responsibility involved in the work performed, and with just relation to the increased cost of living; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a central agency be provided to administer the reclassification and that the employes shall have representation in the membership of such administrative body; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the candidates for President at the coming election.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Robert Fechner, Wm. Hannon, John J. Connolly, H. W. Brown, C. F. Grow, Wm. Schoenberg, J. A. Taylor, of

the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There are no banking and credit agencies in the United States controlled and operated in the interest of the worker and the farmer, to which these groups can go for cheap and easy credit, in emergency, in sickness and in need; and to which they can apply for credit to develop their talent and initiative; and

WHEREAS, The wages of labor and the wealth of the farmers constitute a great part, possibly two-thirds, of the credit resources of America, which wages and agricultural wealth are often used by the banks against labor, against the farmer, against the producing classes; and

WHEREAS, Practically every other country in the world has banks and credit agencies owned and operated by the workers in their own interest; and

WHEREAS, Such banks have increased the power of organized labor, have given it a sense of solidarity and resourcefulness, and have improved the standard of life of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the banking and credit agencies of the nation be socialized, so that the collective deposits of the people shall be used for the benefit of the people. Banking, like transportation, should be impressed with a public trust; it should be made a public utility, subject to control by the national Government and by the states, to the end that the credit resources of the nation shall be used for productive purposes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That labor should own and control its own funds and the funds of its members through banks organized as nearly as possible on the co-operative model; that such banks should have a widely distributed stock ownership; that there should be a limitation on dividends, and an obligation upon the managers to use the resources of labor for the benefit of labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend the establishment within lodges, labor unions and central bodies of credit unions or peoples' banks such as have been developed in the other countries of the world, in which individual members of the union will be stockholders and depositors, and through which they will receive aid and assistance in case of necessity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the enactment of laws by the nation and by the individual states that will permit of the organization of co-operative or peoples' banks and of credit unions, along the lines of laws heretofore enacted by the States of Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Oregon, Utah and Wisconsin; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor mobilize its money, its deposits and its resources, and use them for increasing the economic power and the solidarity of labor.

Inasmuch as the subject matter of this resolution is dealt with in the report of

the Committee on Executive Council's Report, your committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council to be considered in connection with the convention's action upon the report of the Committee on Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 64 be amended by substituting for its resolve the following:

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend for the consideration of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the centralizing, analyzing and dissemination of information in connection with industrial conditions and problems.

The amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Chas. J. MacGowan, Louis Weyand, Chas. F. Scott, Luther C. Steward, Chas. L. Wiegand, Chas. B. Stillman:

WHEREAS, We believe that the cause of Labor is advanced by the acquisition of knowledge and of skill in its effective use, for the welfare of mankind; and

WHEREAS, We see no limit to the kinds of knowledge and skill which it is in our power to acquire and develop; and

WHEREAS, The employment of experts trained in the sciences connected with industry and production would increase our knowledge, skill and power, and so be a valuable aid to the success of our cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend for the consideration of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the centralizing, analyzing and dissemination of information in connection with industrial conditions and problems.

The resolution as amended was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 65—By Luther C. Steward and Chas. L. Wiegand:

WHEREAS, Official records show that of total expenditures of more than five and one-half billion dollars by the United States Government during the current fiscal year, 93 per cent was disbursed for expenses of recent and previous wars, and the maintenance of the War and Navy Departments; less than 6 per cent for the maintenance of the Civil Government and public works, and only 1 per cent for human welfare, educational and developmental purposes, including the study of labor problems, agriculture, mining, forestry, fisheries, markets, public roads, foreign commerce, general and vocational education, public health, and the needs of women and children; and

WHEREAS, The progress and well-being of the people of America depend upon thorough understanding of the direct human needs and conditions of life, as well as upon military defence, and the promotion of property interests; and

WHEREAS, Scientific research is neces-

sary to increased production and better distribution of the necessities of life, as well as the physical protection of the workers at their jobs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, calls upon the Congress of the United States henceforth to provide liberally for the study of social and industrial problems and technical research in all branches of sciences, touching the welfare of the nation's people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the candidates for President at the coming election.

Your committee recommended concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: There were three resolutions bearing on the Irish question that were referred to the committee, Resolutions Nos. 78, 90, and 95, which are as follows:

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Patrick J. Cahillane, No. 15951, City Employees, Manchester, N. H.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is expressive of labor for freedom, and has ever raised its voice in protest at oppression and misrule; and

WHEREAS, The Atlantic City Convention of this Federation went on record as demanding for all subject peoples the right to determine for themselves the government of their choice and, in particular, recognized the rights of the Irish people in their freedom; and

WHEREAS, Each week that has elapsed since then has seen a recurrence of oppression and repression, of indignities, outrageous abuse, massacre and assassination, visited upon Ireland and Irish people by the misguided officials of Great Britain, in their policy of despotic misrule; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in the 40th Convention assembled, reaffirm our declarations for the freedom of all subject people; that we extend to British labor our cordial sympathy and support in their effort to establish the freedom of Ireland; that we call upon our Government to recognize the Republic of Ireland as a Sovereign State.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Frank J. McNulty, William J. Brennan, James P. Noonan, Thomas R. Preece, Peter S. Shaughnessy, John T. Owens, John J. Lynch, Walter V. Price, John Dohoney, Thos. A. Maloy, Geo. Myers, Arthur C. Doherty, W. Snow, J. T. Teevan, Steve Kelleher, Jas. J. Ryan, John A. Durkin, A. P. Johnson, Richard P. Walsh, Martin T. Joyce, Jeremiah Hurley, Chas. Winthrop, Thos. Walsh, Timothy Healy, Matthew Woll, A. H. McNulty, T. F. Walsh,

Andrew Eagan, R. Pattison, A. E. Zusi, Paddy Doyle, Dan P. McKillop, John J. Sullivan, Thos. F. McMahon, R. Cooney, Chas. F. Scott, Jos. Franklin, Chas. MacGowan, A. R. Linn, E. M. Pollock, C. F. Grow, Jas. A. Duncan, Jos. D. Cannon, Wm. Schoenberg, A. Fitzgerald, P. J. Flannery, Emanuel Koveliski, Geo. Leary, Thomas S. Farrell, Edward Flore, James B. Conners, Peter J. Brady, Sara A. Conboy, Lawrence McDunnough, James L. Gernon, John Golden, S. G. Gebherdt, John Coefield, T. J. Brady, John O'Hara, Jas. P. Holland, Jeremiah Sullivan, N. A. James, C. F. Fraley, H. Carr, A. Greenstein, James William Fitzpatrick, Wm. F. Canavan, Dick J. Green, Harry L. Spencer, H. M. Gilletly, L. M. Andler, Jas. Lemke, Louis Krouse, Martin F. Ryan, John W. Hayes, Wm. Young, Benj. Schlesinger, Jos. P. Ryan, P. J. Morrin, Wm. P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien, John F. Carbrey, James T. Moriarity, Bernard Canavangh, Michael J. O'Donnell, Frank Feeney, A. W. Leonard, A. J. Kugler, J. J. Manning, Robert Dunlop, John Rader, C. A. Adams, J. J. Quinlivan:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has approved the efforts of the Irish people on the exercise of their right to self-determination, have by an overwhelming majority established the Irish Republic; and

WHEREAS, The English Government is now seeking to destroy through military process the republican form of government already established by the Irish people; and

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives, the Senate of the United States, the British Trade and Labor Congress, the Labor Movement of Australia, the American Federation of Labor, as well as the liberty-loving people of the world, have repeatedly urged the British Government to fully recognize the rights of the Irish people to self-determination: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirm its endorsement of the Irish Republic, and demand that the military forces of occupation in Ireland be withdrawn from that country and that the Irish people be allowed to guide their own destinies as proclaimed in the manifesto issued by the President of the United States, the same as all other nations recently given their freedom, comprising his 14 points, and agreed to by the British Government and its Allies in the recent world war, and that all possible aid be rendered to the people of Ireland in their efforts for freedom, through the American Federation of Labor, to the end that Ireland be permitted to take its place amongst the free nations of the world; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in the interest of freedom, justice and democracy, expresses its appreciation to the peoples of the world who have come to the defense of Ireland and other nations fighting for freedom.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John Donlin, J. H. Kennedy, Ed. J. M. McGivern, C. M. Anderson:

WHEREAS, The organized labor bodies of Ireland have refused to assist in the convoy of munitions and military materials to be used by the British army of occupation in that country; and

WHEREAS, This action of our brethren in Ireland is justified by inherent right of the people of Ireland to a Government of their own choice; and

WHEREAS, The people of Ireland have in fact set up a Republic based upon the principle that just government depends upon the consent of the governed, which principle and which Republic the English army of occupation is now being used to suppress; and

WHEREAS, The inherent rights of humanity in Ireland as elsewhere are to be supported by organized labor and all lovers of liberty against all forms of tyranny and especially against tyranny imposed with the aid of military force; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we earnestly call upon our brothers enrolled in the ranks of Labor, and all those who believe in liberty, in England, Scotland and Wales, to join with the Irish Labor Unions in refusing to participate in these measures for the suppression of Irish nationality and for the disruption of Irish industrial effort, and that we pledge to our brethren in Ireland and Great Britain our unswerving support in all measures taken by them to enlarge the area of human liberty, and to insure to workmen everywhere the peaceful prosecution of their labor and the enjoyment of its proceeds in conditions of liberty and happiness; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon our brethren in Great Britain to insist upon the withdrawal of the British troops from Ireland and upon the Government of the United States to formally recognize the freely elected and legitimate government of the Republic of Ireland.

Secretary Frey: Your committee had extensive hearings on these three resolutions, those interested appearing before the committee. As a result your committee offers as a substitute for the three resolutions the following:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has approved the efforts of the Irish people to establish an adequate form of self-government, and in the exercise of their right to select their own form of government have, by vote of an overwhelming majority of the Irish people, established the Irish Republic; and

WHEREAS, The English Government is now seeking to destroy through military forces the republican form of govern-

ment already established by the Irish people; and

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives, the Senate of the United States, the British Trades Union Congress, the Labor Movement of Australia, the American Federation of Labor, as well as the liberty-loving people of the world, have urged the English Government to fully recognize the rights of the Irish people to govern themselves; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirms its recognition of the Irish Republic, and respectfully request that the military forces of occupation in Ireland be withdrawn from that country, and that the Irish people be accorded the right of self-determination, the same as all other nations recently given their complete freedom as enunciated in the declarations of the President of the United States, comprising the fourteen points, all of which were solemnly agreed to by the British Government and its Allies in the recent World War, and that we tender our aid to the people of Ireland in their efforts for freedom to the end that Ireland be permitted to take its place among the free nations of the world; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, appeal to the workers of England, Scotland and Wales, and ask that they exert their powerful influence to the end that their government officials, at present in power by the votes of the people of England, Scotland and Wales, immediately withdraw the army of occupation from Ireland, and permit the Irish people to peacefully pursue their lives under the form of government which they have established through laws made by themselves and executed by their duly elected officials.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: In connection with Resolution No. 66, the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers, desire to associate themselves with those who endorse the resolution.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended by striking out in the first and second lines of the first and last "whereas" the words "all standard recognized railroad labor organizations"; and the insertion in their place of the words "the organizations represented by the delegates endorsing this resolution and several other organizations"; and the amending of the last resolve by striking out the word "ownership" in the fifth line and substituting the word "control" in its place.

The resolution as amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, Louis Weyand, Chas. J. MacGowan, Chas. F. Scott, D. P. McKillop, John Dohney, of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders; Wm. H. Johnston International Association of Machinists; Martin F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Car-men; Jas. P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; S. E. Heberling, International President Switchmen's Union of North America; E. H. Fitzgerald, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Thos. Redding, V. P. Sheet Metal Workers I. A.:

WHEREAS, The organizations represented by the delegates endorsing this resolution and several other organizations have been and are now doing everything possible to educate the American people to the seriousness of the railroad situation, and the necessity for adopting some other means for operating the country's transportation systems in order to provide more adequate and cheaper transportation and to eliminate the sinister influence of railroad corporations from our national life; and

WHEREAS, The railroad question is an industrial question, it is also a social question, and it is far more than a question of dividends to stockholders or the wages of employes, it is a question that involves every industrial activity of the nation; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the continued operation of the railroads under the provision of the Transportation Act of 1920 neglects all these questions and makes their solution impossible, and we believe further that the provisions of this Act providing for a subsidy and the utilization of public funds by private individuals is a betrayal of the public interest and a subservise of the traditions of our country; and

WHEREAS, The organizations represented by the delegates endorsing this resolution and several other organizations have, after careful deliberation and by instructions of their respective memberships, adopted and are advocating a plan providing for Government ownership and democratic operation of the railroad properties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as indorsing the movement to bring about a return of the systems of transportation to Government control and democratic operation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Transportation Act of 1920 repealed and legislation enacted providing for Government control and democratic operation of the railroad systems and necessary inland waterways.

Secretary Frey: The following minority report is submitted by Martin F. Ryan, J.

A. Franklin, and Joseph Morton, members of the Committee:

Believing that the majority report is contrary to the desires and convictions of the Railroad Employees' Organizations and the best interests of the American people, the undersigned submit the following minority report:

To strike out the WORD "control" in the two resolves of RESOLUTION No. 66, and insert the WORD "ownership" in their place.

(Signed)

MARTIN F. RYAN
J. A. FRANKLIN
JOSEPH MORTON
MARTIN LAWLOR

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the Majority Report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Franklin, Boiler Makers: I move, Mr. Chairman, that the Minority Report be substituted for the Majority Report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Franklin, Boilers Makers: I have no desire to go into a lengthy discussion of the merits of the resolution. I believe the question of government ownership of the transportation systems of the United States is one that every delegate is thoroughly familiar with. I believe the delegates will appreciate the importance of the action about to be taken by this convention on this question, which I consider the most important question before the American people today: What shall be done with the transportation systems of the United States?

There is not a citizen in this country that does not understand the difficulties confronting the question of transportation at this time. The law enacted by Congress returning the railroads to private control and taxing the American people in order to guarantee to the owners the corporations, the stockholders, five and one-half per cent on their valuation, is an act that has fastened for all time to come a tax upon the people in order that a private monopoly may grow fat at the expense of the masses of the people of the country.

We ask in this resolution the repeal of the Cummins-Esch Law, and when we do that we have something to offer in its place. We are not asking this convention to take any action that is new to it. You who were in the convention at Atlantic City last year, when this question was

presented to you, will remember that the convention, as we understood the language of the report, endorsed government ownership.

I want to read to you the report, but before doing so I want to read from the report of the Executive Council to the Atlantic City convention, under the caption "Government Ownership."

"Public and semi-public utilities should be owned, operated or regulated by the government in the interest of the public."

The railroads of the country are the largest corporation, the largest industry; they employ more people than any other industry in the country. I want to call your attention to a resolution appearing on page 328 of the proceedings of the Atlantic City Convention. It contains practically the same language which is contained in Resolution No. 66, providing for government ownership and democratic control. On that resolution the committee says:

"With reference to the subject matter contained in the Executive Council's report and the above resolution, your committee, in submitting a declaration in favor of ownership or control of railroads by the United States' government, recommends that inasmuch as the details connected with the same are at present in a formative stage, the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to co-operate with the organizations representing the Railroad Employees.

"We ask you to support the minority report which provides for government ownership and democratic control of the transportation systems of this country. You will be told that we are taking a great risk, that we are liable to be deprived of our citizenship, that we are liable to be denied the right of American citizens; but I want to submit to you if there can be any more stringent orders issued than those contained in the Cummins-Esch Bill. We are denied almost every right that men can be denied, and we are now engaged in this struggle to not only have that law repealed but to prevent the American people from being taxed in order to support corporations that are controlled by a handful of men in Wall Street at the expense of one hundred and ten million people in America.

"We ask your support in adopting the minority report on this resolution."

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee:

I arise in the opposition to the minority committee's report. I would not at this time take up your attention if I was not firmly convinced that whatever action we take at this time marks a distinct turning point in the entire policy and viewpoint of the American trade union movement. I feel that the question we are about to decide is of such far-reaching importance and will have so much to do with the aspirations and hopes and the methods of the wage earners in America, that if I favored the proposition I would still be unwilling that the convention should pass upon it until they had at least taken the time to look up the other side of the picture.

We had for many years in the United States a trades union movement which has stood for a distinct philosophy, a trade union movement that has stood for definite methods, and if we are about to change this, if it is advisable, Mr. Chairman, that we should, we should carefully examine our position before we do so.

We are aware of the injustice that had existed under private ownership, that the railroad men have had to suffer under; we are aware of how financiers have juggled with the railroads, how they have built up one city and strangled another in the interest of land speculators. We are aware of all these things, and no one could make a statement strong enough to altogether meet my own conclusions as to the men who have dominated the railroads of this country. Some we have in the penitentiary, many more would have gone there had juries passed upon their actions. But proving that a man is sick, that he is approaching death, does not furnish a cure.

Government ownership is not necessarily an American idea; government ownership and what goes with it was imported from the other side of the Atlantic. We have had an opportunity of studying the results of government ownership in Great Britain and in Continental countries, and I want to ask the delegates who have studied these questions, who are familiar with the conditions under which the railway employes are employed, the conditions of their labor, whether there is anything we can gather from the experiences on the other side in connection with government ownership, which should be an encouragement or a stimulus to us to have the same conditions established here.

Why, during this convention we have heard a delegate arise in his place and say it was impossible for him to secure adequate wages for his members employed by the United States government. There has never been a convention, Mr. Chairman, since federal employes have been seated as delegates, that we have not been called upon to listen to heart rending tales of bureaucratic methods, of the impossibility of securing adequate wages and fair conditions of employment.

At the present time, with all the strength of their federal organizations, all the strength of the American Federation of Labor, the employes of the United States Government in the arsenals and in the shipyards are receiving much lower wages than men in the same cities, of the same crafts, on the other side of the street at times from these government employes. The metal trades' officials have found in the past twenty-five years that it is impossible to secure the wages for their members that were given by private employers.

Consult with the postman who brings your letter to your door, and he will tell you a story about his wages. We are reliably informed that at the present time there are 87,000 federal employes receiving less than \$3.00 a day. Is that an encouragement for us to go farther and turn over to governmental authority the power and the right to determine what the wages and conditions of labor shall be? Can we hope by the strength of the trade unions, supplemented by the enlightened assistance of public opinion that we can do better for ourselves if the government owns and operates the railroads?

I have a great respect for the public, Mr. Chairman, but I have made the statement, and will make it again, that no great movement which we undertake to improve mankind can be carried into effect until there is behind us the moral support of the public. But what has been our experience with this enlightened public opinion with these classes of employers that have involved railroad men, that have involved miners, that have involved street car men?

We find that the public does what the individual does—think first of themselves. The public takes no interest, or has failed in the past to do so. From the beginning of men's associating together they have failed to take an interest in the rights of

those who were being injured until those who were being injured took action which called it to their attention. Had there been an enlightened public opinion child labor could not have had a beginning in the cotton mills of New England and the South. Had we had an enlightened public opinion the government would never have dared do what it did in the last miners' strike.

There is growing up in this country an idea advocated by those who claim to be our friends, advocated by publicists, advocated by near statesmen, and real statesmen, that the welfare of the state is superior to the rights of the individual. They believed in that in Germany. There has been that thought. It has grown up in this democratic country of ours, that the welfare of the community is superior to the rights of the individual, which translated into action means this: That if there is a controversy between labor and management, and labor strikes and that strike hurts the public, that those who work must cease hurting the public and wait for governmental agencies to settle the dispute and bring about justice.

I may be wrong in the position I take; I cannot see into the future; I am governed entirely by what I have seen men do in the past. I am not altogether convinced, because so many trade union men for whom I have not only the highest respect but the friendliest feelings, men to whom I go for advice when I am puzzled, believe this thing a cure.

Not many years ago the workers of New Zealand felt that they had found the cure for their industrial troubles and they advocated compulsory arbitration. They went before the national legislative body and fought for it. The employers lobbied against compulsory arbitration, they argued against the idea that they must agree to an award, and for three sessions the workers met with opposition, not so much from the legislators as from the employers.

Finally the workers of New Zealand reached their goal and then found out, when too late, when the steering wheel had been lashed to the post, when they were cut from the moorings, that they could not navigate the ship. They found that compulsory arbitration bound them down. They put it through in the face of the employers' opposition and found in the end they had hurt rather than helped themselves.

Is it the sound trade union position that we shall turn over to the state power over our economic movement? Is it sound that we should thrust to others—human beings like ourselves—to do those things which we perhaps may be able to do for ourselves? Is there any reason to believe, after the experiences we have gone through as a movement, that we could place any confidence in the pledges that railway men, or that miners, or that banking company employes or insurance company employes would retain their economic freedom if we nationalize those industries? Is there any evidence that they would?

What is the history of promises to labor? During the great war, when it became important that production should be carried on without interruption, the trade unionists of Great Britain were called into conference. The Premier of the country was there. He requested those men to waive certain conditions they should achieved in the past, and made a solemn pledge that those rights would be returned to them. He went into Parliament and had a bill passed guaranteeing those rights. But when, after the war, labor in Great Britain demanded a return of those rights they were met with a statement that conditions had changed and it was no longer possible to do it.

We have had pledges from those who represent the state. Some years ago Senator Sherman introduced a measure in the Senate, the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Our honored president and the members of the Executive Council were alarmed lest that anti-trust law would be used against labor. Solemn pledges were made on the floor of the Senate; official statements were made that it could not and would not be applied to labor; and yet the very first body of Americans who felt the whip of the federal government, as applied through the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, were our people, not the monopolists who were profiteering upon the government and the people.

A short time ago the Lever Bill was introduced in Congress, and the trade union movement felt that our rights would be taken away from us, that we would be prosecuted as trusts, as combinations, illegal because of our activity. The solemn promise was made on the floor of the House, the solemn promise was made on the floor of the Senate, the solemn promise was made by a member of the President's cabinet—speaking with author-

ity from the cabinet—the attorney general of the United States made a solemn promise that that bill would not be construed as applying to organized labor.

What was the first thing we learned about the application of the Lever Act? It was not applied to the profiteers, it had not stopped the increasing cost of living, but it was used to throttle the miners' union. It was applied, first of all, not to those we understood the law was intended to apply to, but applied to take away those methods we absolutely require if we are to protect our welfare.

I want to go a little farther into this question. I am a trade unionist. I am so because I came into contact with those who made this American Federation of Labor a possibility. And I was taught that the most necessary thing for the workers to do was to learn to combine for industrial action, to combine so that acting as groups of men in the plant, in the mine, in the factory, or as workers of a craft in a city, they would be able through collective bargaining, they would be able through the militant character of their organization, to directly maintain the terms of employment and conditions of labor under which they were willing to live.

I was taught that to place too much reliance upon the state was a mistake, but there grew up in America groups of men with ideas and theories that had their origin in Germany. The statement was made that we were wrong in the methods we had pursued, that trade unionism could only carry this movement a little way and that our salvation lay in the state—the state ownership and the state control and the state operation of the means of production and distribution.

And in the conventions of this body in the years gone by, those who believed in socialism endeavored to commit the trade union movement to a new track, endeavored to put another man at the helm and steer the trade union movement in a new direction. We were able to convince ourselves and a great majority of the American workers that so far as the industrial problem was concerned trade unionism was the only hope we had. Unless we could strike when it was necessary and support each other when engaged in these conflicts there was very little hope.

We made this trade union movement the

most definite in its policies of any trade union movement on earth. And not only that, but with this trade union conception we have used as a guide we have accomplished more for labor, we have done more to shorten the hours of labor, increase wages, place labor in a position where it could speak with the employers and receive the consideration of employers than has labor in any nation on earth.

And nowhere today is labor as high, as respected, as influential, nowhere are its members getting the conditions of labor and the terms of employment that we are in the United States; and I am convinced it is because we have held true to these trade union policies which we set in motion, and which we endeavored to teach to the best of our ability to the workers of the country.

It is not altogether in my mind a question of government ownership of railroads. Government ownership of railroads—well and good. Government ownership of mines, well and good; government ownership of banks, well and good; government ownership of health and other insurance, well and good; but if it is advisable for this organizations to adopt those policies, let us do it with our eyes wide open, and with the admission that we were mistaken in the past and that hope does not lie along the lines that have guided us, but that it lies in the state having this control.

As an American I don't want the state to have very much control over me; I want the state to guarantee my rights and liberties and then let me battle as best as I can. The state moves slowly; it is influenced by powerful individuals, but it has never done very much for man's liberties. I don't want to turn over to the state the problems that you and I have got to solve tomorrow, next year and the years to come. It will mean that we now endorse the principle of government ownership and operation, not only of the railroads but of every other commodity or necessity the public thinks is of prime interest or that we can secure. Do we want to enter upon that campaign?

The committee has expressed the opinion that there should be more government control and democratic operation of the railroads. There has been governmental control of a kind over the railways. We are not satisfied with that control. We think that control should be changed, that it

should be made responsive to justice, to the welfare of the workers and the welfare of the nation, no longer to be exploited as it has been in the past. We believe that control should be democratic, and by that we have in mind that the men who work in that industry shall have something to say, not only as to the rates of wages but of management.

If the minority report is adopted it will be adopting a principle of governmental ownership and operation, or the ownership by the state of the means of production and transportation and the operation of those by the state. I have seen nothing, where this has taken place, that has given me any confidence in it. I have found no workers employed by these government-owned industries that have given me any hope. If we must eventually come to something of that kind, let us before we do it give more than one convention's consideration to the question.

Delegate Trummer, Journeymen Tailors: Delegate Frey has perhaps made it a little difficult for anyone to get up and oppose his point of view, for fear of being suspected of having been made in Germany; but I don't think his discussion of a subject so important as the one before us need influence anyone in expressing his opinion. Most of the discussion put up by Delegate Frey was in opposition to the powers of government, against government control of the individual, and yet he wound up by saying that he desires more governmental control.

Delegate Frey has drawn a very dark and gloomy picture of the conditions which may, or will—there is no doubt they will—confront us if we in any way, shape or form, adopt the minority report; and yet in discussing the question he deviated entirely from the letter and the substance of the minority report by harping continually on the phrase of "government ownership and control of the railroads." That is not at all contemplated in the resolution. The phrase in the resolution is: "the government ownership and democratic operation," and the lack of success of government control in any country on the face of the globe has no bearing and no relation to the subject we are discussing now.

It is hardly worth while to take up the various arguments that were put forth, because they are contradictory fundamentally. In one point we are told that under the scheme which the brother had in mind it would be difficult for the workers

in the railroad industry to obtain necessary increases in wages. Is it easy to get those increases under private ownership? Has it been easy? It could not be any more difficult no matter how they were owned or controlled.

I believe the minority report contemplates the adoption of the so-called "Plumb Plan" of government ownership. It contemplates democratic operation, operation by the people actually engaged in running and managing and performing the labor in that particular industry. And those of you who have given any time or thought or study to the Plumb Plan also know that it almost automatically provides for removing the very evils which Delegate Frey pictured to you.

It is also known and understood by nearly all of us here that the public has been educated in the past few years. We have gone through a phase of development in industry where we were forced to study these questions, and the publicity given and the tentative sanction of the Plumb Plan by the American Federation of Labor has enlightened the public. And I for one can say that wherever I have had an opportunity to get in touch with the rank and file of the workers, I have found the sentiment is almost unanimous in favor of adopting that particular plan. The people demand the enactment of some such plan into law.

A few days ago, when the originator of the Plumb Plan addressed us here in this hall, it seemed that the sentiment of practically every man and woman present favored that plan and its adoption, and in doing so they expressed the feeling and the sentiment of the rank and file, who, according to Brother Frey, are not yet sufficiently enlightened.

We are told we should not place too much reliance on the state in adopting the minority report. We are not placing any reliance on the state to hand us anything, we are placing reliance wholly on our fellow workers. And the question of compulsory arbitration or any of the other evils complained of will naturally and automatically be obviated under the operation of this plan.

It would be almost useless, Mr. Chairman, to waste time in further oratory in going over this question, because, as I have said, we have had an opportunity to educate ourselves. We have learned what are the evils of government control and we don't want any more of it. Government

control means placing the responsibility of control on the backs of the people and putting the profits of that industry into the pockets of a few. And that is also a fact based on thorough and extensive investigation of the entire subject.

Do not allow yourselves to be misled into the belief that the minority report contemplates the management or operation of the railroads by any government. That is the point I want to bring home to you. It contemplates the ownership by the government, because the government is the only institution large enough to take the initial step to make the railroads a democratic institution run by and for the people.

I will agree with Delegate Frey that we have arrived at a turning point. It is quite true. After we have satisfied ourselves of the desires of a great majority of the workers for the adoption of this particular plan, a plan of the government taking over the railroads and placing them in the hands of those who now run them, the management and the workers, when we do that the great majority of the workers are in favor of that particular plan, and they expect if that question comes up here that they will unanimously adopt it and see that it is brought about. If we should here vote against the minority report we would certainly be turning backwards.

Delegate Heberling, Switchmen: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I have listened with great interest to what my good friend Frey had to say on this railroad situation, and he said something about the doctor and the cause of the disease. Let us go back a little in this railroad question. In the first place, my kind brother appealed to the war prejudice of this nation, saying that this idea came from Germany. We are going to handle this subject now on its merits; not in Germany, but as it is today.

Going back before Germany ever thought anything about this country, taking the thirteen Colonies and establishing the constitution of the United States, did not that constitution give the United States authority over the postal roads of the country? And by and by the horse and the foot man and the other conveyance that carried the intelligence throughout that new country gave place to the railroads that today are the arteries of commerce

in the nation. And why do you want Wall street to control these arteries? The inconsistency of it!

I sat here the other day and heard a resolution condemning compulsory arbitration adopted. It was adopted unanimously by this body. I heard a brother say that 2,000,000 workers of this country would be bound hand and foot. That is compulsory arbitration in every form, and it was adopted by the Republican Party in its platform the other day. Some of our friends we sent there came back and reported to us that we propose to take action upon this question before this convention. If the majority report is adopted it will give those people a chance to put out over this country in great headlines that we adopted the Esch-Cummins Bill.

Something is said about governmental control. The statement was made that some eighty odd thousands of men working in the ship industry and the arsenals of the government were getting less than \$3.00 a day. Does the speaker know that there are about 300,000 railroad men getting less than \$3.00 a day now, and before the government took over these railroads, when they absolutely broke down for the purpose of national defence, thousands of men were working far as low as ten cents an hour? That was under private ownership. These railroads were owned and controlled by private interests that not only opposed you when you organized those men, but they didn't hesitate to shoot you down. The men who know will testify that there was more progress made in two years in organizing the railroad workers during the war than there was in twenty years preceding that time.

There was great stress laid upon the public. Who is the public? There are two million railroad workers, with an average of five in a family—and the poorer ones have larger families. Are we not a part of the public? Now, why are we so much concerned about the interests of these two million workers? What do we want for them? What the railroad men of this country want is a democratic operation and ownership of the railroads. And why? The government of the United States is paying out of the taxes of the people—and we pay those taxes in the final analysis—and we have no voice in the operation of the roads.

We have a well-defined plan to handle

this matter. All of the sixteen organizations representing this great body of workers have adopted this policy, and I do not understand why any individual will stand up and insinuate that the men of that great industry do not want the Plumb Plan, or that if they get it they will be committing industrial suicide.

He referred to the conditions far across the sea, the conditions of the railroad workers there. There is no comparison made in Great Britain between the bricklayer there and the bricklayer in America, between the machinist there and the machinist here, but the comparison between the railroad workers is alluded to. I have some friends in Australia and I know from correspondence I have had that men who do this class of work in Australia had the eight-hour day long before we had it in America under private ownership. We did not succeed in getting the eight-hour day except in the past two years when we have been under government ownership.

Let me say to the unions that are not railroad workers—stand by the men in the railroad service for the things they want and we will be in a position to stand by you for the things you want. The very life blood of the nation is these arteries of commerce, the railways and transportation system. These workers have been denied the right to organize, and that is why this great reactionary party in Chicago the other day adopted the Esch-Cummins Law, which now has our necks in the yoke, for it is compulsory arbitration in every sense. We want to break those chains and we want to have a voice in the conduct of the industry.

Further discussion on the subject was deferred, as the hour for adjournment had arrived.

At 5:30 p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Thursday, June 17th.

TENTH DAY--Thursday Morning Session

Montreal, Que., Can., June 17, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Boyer, Fitzgerald (E.), Wieland, Bock, Maitland, Hogan, Murray (P.), Hayes (F.), Schlessinger, White (J.), Kennedy (T.), Hannah, Kearney, Anderson (C.), Flynn (P.), Blasey, Stillman, Curtis, Graves, Hoat, Jones (J.), Ely, Kavanaugh, Johnson (G.), Iglesias, Cunningham, Hurlin, Jones (D.), Caddy, Lennon, Kelley, Darr, Stewart, Queeney, Withereff, Rogers (R.), Oplinger, Thomas, O'Neill, Stanley, Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (J.), Hemsley, Freund, Taylor (C.), O'Dell, Knight, Murray (J.), Barnack, Sims, Keavney, Gagnon, Jagers, Dunlop, Wilkinson, McKosky, Fitzgerald (J.), Heck, Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Spencer (H.), Hourigan, Wood (R.), Canavan, Harrell, Williams, Talbot, Ellis, Mezzacapo, Posey, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, Schoonover, Davies, Longe, Carlock, Hall, Brown, Maund, Grove La Rose, Heywood, Boyd, Hodge, McKnight, Lewis, Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray, Weber (C.), Woodmansee, Kelleher, Gabrio, Gould (A.), Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Gites, Stevens, Smallwood, Wilcox, Allen (N.), Watson (F.), Jenkins, Tait, Reynolds (G.), Wlitschkin, Rothenstein,

Ryan (T.), Dodson, Bond, Robins, Jones (J.), Fitzgerald (A.).

Secretary Morrison read the following as a matter of record:—

Mr. Frank Morrison,
Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

Official information has just reached me that one of the organizations of war veterans has placed a contract for cast iron grave markers with Highton and Sons, foundry of Nashua, N. H. This firm, in addition to operating a non-union foundry, has for years been active in creating anti-union sentiment among foundrymen. Many thousands of trade unionists who now sleep beneath the sod are to have their final resting place marked by castings made under aggravated non-union conditions. The convention's attention should be called to this most unfortunate condition, so that through the activities of living trade-unionists the graves of their dead brothers may not be desecrated by the presence of non-union made grave markers or other non-union material.

On behalf of the International Molders' Union of North America I would request the Executive Council to take up the question with all of the war veterans associations.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN P. FREY.

President Gompers stated the communi-

cation would receive the attention of the Executive Council.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schoenberg, Secretary of the Committee, submitted a supplemental report recommending the seating of Agnes Burns, representing the Stenographers, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union of Boston, Massachusetts, with one vote.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Delegate Glover, Blacksmiths, stated for the information of the delegates interested that one thousand men employed at the plant of the Hydro-Electric Company at Niagara Falls went on strike June 16th, when the company demanded that they work ten hours per day straight time, instead of eight hours.

DISCUSSION OF REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS ON RESOLUTION No. 66 (Continued)

President Gompers: When the session closed last evening the convention had before it the report of the Committee on Resolutions, a majority report and a minority report. The subject is now open for discussion.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, I rise to support the minority report. I do not intend to take up much of your time in an argument in regard to the report, but I want to set before this convention the previous action of the American Federation of Labor in support of my position.

During the war we arranged for a Reconstruction Committee to look after the interests of the workers, and there was appointed, by instructions of the St. Paul Convention, the following committee: John P. Frey, Editor International Molders' Journal; B. M. Jewell, Acting President Railway Employees Department; John Moore, President Ohio District, United Mine Workers, George W. Perkins, President Cigar Makers' International Union, and Matthew Woll, President International Photo Engravers' Union. The report of the committee was rendered to the Executive Council at its meeting in New York City on December 28, 1918, and was there endorsed by the Executive Council. The Council said:

"We desire to say that the reconstruction program drafted by this special committee is not only the most complete and most constructive proposal yet made in this country for the reconstruction period, but constitutes practically the only program in existence having to do with the period re-

building the national life on a peace basis. The measures proposed in the report are measures which the nation can ill afford to ignore. They are measures also for the realization of which organized labor throughout the country should exert every possible influence. The proposals are fundamentally the proposals of democracy designed to make for a richer and freer human life. We call not only upon the organized workers but upon the whole people of America to bring into a state of active operation the splendid humanitarian and democratic reconstruction program here presented."

In that program, Delegate Frey being chairman of the committee which drafted it, we have this statement under the caption, "Government Ownership," page 75 of the proceedings of the Atlantic City convention:

"Public and semi-public utilities should be owned, operated or regulated by the government in the interest of the public.

"Whatever final disposition shall be made of the railways of the country in ownership, management or regulation, we insist upon the right of the workers to organize for their common and mutual protection and the full exercise of the normal activities which come with organization. Any attempt at the denial by governmental authority of the rights of the workers to organize, to petition, to representation and to collective bargaining, or the denial of the exercise of their political rights, is repugnant to the fundamental principles of free citizenship in a republic and is destructive of their best interest and welfare."

It goes further and says:

"The government should own and operate all wharves and docks connected with public harbors which are used for commerce or transportation."

I call attention to these declarations because the Secretary of the Committee stated that if we are going to have government ownership we should not go in blindly, and that the adoption of the minority report would be a departure from the position taken by the Federation.

I want to call your attention to the fact that our Reconstruction Program contains those clauses, and that Delegate Frey was a member of that committee.

Under "Railroad Operations" page 125 of the Atlantic City convention proceedings, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor took cognizance of the Reconstruction report and states that Mr. Amster proposed a plan. Other plans were proposed, which are mentioned, and the Executive Council concludes:

"For these reasons, and our declarations on reconstruction and general information

upon the subject, we recommend to the convention the endorsement of government ownership of railroads."

The Reconstruction Program supports the minority report. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in its report to the Atlantic City convention, supports the minority report. The Convention itself supports the minority report. On page 328 of the Atlantic City Convention proceedings will be found, Resolution No. 180, signed by the representatives of practically every railroad organization, and the "Resolve" is as follows:

"RESOLVED, by this 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we hereby approve, endorse and adopt the plan for the reorganization of the railway industry, presented to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on behalf of the railroad employes."

Then follow the names of fifteen railroad organizations.

The following is the report adopted by the Atlantic City Convention, a report made by the committee on Resolutions of which Delegate Frey was secretary:

"With reference to the subject matter contained in the Executive Council's report and in the above resolution, your committee, in submitting a declaration in favor of ownership or control of railroads by the United States government, recommends that inasmuch as the details connected with the same are at present in a formative stage, the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to cooperate with the organizations representing the Railroad Employes."

And the report of the committee was adopted.

I therefore hold that in supporting the minority report I am following the instructions of the Reconstruction Committee, the Executive Council, and the last convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We hear a great deal about self-determination. That thought is sinking into the hearts of the men and women of all countries. We have the remarkable proposition here, of every railroad organization, representing all the workers on the railroads, coming to this convention and asking that they be assisted in securing "government ownership and the democratic operation of the railroad system and necessary inland waterways," because they believe that no matter what tribulations may come as a result of government ownership, they will fare better than they will have in the past and better than they will fare in the fu-

ture under private ownership. If this proposition was for government ownership and the men representing the railroad were here opposing it, then I would consider it another proposition; but they are the workers that are interested and they are asking this convention to place them in a position where they can, in their opinion, work to better advantage. Because of the action of the Atlantic City convention, because the railroad employes desire this legislation, and because the American Federation of Labor has in the past declared for government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines, I urge the delegates to adopt this legislation that is requested by the representatives of the railroad employes of North America.

Delegate MacGowan, Boiler Makers:—It is not pleasing to me to be placed in the position of having to oppose the majority report of the Committee on Resolutions, I have great admiration for the judgment and intelligence of the members of that committee. I want at this time, before discussing the merits of the subject, to protest in the most earnest manner of which I am capable against the attempt to settle this question in this convention by appealing to the prejudices and passions of the delegates. I listened with great attention yesterday afternoon to the remarks of my good friend Frey, and I can only say that as my understanding goes, Delegate Frey talked about everything except the report of the committee.

First of all, he attempted to prejudice the delegates by branding this plan as German. Secondly, he attempted to prejudice the delegates by calling it Socialistic. Again, he attempted to appeal to the prejudices or passions of some of the delegates by injecting the Sherman Anti-trust Law and by injecting the Lever Control Act, and I submit to this convention that, notwithstanding all that may have taken place under the operation of these laws, they should not be considered in connection with this question.

I want also to correct the impression in the minds of some of the delegates that this resolution calls for the unqualified endorsement of the Plumb Plan. We railroad men, operating upon the theory that it is futile to protest unless you have something to replace the existing order, have endorsed and are advocating the Plumb Plan, but we are not asking this convention to

endorse that plan, we are saying to this convention and to the Executive Council: This is what we propose, but if you or any other citizen, or group of citizens can advocate a better plan, we are susceptible to reason and we will bend our judgment to yours.

Now, Mr. Chairman, speaking for the amendment upon the majority report. The term "control" is injected in lieu of "ownership." The term "control" used in this particular connection is a misnomer and is misleading. We have government control now, we have had government control of a character ever since the institution of the Interstate Commerce Commission. That is not going to bring the relief, neither will a more rigid application of that kind of control bring the relief that we seek.

I want to quote from an address delivered by the former Director General of Railroads, Mr. McAdoo, before the Bar Association of New York on May 17, 1919. Speaking on the message received by the United States government and signed by the Allied Premiers:

"Grave as this message was, the situation as presented orally by the representatives was much worse. Mr. Grey reported to me that it was represented that the rations of the Italian army had already been reduced twice, and the rations of the French army once, and unless food supplies were rushed to Europe immediately and in adequate quantities, starvation would certainly overtake the civil population of the Allies and the armies could not be adequately supported."

Later on in the same address:

"On the fifteenth day of March, 1918, one month and one week after the meeting of February 8th, I had the pleasure of addressing a letter to the representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy, informing them that loaded cars of food had accumulated to such an extent at the leading Atlantic sea ports that it would be necessary to seriously consider an embargo against future movements unless immediate relief in the way of ships could be afforded."

I quote that, Mr. Chairman and delegates, to show to you that notwithstanding the fact that during the winter of 1917-1918 the entire country from one end to the other was congested, the railroads had completely broken down; in the cities of this country, we were freezing and starving as a consequence of the utter inability of the railroads to meet the situation. The government took the roads at that time, and all of this time the volume of traffic

was expanding and increasing; and yet in five weeks under government control, we are able to handle all the necessities of life for our own country and stock up the eastern sea ports with food for the Allies, and were able to save the day. And yet there are people who tell us that government control, government operation, is impossible.

I want to consume a few moments in analyzing the present Transportation Act. Under the provisions of the Transportation Act of 1920, a wage increase for the railroad employes is predicated practically upon an increase in freight rates to meet that wage increase. That being a fact, and if the present wage increases requested by the employes are granted and the freight rates are increased, I submit to you delegates that it will be some time before the railroad employes will be able to make their voice heard again and secure any further adjustment in wages or conditions.

The temper of the people will be such—and if it is not such it will be inspired artificially—to preclude the possibility of the railroad men securing further increases; and, notwithstanding the appalling picture painted by Delegate Frey yesterday afternoon, it requires but little analysis on your part to reach the conclusion that that condition is even more appalling than those characterized by Delegate Frey.

The railroad men of this country believe they know what they want. We are under instructions from our membership. We would be traitors to the trust reposed in us did we not at all times advocate the things that we are instructed to advocate. There are many delegates to this convention in the same position, and I want to say in conclusion that we want the support, the active, vigorous support of the American Federation of Labor in this campaign. If that support is denied us, come what may, we are bound and determined to face the issue, even though we have to face it alone.

Delegate Frey: I rise to a question of personal privilege concerning the misquotation and apparent misunderstanding of a statement which I made yesterday. A number of delegates who have spoken upon this question have either misquoted or misunderstood the statement which

was made yesterday by the Secretary of the Committee, in which he referred to a conception of the State government, or the power of the State imported from across the ocean, and being German in its character. The statement was made in connection with a discussion of the functions of the State and the Bismarckian, or German idea, that the State existed to control the people, as contrasted with the American idea that the State exists in order that citizens may have a free opportunity to work out their own problems in their own way. I make this statement so that I may not be misunderstood any further on that point. It was a discussion of the theory of the State, and it wasn't bringing in the word "German" for the purpose of prejudicing the case one way or the other.

Delegate Green, United Mine Workers: No man seeking after the truth could fail to be wonderfully impressed by the argument presented by Secretary Frey, of the committee, yesterday. He presented a most convincing argument in support of his position. If he had been right his argument would have been well nigh irresistible.

However, as one delegate representing the United Mine Workers of America, I regret that it is impossible for me to agree with his contention. I therefore rise at this time to support, in the most earnest manner at my command, the minority report. I feel sure that in that attitude I am representing the profound conviction and the settled sentiment of the four or five hundred thousand miners affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Again, in occupying that position, I feel that I am but following the teachings and the traditions of the American Federation of Labor. I think a search of the records of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor will disclose that at practically every convention held since the Norfolk convention, when this subject was considered, the delegates declared most emphatically in favor of government ownership of railroads. Mr. Morrison quoted from the report of the Reconstruction Committee, which report was endorsed unanimously by the Atlantic City convention. I want to read again just one paragraph, because I think it is worth repeating, from the report of the Executive Council to the Atlantic City convention. Here is the paragraph, which follows after summing

up the different plans proposed for the regulation of railroads:

"For these reasons and our declarations on reconstruction and general information upon the subject, we recommend to the convention the endorsement of government ownership of railroads."

There is nothing equivocating in that; it is not susceptible to any more than one interpretation, and that recommendation was arrived at after the fullest, freest and most comprehensive consideration of the subject by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I think I can say to this convention, without betraying the confidence of the Executive Council, that that solemn declaration upon this subject was arrived at by a unanimous decision.

Is it possible that we have been wrong, and now we have found that we have been wrong? Or is it possible that our declarations upon this subject have been insincere? If we now depart from the traditional policy we have always pursued we subject ourselves to the charge of insincerity. Is it possible that we have told the railroad workers, the membership of the United Mine Workers, and the membership of every other organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that we believe in government ownership of railroads, when the subject was being considered only lightly by all? Now, when it has become a live issue, an issue that is gripping the hearts and minds, not only of the workers but of all liberal minded men, shall we say we did not mean what we said and that now we reverse our traditional policy? We cannot do that. To do so would create a lack of confidence in the declarations of the American Federation of Labor made in convention from time to time.

Now what is the difference between the two reports? The minority report provides for government ownership and democratic management. I think that is the substance of the minority report. The majority report provides for government control, government regulation, private ownership with private operation. Well, Mr. Chairman, both reports recognize that there must be government interference in the operation of the railroads. My good friend Frey himself recognizes the necessity of government interference, if you please. I would rather have government ownership with democratic management than I would private ownership with government control.

Private ownership means, under the provisions of the Esch-Cummins Law, that the government pledges itself to see that the railroads earn six per cent. net upon their capitalization, six per cent. upon inflated values, watered stock and stock juggling in its worst form. I am sure that if the railroads were operated by the public without guaranteeing to the stockholders a six per cent. dividend upon these fictitious values, that it would be far better for the people who are served by the railroads and far better for the workers who work on the railroads.

But, it seems to me, the most convincing fact in favor of the minority report is this: men learn what is best for them in the hard school of experience; we learn lessons we never forget in that school. The railroad workers represented in this convention worked for years and years under private ownership. They also worked the control of the government during the war. Now they have had these two experiences, under private ownership and public operation, public direction and public administration, and after these experiences what do they say? Two million workers say that, in their judgment, based upon experience, the interests of the workers are best conserved by working on the railroads under government ownership and government administration. Now, is it possible that these two million men do not know what they want? Is it possible that I as a coal miner, or Secretary Frey as a molder, is going to tell the railroad workers that they do not know what is good for them?

They come here unanimous on this proposition. Do you think for a minute they would favor government ownership if it had proved to be detrimental to their interests? The answer must be that they surely know what is best for them, and they only come in now, after going through that experience, and ask the American Federation of Labor to stand true to its declarations made on this subject on every occasion on which it has presented itself. We must ring true, we must respond, we must say we have meant the things we said, or stand open to the charge of insincerity.

Now regarding my friend's reference to the power of the State. When we speak about those things we always speak in general terms. There wasn't anything specific in the reference my friend made to

the subject wherein in State would interfere with the private and personal rights of the workers under government ownership. We have a right to know how these rights will be interfered with. I am not afraid to risk it; in fact, in view of the experience of the United Mine Workers under private operation of mines, I don't think it could be much worse for the railroads under government operation.

Now bear with me just for a moment while I make the comparison. The mines of the country are operated by private corporations. The government control that was exercised in a limited way during the war was set aside last winter. Let me correct that statement. The government supervision and control of coal mines was set aside in February, 1919. Thereafter, the mines reverted to their owners without government interference, and of course we assumed that we had a right to exercise all our rights as workers and as American citizens. We failed to secure an agreement with our employers and we decided we would exercise the right to go on the industrial field and fight for the things we believed we were entitled to. It was then we learned something; we learned that it wasn't necessary for the mining industry to be under government control for the government to bring into action its most powerful weapons.

We were enjoined, we were ordered to go back to work, we were not only prohibited from doing certain things, but we were directed by the court to do certain things. We were commanded to rescind the strike order, the effect of which the Government authorities believed would be to put the miners of the country back to work. Could the government do any more under public ownership? Didn't they interfere there with the rights of the individual? Wasn't the State supreme? I can show you now by this argument where the State interfered with the rights of the individual under private ownership, but you can't show me one single instance where the government, under public operation and government control, did the same thing to the railroad workers during the war.

Not only that, but we are now required to face a jury on the 8th day of November, charged with criminal conspiracy because we dared to assert our rights. We were indicted by a grand jury, the indictment containing eighteen counts, and on Novem-

ber 8th the officers of the United Mine Workers of America are forced to go on trial in the Federal Court at Indianapolis. Why? Because under private operation of mines, the miners of this country dared go on strike for increased wages. Can it be worse under public ownership? The government will find a way, either under private ownership or public ownership, to enforce its decrees in a national emergency until the workers themselves become sufficiently conscious of their political strength that they will endeavor to rectify that condition. It is not a question of public ownership or private ownership, it is a question of the State being supreme in any emergency.

I am not deceived, because I can see in this policy outlined by the government during the miners' strike that it will find a way, whenever any basic industry interferes with the convenience, the accommodations and the happiness of the public, to enforce the will, the power and the majesty of the State. That is its policy, and with the powers entrenched in the national Congress, in the Executive Department and in the judicial branches of the government, there is nothing to stop it, as I see it now, from enforcing these indefensible decrees.

The United Mine Workers have not only been attacked in this way, but we have been attacked by the institution of civil suits in the courts. We are charged with being a conspiracy under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and in the Federal Court in Arkansas a year or two ago we were tried by a jury, found guilty and a verdict rendered against us for six hundred thousand dollars and costs. Were the railroad workers subjected to any such action as that during the period of public operation? We have now deposited in a safety vault at Indianapolis eight hundred thousand dollars of the United Mine Workers' money, awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, and if it decides against us, all that the representatives of the Coronado Coal Company will need to do is to go to Indianapolis, unlock the safety deposit box, put the eight hundred thousand dollars in their pocket and walk away. How long can we pay such claims?

About six weeks ago another suit was instituted in Arkansas based upon the same premises. A jury found us guilty again, and we are assessed another three hundred thousand dollars damages and costs, and

we have got to put up the collateral to guarantee the payment of that judgment while we appeal the case to the high courts. I might say that the Court of Appeals at St. Louis sustained the verdict of the court in Arkansas. Now we have only one other appeal, and that is to the Supreme Court of the United States. What do you think of that? That is under private ownership. They can pile up these suits and more suits, and how long can an organization pay such claims? There is the power of the State. Where is there a railroad organization that has been charged with conspiracy? Where is there one that has been haled into court under the Sherman Anti-trust Law? Where is the possibility for such action being taken under government ownership?

I well understand that we have pursued diligently a trade union philosophy that has brought to us improved conditions of employment, shorter hours of labor and increased wages. My friends, I have always understood that that philosophy was sufficiently flexible to permit the trade union movement to go forward and never stand still. I don't believe in extending the powers of the government everywhere and anywhere, but I think I have a mind that is sufficiently discerning so as to realize how far the government should go and when it should stop. The argument takes over the railroads, then the workers will more actively engage in politics. From the workers' point of view, that ought to be an argument that should appeal to every worker in the United States. The injustices to which I have referred, the invasion of the rights of the United Mine Workers which I have set forth, have been due in my opinion more to the indifference of the workers to exercise their political rights wisely when they go to the polls than to any other cause or reason. If this will arouse the workers, if this will make them conscious of their strength, if it will emphasize the interests of the masses to the extent that they will arouse and rally, than I say that every worker ought to favor that very plan.

I have set forth in this way my opinion and my belief. The United Mine Workers of America will vote for the minority report, and when we do we will be following the teachings that have been given us by

the American Federation of Labor in favor of government ownership of railroads.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: I have listened diligently to the arguments presented both on the majority and minority reports, and I regret exceedingly that the arguments thus far presented neither favor nor endorse in full the majority or minority report.

The secretary of the committee entered extensively into a discussion of the relation of the state to property and the relation of the state to the individual, as well as the relationship of trade unionism under government ownership. Ownership, private or government, if this is to be the issue in general, ought to be discussed in that fashion. We recognize, however, under existing society, both private and government ownership, depending entirely upon the character of property involved.

There was a time when much property that is today government property was private property, and society as it developed and enlarged found it essential to take title from individuals and vest it in governments for the protection and advancement of the people as a whole. We find today in our waterways that the government owns all navigable streams; we find today that the government owns and controls our postal service; and I believe that as time goes on, under private ownership men will acquire monopolistic control of certain properties essential to the life of the nation and to the life of its people, and governments will be compelled to take either title or ownership or a greater degree of control. Ownership and control necessarily involve the rights of individuals. As a matter of fact property rights can only arise from the rights of individuals. The railroads, as has been well stated, are the arteries of our nation today, and as between monopolistic ownership and control and government ownership and control, I much prefer the latter.

However, there is involved in the minority report something more than government ownership of the railroads, and I am able to determine what the other provision actually means and how it may be interpreted after we leave this convention hall. It is true that one of the speakers has stated that democratic operation does not imply an endorsement of the Plumb Plan, while another delegate speaking in favor of the minority report has

stated that it endorses the Plumb Plan. Are we to be asked at the same time to endorse government ownership as well as the Plumb Plan of operation and its method of acquiring ownership, or are we to deal exclusively with the subject it seems apparent all speakers have agreed upon—government ownership? It is true the Executive Council a year ago recommended government ownership; it is true the Reconstruction Committee stated its approval, and it is true that the last convention expressed its conclusion for government ownership or control; yet there is brought into this phase of it a new feature, the democratic operation of the railroads. What is meant by democratic operation? Is that an endorsement of the Plumb Plan? If it is, then I shall be opposed to the minority report. If we are to have government ownership, let us have that issue clear.

If Brother Green favors government ownership, well and good, let us eliminate "democratic management" and put in language that we can all understand. If Brother MacGowan favors that, let us be clear. If the railroad organizations want government ownership, let us be clear on that point, and if we are to reaffirm the declarations we have mentioned, let us be clear on that point.

The majority report is ambiguous in its language; it says "government control." What do we mean by government control? Brother Green has stated that during the war period we had government control of railroads. Such is not the case. Private title was not destroyed. To the contrary, compensation was made for the operating of the railroads, but title was never disturbed. We have had no government ownership of railroads during the war, we have had a stricter, a more extensive government control and operation, and if the railroad organizations have prospered under that condition, if all that has been gained has been due to the relations between the government and the railroads, then it has not been by government ownership, it has been predicated upon a greater government control.

The majority report says in general terms, "government control." May I say just this: It makes little difference who may have title to property, but in the exercise of that title and all that it may imply the government or some one else is to control, but title itself becomes merely a shell

and the kernel, "control," is the essential feature. And so I say I am at a loss to know what the majority report means by "government control." I am still more confused when the minority report says "democratic operation." If we were to look at the language as printed, it would mean governmental, democratic management, because we find government control and democratic management in the conjunctive form without separation of thought. I don't think the committee has that in mind, and yet the language is ambiguous, and fault in that regard can be found with the minority report equally as well as with the majority report.

I believe this question, large as it is, important as it may be, gravely as it affects the trade unions and all peoples in this country, ought to be defined clearly and sharply, so that when this convention adjourns, whatever its conclusions may be there will at least be no doubt as to the conclusions arrived at. If we are to meet the issue of government versus private ownership, let that be one issue. If we are to have the issue between democratic and the Plumb Plan of operation, let that also be a distinctive issue.

I am opposed to the Plumb Plan method of operation; I am not convinced that its method of acquiring the railroads is the proper one; I am not sure that the method of estimating the valuation of the railroads in the Plumb Plan is just and right; I am not sure that the method of operation as proposed is what the American trade unionists and the American people want, even though we may favor government ownership. And may I say this, that even the proposer of the Plumb Plan is not absolutely sure that his proposal will be a success or a failure. And so I say that while I favor government ownership of the railroads, I should not want to be required or asked on this minority report to endorse language, ambiguous in character, and that might be interpreted and imply a different thought than that which I would vote on. I urge the delegates, in fairness to our convention, to the people we represent, and to the entire public, that these issues be made clear and definite and not merged or confused, one with another.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: I arise to support the minority report. I think it was Kipling who said "The toad beneath

the harrow knows exactly where each tooth point goes." And in addressing myself to the convention I want to call your attention to the fact that there are two propositions involved in the minority report. One is government ownership and the other is democratic operation, and both are equally important.

Before proceeding I want to call your attention to the statements Delegate Frey made in contrasting the Bismarckian theory of government with the American theory of government, leaving the impression that what we were doing now was to defy and confirm the Bismarckian theory. Evidently Delegate Frey has not read carefully our American history. The Bismarckian theory of government is, or was, that the state was supreme and the individual existed only for the glorification of the state.

The American conception is that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and the government exists to open opportunities and provide for the comfort and happiness of the people. America has always been a nation of individuals, and yet when Jefferson laid down the philosophy that the chief function of government was to protect its citizens we did not stop there. We had added new functions to the government, we have extended its power year after year.

When private ownership broke down we had to take on new conditions. Thus public roads succeeded toll roads, public schools succeeded private schools, and wherever the state found it necessary in an emergency new duties were added. Suppose the cotton crop was threatened by the boll weevil. Private ownership could not cope with the situation, could not control it, and so we extend the power of the state to do it. When the war broke out, when private ownership broke down, when the life of the nation was in danger we called upon the state to take a new function, new duties and new responsibilities so that the nation might live. Was that adopting the Bismarckian theory?

Now we come to another point where private ownership of railroads no longer properly functions, and even the most conservative are willing to have the government interfere in their operation. This proposition says the government should take them over and own them and operate them, and to that proposition I agree, because it is in harmony with the trend of

the times. The extension of the functions of the government is not a choice, we cannot help ourselves; we must march along with the trend of the times; and any establishment or institution that seeks to prevent this natural development is destructive. In adopting the principle of government ownership we are doing what is most calculated to profit the welfare of the country.

The democratic operation is of equal importance, because there are certain dangers in government ownership when autocratically administered. At the present time there is no fixed labor employment policy in the government; there is no well-defined policy stating what the rights of the employes may be. There has been a constant tendency to arrogate to itself authority, the right of autocratic administration, denying the employes the right to determine the conditions under which they labor, the right to take action in politics, the right to criticize those in authority; but I feel that government ownership will be for the best interests of the people, and when democratic management is added thereto it will be a profound success.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists:—There has been a good deal of sidestepping on this question and a lot of people are in doubt. When we go to our so-called friends in Congress they want to know whether they are going to please or displease the forces of labor. Certain statements have been made, I don't know whether purposely or not, but they have served the purpose of confusing the minds of the delegates.

Two years ago Delegate Frey reported on Resolution No. 112 favoring government ownership of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines. This is the report:

"In the opinion of your committee, it is inadvisable for this convention to adopt any resolution vitally affecting hundreds of thousands of workers organized in national unions, which was introduced by a Central Labor Union, without consultation with and the privilege of representative officials of national unions. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution and further recommends that the convention reaffirm the policy of the American Federation of Labor, which endorses government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines."

In 1917 we were apprehensive about entertaining a resolution coming from a central body until the national and international unions have declared themselves. The railroad men of this country, repre-

senting two million workers, ninety-eight per cent of whom are represented here, unanimously recommend government ownership and democratic control and management of the railroads. If the roads had remained in private hands the war in Europe would not have ended as it did. The government took over the railroads because of necessity, and it was only through government operation that we were able to move our troops and our supplies, that we were able to send across the forces that finally triumphed in that great struggle.

Why should we not own the railroads? Everybody knows we paid for them time and time again. This question vitally affects every thinking, every living being in America. We believe the railroads can be managed more efficiently, more economically, and the workers thereon receive better compensation and conditions under government ownership than under private ownership.

We accomplished more, fellow delegates, in the three years of government control than we did in twenty-five years of private control. There were railroads in our country that an organizer representing an international union of any kind could not light on; he was hounded, driven from pillar to post and browbeaten by their private police forces. The government took over the railroads, and one of the first declarations was that there must be no discrimination because of a man's affiliation with a labor union. When the men were once free to exercise their inherent rights or to make a choice, they gladly came into the labor movement. Great things have been accomplished, great things will yet be accomplished.

The only defect in government control is that the direct management of the properties was left in the hands of the former managers. We want to remove that. Many of those men who were operating the railroads supposedly in the interests of the people were working directly in opposition to the government and to efficient management. Many of the unions, I understand, have come over. Even the Molders' Union, I understand, is committed to government ownership; the Firemen's Union and other unions are committed to a great principle, yet we find somebody straddling this all-important question.

I say again that this is not an endorsement of the Pumb Plan, it is an endorse-

men of the principle of government ownership and democratic management. We have had only one plan presented to us; we have accepted it, subject to change, subject to modification; we do not care what plan it is as long as it brings results; and any man who speaks against a question of this kind because of a name that was injected has a very lame excuse.

Today, even only after a few months of private control, the railroads are in a terrible state. They cannot run on a competitive basis, it is only by a unified, centralized control, by consolidating the properties and the equipment that they are able to function satisfactorily.

Under the Esch-Cummins Law, a premium has been placed on dishonesty and inefficiency, a premium has been placed on dishonest management and inefficient management; they are guaranteed, regardless of how they are operated, their six per cent. interest.

Fellow delegates, this is a question that enters into the homes of every man; it affects the miner in many ways; for instance, private ownership of private coal cars to take the coal from the mines. It affects all of us in the distributing of food, clothing and fuel; all of the necessities of life enter into it. Private management has failed, has broken down. Are we to go on dumping millions and millions of dollars into the private coffers of the railroad magnates and still leave them in control of the property? Or are we going to take these things over on their real value? Everybody who has followed the railroads recognizes that for years, when they wanted to extend their lines or purchase new equipment, a bond issue of twenty to fifty million dollars was floated, but in no instance have they ever made any attempt to pay off that bonded indebtedness.

Are we going to continue on in this way? Are we going to permit the very life of the nation to be dominated by these pirates? Are we going to follow the beaten path, as some men would have us do? Oh, men, let us awake! Let us take a step in advance and get out of the rut from some would have us remain in for all time. I trust the minority report will be adopted by this convention.

President Gompers: The chair desires to ask a question of the signers to the minority report. Statements have been made to this convention by three dele-

gates, and one who is associated with the minority report endorses the Plumb Plan. Two delegates in speaking have said that it does not endorse the Plumb Plan. For the information of the delegates to this convention, the chair asks the delegates who have signed the minority report to authoritatively state to this convention whether or not the minority report proposes to endorse the Plumb Plan. The convention is entitled to know that authoritatively.

Delegate Franklin: As one member of the committee and as a signer of the minority report, it is not our understanding that the minority report endorses any particular plan. We declare for government ownership and for democratic operation, and that is all there is to the minority report. We endorse no particular plan, neither the Plumb Plan nor any other plan.

President Gompers: The chair desires to submit that same question to the other signers of the minority report.

Delegate Lawlor: The position stated by Delegate Franklin is the position which I have taken in the matter, and it was my understanding of the situation when I signed the minority report.

Delegate Morton: I want to corroborate the statement made by Brother Franklin that we had no such intention.

Delegate Ryan: I don't believe that the resolution or the minority report says anything about endorsing the Plumb Plan. While I don't object to the chairman asking the question, it seems to me to be manifestly unfair to do so. The railroad employes of this country were advocates of the Plumb Plan and no doubt this is the best plan yet proposed, but we would be glad to follow the plan proposed by the American Federation of Labor that would improve upon the Plumb Plan.

Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers: I had no intention of discussing the merits of this question one way or the other, and I should not now rise had it not been for a veiled insinuation that Delegate Frey and I were not consistent in our position in opposition to government ownership. In the Reconstruction Plan, which I had some hand in making and which was reported to the Executive Council, we did not declare in favor of government ownership. At that time I was not in favor of government ownership; I was not in favor of it at Atlantic City, and I am not in favor

of it now; and in saying that I have been consistent with my life's opposition upon that important question, Delegate Morrison to the contrary notwithstanding.

President Gompers: One thing has been made clear, and that is that the convention is not called upon at this time to endorse the Plumb Plan. As a consequence, it is not necessary to discuss that plan. I assume, and I think in all fairness, that Delegate Franklin did not intentionally misread the report of the Committee on Resolutions to the 1919 convention; but he did read, evidently unintentionally, that the convention endorsed government ownership and control, when the language of the report of the committee was government ownership "or" control, not "and" control, and the report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

I may say further that Delegate Green said that the report was adopted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by a unanimous vote. It may be true that it was adopted by a unanimous vote of those who were present at the meeting of the Executive Council, but it is equally true that the President of the American Federation of Labor was incapacitated on account of a severe accident and did not participate in the New York meeting of the Executive Council.

I am not going to make any extensive argument upon the proposition. I merely want to call your attention to a few facts. One is that if this minority report is adopted and the government shall be persuaded to accept our point of view, then the government shall own and control and operate the railroads of our country and all railroad employes shall become government employes; that not only will the railroads be owned by the government, but all the attributes and all the tributaries to the railroad service will of necessity come under the ownership and control of the government of the United States; that all the employes of the railroads, on the tugs, on the ocean and coastwise traffic will come under the ownership and control of the United States; and the employes in all these services will become government employes.

In the order of the President of the United States, Mr. Cleveland, the rights of government employes were denied to the extent of their severance from the service if they took an active part in the political

affairs of the United States; later, under the administration of President Roosevelt, the order was issued that government employes were prohibited from exercising any sort of effort in their own behalf with their representatives in Congress or otherwise; under the administration of President Taft, he issued an extension of these orders of President Cleveland and President Roosevelt, and it was the effort of the American Federation of Labor which secured for government employes the right to petition and the right to be heard, to communicate with their representative.

Under the control and operation of the railroads during the war the representatives of the railroads, then for the time being, regarded as government employes, were prohibited by the Director of the Railroads from exercising any activity on the political field. A few months ago, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and later Senator Myers, of Montana, offered propositions prohibiting the payment of wages or salaries to any government employe who was organized in a labor union or affiliated with any labor organization; and it was only due to the active, energetic protests of the officers and the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor that those propositions were defeated. I want to call your attention to these facts and the tendency to prevent the men of labor in all activities, in all forms of employment, from exercising their economic as well as their political rights, and particularly the employes of the government of the United States; and that government ownership simply means that the workers in these industries become government employes.

I want to briefly refer to that in a moment, but I desire to call your attention to the fact that there never has yet existed any government, no matter upon what idealistic principles it was put into power, but that it soon became a power of tyranny. I believe there is no man to whom I would take second position in my loyalty to the Republic of the United States, and yet I would not give it more power over the individual citizenship of our country.

Reference was made to the conditions in the United States, under which, under private ownership of the railroads, we were unable to do the service so necessary to winning the war. It was quite

true that it was the government which finally took over the railroads, operated them, administered them and brought order out of chaos, inability and confusion, but the facts should be known in addition to the results. The facts are that if the railroad managers had attempted to do what the government did, the railroad managers would have been sent to prison for violating the terms of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They were prohibited from doing the things that the government did and that the exigencies of the war demanded, and that is the reason why the government took over the railroads, because the railroad managers were not permitted to pool their issues or to pool their operations.

I was in close touch with the situation before and during the war, and the president of one of the big railroads was a member of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defence, of which I also was a member. I know that the railroad managers were desirous of doing the things that the government did, but were not in position to do so without laying themselves open to the charge and the indictment that they were violating the expressed laws of the United States.

I am glad that the question has been clarified by the answers made by the signers of the minority report. I am sure that the convention, no matter how the delegates may feel upon the subject, will acquit me of the insinuation made that my question to the signers of the minority report was unfair. It has clarified the situation, and it is a question of whether it shall be government ownership or private ownership under control, just as the representatives of the majority and minority have presented it to this convention.

I am merely presenting these matters to you, not argumentative, but to simply have you understand the situation. If I were in the minority of one in this convention, I would want to cast my vote so that the men of labor shall not willingly enslave themselves to government authority in their industrial effort for freedom. At least, so far as the record shall go, whatever shall betide us in the time to come out of the action of this convention, and out of the action of our government upon it, let the future tell the story who is right or who is wrong, who has stood for freedom and who has

been willing to submit their fate industrially to the government even of our beloved country. At least, I have tried to make my record clear, and I am willing to self-stultification.

Secretary Morrison: I rise to a question of personal privilege in connection with a statement made by Delegate Perkins, in which he intimated that I had stated that he had reversed himself in the matter of government ownership. The only place in which I mentioned Delegate Perkins' name was when I read his name as a member of the Committee on Reconstruction. I stated the action of the Executive Council, I stated the action of the Atlantic City Convention, and I did not state that any one of those actions were unanimous; I did not insinuate in regard to the action or position of any delegate to this convention; I stated the facts, and I did that to refute the statement made by the Secretary of the Committee when he intimated that if we adopted the minority report, that would be the first time action along that line had been taken by the American Federation of Labor; and I hope that Delegate Perkins will understand that so far as Delegate Morrison is concerned, he made no reference to his position, other than as being a member of the committee itself.

Delegate Conway, Seamen: Most of our delegates in this convention are going to support the minority report, but we want it plainly understood that in that section of the resolution which deals with inland waterways, that does not affect the seamen; because the Seamen, in their last convention in San Francisco, took action in opposition to government ownership of ships. But we take the position that the railroad men know best what is best for them, and because the railroad men come here unanimously and ask for this, we feel that we should be in favor of what they ask.

Delegate O'Keefe, Molders: I rise to a question of personal privilege, for the purpose of making the record clear. Due to the fact that the Secretary of this Committee is a member of the Molders' Union, and the name of that union has been mentioned, I just want to state to this convention that the Molders' Union is in favor of national, state and municipal ownership of all franchises and public utilities.

President Gompers: The question now recurs on the minority report.

Delegate MacGowan, Blacksmiths, requested a roll call vote. The request was supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

The Secretary called the roll of delegates, with the following result:

Roll Call on Minority Report of the Committee on Resolutions on Resolution No. 66:—

Yes—Mullaney, Bakery and Confectionery Workers delegation, Barbers delegation, Corley, Blacksmiths delegation, Boiler-makers delegation, Bookbinders delegation, O'Byrne, Lacouture, Brewery Workers delegation (205 votes), Bricklayers delegation, Brick and Clay Workers delegation, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers delegation, Railway Carmen's delegation, Barnes, Railway Clerks delegation, Postal Clerks delegation, Murphy, Coopers delegation, De Raay, Browne (M. J.), Electrical Workers delegation, Brown (Wm. S.), Grubb, Todd, Steam and Operating Engineers delegation (256 votes), Photo-Engravers delegation, Federal Employes delegation, Fire Fighters delegation, Stationary Firemen's delegation, Foundry Employes delegation, United Garment Workers delegation (275 votes), Ladies Garment Workers delegation, Flint Glass Workers delegation, Window Glass Workers delegation, Russell, Ironside, Hatters delegation, Horse Shoers delegation, Flore, Farrell, Koveleski, McDewitt, Iron and Steel Workers delegation, Jewelry Workers delegation, Young (E. W.), Leather Workers delegation, Letter Carriers delegation, Longshoremen's delegation, Machinists delegation, Hogan (Stephen C.), Pruett, Strain, Meat Cutters and Butchers Workers' delegation, Sheet Metal Workers delegation, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers delegation, United Mine Workers delegation, Molders delegation, Musicians delegation (525 votes), Stickle, Yarrow, Baker (Harry), Painters delegation, Carey (J. T.), Parker (M. H.), Berndt, Pattern Makers delegation, Bergstrom, Dold, Metal Polishers delegation, Operative Potters delegation, Clark (Wm. D.), Printing Pressmen's delegation, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers delegation, Sutor, Clark (John), Conway (Thomas), Brown (Wm. H.), Railroad Signalmen's delegation, Theatrical Stage Employes delegation (147 votes), Stereotypers and Electrotypers delegation, Stone Cutters delegation, Switchmen's delegation, Tailors delegation, Teachers delegation, Railroad Telegraphers delegation, Johnson (R. H.), Textile Workers delegation, Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), Manning, O'Connell (James), Lord, Bowen, Rogers, Moore (Chas. M.), Copeland, Fritz, Lewis (J. C.), Howat, Shea (Wm. G.), Bieretz, Lawson, Shobe, Cooney, Holland, Staff, Williams (David), Smith (Thomas J.), Cunningham, McKelley, Weber (Frank J.), Fox, Gilletty, Blair, Plummer, Haney, Rohr, Francis, Moore, (Robert R.), Gregson, Garrity, Costello, Lacey, DeLonn, Kelley (Frank L.), Parker (Ben. F.), Dill, McCue, Fink,

Ewald, Block, Pollock, Mueller, Snyder, Krouse, Dermont, Andler, Jennings (Chas. J.), Kerns, Argo, Nuzum, Smith (J. T.), Evans (E. J.), Gorman, Mathieu, Zuzl, Ryan (J.), Carney, Draper, McKosky, Heck, Gebhardt, Curran, Brand, Coyne, Adams (C. A.), Klemfelder, McLaughlin, Ferguson, Hourigan, Duncan (James A.), Vaughan, Louthood, Quinlivan, Christal, Simpson, Canavan, Fennell, James (Newton A.), Fitzgerald (John), Leary, McGeory, Norrington, Enright, Turner, Hogan (Ann), Campbell (Joe C.), Billinger, Golden (James J.), Lalonde, Peebles, Thomson (J. F.), Delisle, Middleton, Boyd, Scott (Alice), Covert, Burford, Carter (Wm.), Ware, Quesse, Flynn (James), Steele, Chambers, Rincker, Walcott, Mullen, Burns (Agnes), Tracy (E. J.), representing 29,159 votes.

No—Gillmore, Lovely, Baine, Richard, Brewery Workers delegation (136 votes), Carpenters' delegation, Perkins, Gompers, Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Feeney, Steam and Operating Engineers delegation (64 votes), United Garment Workers delegation (184 votes), Glass Bottle Blowers' delegation, Dunean (James), Hod Carriers delegation, Sullivan (Jera L.), Lathers delegation, Musicians delegation (175 votes), Plasterers delegation, Plumbers delegation, Cookman, Burns (G. F.), Rooney, Raleigh, Ingraham, Theatrical Stage Employes (40 votes), Teamsters delegation, Tobacco Workers delegation, McCullough, Young (William), Barrett, O'Donnell, Niemeier, Dinsmore, Gray (James A.), Ornburn, Lanoux, Forsyth, Sharon (J. M.), Poirier, representing 8,349 votes.

Not Voting—Fitzpatrick (James Wm.), Boyer, Detlef, Retail Clerks' delegation, Roy, Morrison (Harry L.), Lithographers delegation, Evans (R. E.), Hannah, Roth, Mahon, Railway Mail Association delegation, Hurley, Flynn (Patrick), Grange, Funderburk, Curtis, Hays (J. W.), Hatch, Graves, Spencer (Wm. J.), O'Meara, Walker (John H.), Jones (Joseph W.), Ely (Stephen), Kavanaugh, Johnson (George B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (Dan M.), Caddy, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Queeney, Witherell, Rogers, Owens, Oplinger, Thomas (John J.), O'Neill, Stanley, Parker (E.), Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (John R.), Hemsley, Freind, Taylor (Claude O.), O'Dell, Knight (Fred M.), Murray (James F.), Barnack, Hayward, Breslin, Sims, Lange, Wright, Ralske, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Walsh, Deming, Jagers, Dunlop, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (John B.), Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Green (Richard J.), Spencer (Harry L.), Campbell (F. A.), Mercier, Maloy (T. E.), Wood, Harrell, Link, Williams (Jos. W.), Talbot, Pugh, Smith (John H.), Ellis, Cahillane, Butler, Mezzacapo, Posey, Phaire, Smoot, Lane, Harte, McDougal, Spoonover, Davies (Wm. J.), Longe, Carlock, Hall (Wm. J.), Brown (Sam.), Maund, Grove, La Rose, Heywood, Hodge, McKnight, Lewis (Matt.), Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Griffard, Schwartzkopf, Gray (Frances), Weber (Chas. P.), Woodmansee, Kelleher, Gabrio, Gould, Ramsey, Morse, Malone Bridges, Weinstock, Gites,

Ely (F. W.), Stevens, Smallwood, Wilcox, Allen, Wilson (Fred), Jenkins, Roberts, Stewart (Walter), Tait, Reynolds, Engle, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Feinstone, Ryan (Thomas F.), Dodson, Bond, representing 1,507 votes.

During the roll call, when Secretary Morrison called the Carpenters, Delegate Hutcheson voted "no" for the delegation.

Delegate Ross, of the Carpenters delegation, arose and stated that he desired to be recorded as voting for the minority report.

President Gompers: Does Delegate Hutcheson vote for the delegation?

Delegate Hutcheson: Yes.

Delegate Ross: I vote yes.

President Gompers: That is a matter which you and the organization you represent must determine. It is not for this convention to decide. The Secretary will again call the Carpenters as an organization.

Delegate Hutcheson: The delegation votes "no."

President Gompers: The secretary will proceed.

Delegate Bolander moved that the Carpenters delegation be allowed to retire to settle the question.

President Gompers: This convention cannot decide how any individual or any delegation shall vote. That is a matter within the organization itself.

The chairman of the Molders' delegation voted "yes" for the entire delegation.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, and one of the Molders' delegates, stated that he was not voting.

When the Typographical Union was called, Secretary Morrison voted "yes" for himself. Delegate McCullough announced that 236 votes would be cast for the min-

ority report and 469 against the minority report.

Secretary Morrison: I am the first delegate on the roll call. I called the name and I replied and I asked that the rest of the delegates be polled.

Delegate McCullough: If we apply the rule as enunciated by the President, the delegates have the right to record the secretary of this convention as a delegate from our organization as voting "no" because the majority votes "no." We have not done that, we have done him the courtesy of voting him "yes" as he wishes to be voted, and another delegate who wished to be recorded as voting "yes" is so recorded, and the delegates who wish to be recorded as voting "no" are so recorded.

Secretary Morrison: The secretary called the first name and the name of the organization so that there would be no conflict in regard to the central bodies and the state bodies, I called the first name of the delegation on the roll call.

Delegate McCullough: There is no conflict as to the attitude of the delegates from the International Typographical Union. I am not able to understand the position of Delegate Morrison in wanting to insist on a roll call when a roll call has been denied to other delegates, and at least two delegates to this convention have been deprived by their delegations of the right to vote as they desire. That right is given to Brother Morrison.

Secretary Morrison: Our delegation had no meeting.

Delegate McCullough: A majority of the delegation did have a meeting.

Secretary Morrison: If they did it was without delegate Morrison's knowledge.

President Gompers: Continue the roll call.

At 12:50 the convention was adjourned until 2:45 p. m. of the same day.

TENTH DAY--Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m., Thursday, June 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Fitzpatrick (W. J.), Schnelder, Lovely, Proebatle, Bowen (W. J.), Greely, Boyer, Hyland, Detlef, Baker (E. E.), Conway (H.), Desepete, Coulter, Flaherty (T.), Wiegand, Greenstein, Morrison (H.), Bock, Maitland, Workman, Hynes (J. J.), Redding, Murray (P.), Hayes (P.), Moore (J.), White (J.), Kennedy T., Jacobs, Yarrow, Baker (H.), Hedrick, Berndt, Hannah (E.), Kearney, Anderson (C.), Sauve, Dunwody, Link, Collins (W.), Harvey, Hurley (J.), Flynn (P.), Lemke, Ryan, Shea, Malloy, Blasey, Curtis (T.), Hatch, Graves, Jones (J.), Ely, Kavanaugh, Johnson (G.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (D.), Caddy, Lennon, Darr, Stewart (R.), Queeney, Witherell, Rogers (R.), Thomas, O'Neill, Stanley, Parker, Stansbery, Hassard, Evans (J.), Hemsely, Freind, Taylor, O'Dell, Krouse, Knight, Murray (J.), Barnack, Sims, Raisse, Gray, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Jagers, Dunlop, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (J.), Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Green, Spencer (H.), Ferguson, Maloy, Canavan, Harrell, Link, Williams, Stehmeyer, Talbot, Enright, Pugh, Ellis, Mezzacapo, Posey, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, MacDougall, Schoonover, Davies, Longe, Carlock, Hall, Brown, Maund, Grove, La Rose, Middleton, Heywood, Hodge, McKnight, Lewis (M.), Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Quesse, Woodmansee, Kelleher, Gabrio, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Gites, Stevens, Smallwood, Wilcox, Allen, Wilson (F.), Jenkins, Rincker, Walcott, Tait, Reynolds (G.), Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T.), Dodson, Bond, Jones (J.).

Daniel Ahearn, Bookbinders, was substituted as a delegate for D. T. Davies, who had returned to his home.

Delegate Manion, Telegraphers: I move that the debate which occurred upon Resolution 66, be incorporated verbatim in the final proceedings of this convention. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Walker (J. H.): I was unavoidably absent this morning and asked Secretary Olander to record me as voting for the minority report of the committee. I am not doing this to be on the majority side,

because that has been my position all my life. I would like to have my vote as a delegate from the Illinois State Federation of Labor recorded for the minority report.

President Gompers: The voting is closed and the result announced.

Delegate Anderson, Longshoremen, read a letter from the secretary of the South Atlantic and Gulf Coast District of the Longshoremen's Association in regard to conditions in Galveston, Texas, where the Longshoremen are on strike. The letter stated that martial law was still enforced in that city; that 250 Mexicans were working and about 200 colored men on the Southern Pacific docks, with a machine gun company stationed at the Southern Pacific, and a protest against sending troops to Galveston had not been acted upon by the Governor of the state. The letter closed by asking that the representatives of the organization request the Immigration Department to investigate the employment of the Mexicans.

Accompanying the letter was a resolution adopted by the Board of Directors of the Texas Chamber of Commerce, dealing with the Galveston dock strike. No representative of Galveston was a party to the resolution. The resolution asked that everything necessary be done to enforce the law and provide protection to citizens of Texas at the Port of Galveston while at their work, even to the extent of declaring martial law. Another section of the resolution declared for the open shop rule on the docks; another that employment of labor on American vessels be confined to no class, creed or color, and that the standard of character shall be determined wholly and solely by the Americanism of the applicant. Another section stated that a supply of Mexican labor is absolutely essential to agricultural production in the State of Texas,

that state having lost nearly 150,000 of its common labor during 1917 and '18, and favored an immigration law that would make it possible to bring over from Mexico such labor as is needed for agricultural production.

Delegate Anderson, speaking of the resolution, said in part: These Mexican laborers are not brought into Texas for agricultural labor, but for other purposes. The Mexican population of Galveston has increased two or three hundred per cent in the last three years. I ask that this body take some definite step that will give us backing in our efforts to combat the open shop in the southern part of the United States.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 68—By J. A. Franklin, Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders; T. W. McCullough, I. T. U.; Thomas F. McMahon, U. I. W. of A.; R. W. Burton, International Molders' Union:

WHEREAS, Congress has made no statutory provision for the establishment of a Federal Employment Service, and the present service exists only through appropriation of meager sums secured with difficulty from year to year; and

WHEREAS, The uncertainty of its continued existence renders impossible its full efficiency and adequate development; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urges the Congress of the United States immediately to enact the necessary legislation to establish the U. S. Employment Service as a permanent bureau in the Department of Labor, with ample appropriation.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department has in operation systems to measure the speed and efficiency of the postal employees; and

WHEREAS, These systems are calculated to force the employees to maintain a speed and standard that is unreasonable and detrimental to their welfare and health; and

WHEREAS, In practice, these systems have resulted in unreasonable punishment and discrimination against the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled,

condemns this policy, and asks the Executive Council to render all possible assistance to abolish present unreasonable speed tests, time-measuring devices and present unreasonable standards of personal efficiency in the postal service.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates C. M. Harvey, W. M. Collins, H. N. Link, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Federal Civil Service laws are defective in not making provision for granting employes the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion of dismissal; and

WHEREAS, Lodging arbitrary power in the hands of officials frequently results in injustice being inflicted upon employes and tends toward the upbuilding of a bureaucracy in our Government institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 40th Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employes in securing the enactment of legislation granting civil service employes the right to a hearing and to an appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates William P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien and John F. Carbrey, of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, It being practically impossible for the delegates comprising the American Federation of Labor Convention to give that degree of consideration to the report of the Executive Council that it merits, due to insufficient time after the reports are distributed at the convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this Convention that the reports of the Executive Council be prepared in ample time to enable the secretary to mail one copy to the address of each delegate whose duplicate credential has been received by the secretary, said copy to be mailed ten days previous to the convening of the Convention; delegates failing to present their duplicate credentials within the time that will permit of the secretary conforming to this change, then they to receive their copy of the report at the Convention.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Clarke: May I ask the Secretary why the committee non-concurs?

Secretary Frey stated that the committee felt that the delegates assembled in the

convention should be the first to receive copies of the Executive Council's report, and further that the committee felt the executive work of the organization should not be made public ten days before the delegates assembled in convention.

Delegate Clarke spoke at length in opposition to the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost, 74 votes being cast for the motion and 135 votes against the motion.

President Gompers: The question now recurs upon the resolution.

Vice-President Woll opposed the adoption of the resolution. Delegate Clarke spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

A vote was taken on the resolution, and the chair declared it was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 96 by striking from the second line of the last resolve the words "herein expresses the belief," and substituting the words "again declares." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, T. C. Cashen, Dan. P. McKillop, C. Diehl, Wm Hannon, Edw. J. Evans, C. N. Glover, Jas. A. Norrrington, A. C. Hughes, C. L. Sharp, Fred. C. Bolan, J. E. Etchison, Jas. W. Morton, James A. Duncan:

WHEREAS, There is an unmistakable effort being made by those interests hostile to the labor movement, supported by certain public officials, to deny the rights of free speech and free assembly, so essential to carrying on the work of the American Federation of Labor, and especially is this tendency pronounced in many of the steel centers of Pennsylvania and the coal fields of Kentucky and West Virginia; and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States prohibits even the Congress from passing any laws abridging the rights of free speech, a free press, or the right of the people peacefully to assemble, thus indicating the more glaringly the presumption of municipal and state legislative bodies, in undertaking so grave an invasion on the rights of the people:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support to the fullest extent possible every effort to re-establish the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly where already denied and aid those trying to prevent an invasion where these rights are threatened:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor again declares that the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly are inalienable ones, and beyond

the power of any judge, court, legislative body or administrative official to qualify, modify, abrogate or suspend.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution 99 be amended by adding a second Resolve, the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, T. C. Cashen, Dan. P. McKillop, Jos. W. Morton, James A. Duncan, H. C. Diehl, J. B. Etchison, Wm. Hannon, Edw. J. Evans, C. N. Glover, Jas. A. Norrrington, A. C. Hughes, C. L. Shamp, Fred C. Bolan:

WHEREAS, The City of Duquesne, Pa., has an ordinance under which the Mayor of the city sets aside the guarantees of both State and Federal Constitutions and prohibits all public meetings either on private property, in halls, or on streets to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of the A. F. of L. who have defied the Czar-like edicts of the municipal despot of Duquesne have in all cases been arrested, convicted and compelled to pay the maximum penalties either in fines or jail sentences; therefore, in the hope of focusing public attention on this outrageous situation, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extends to the President of the United States an invitation to address a meeting in Duquesne on the subject of free speech and free assembly and under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use its best endeavors to have a congressional investigation made of the tyrannical, brutal and un-American suppression of free speech and free assemblage in Pennsylvania.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended by the addition of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate. Williams, representing the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, described at some length the situation in that state, where the rights of free speech are denied the workers as well as the right of free assemblage. He vigorously condemned the state constabulary system that is maintained in Pennsylvania, and urged the delegates to fight the introduction of a mounted military police system in their various states.

The question was discussed by Delegate Helt, of the Railway Signalmen; Delegate

Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor, and Delegate Mary Kelleher, of the Textile Workers.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate William P. Clarke, of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly appealed for the elimination of private profit in the operation of the Workmen's Compensation Laws; and

WHEREAS, In the State of Ohio the law has worked to the advantage of the wage workers and with the elimination of private companies much greater benefits are available to the injured workers; and

WHEREAS, We have appealed in the past to the various state federations to have them work for the adoption of legislation which will give to the state alone the control and operation of the Workmen's Compensation Law; and

WHEREAS, The present law in operation in Ohio is one that other states can safely follow; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be instructed to call the attention of the Secretary of each state federation to the Ohio Compensation Law, with the request that each state federation petition for the enactment of similar legislation in each state.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming: Is it the opinion of the secretary of this committee that this would be applicable to states of small population like so many of our western states, where we have had to write laws upon our books in conformity with our population and the resources at our command?

Secretary Frey: As a citizen of Ohio I would say the Ohio law is applicable to any state, no matter how sparse the population. It is based upon the theory that every cent contributed by industry should go to those who are injured or to the families of those who are killed, and not one cent to private profit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Edward J. Tracy, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants No. 11773:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has endorsed and been actively instrumental in securing the old age pensions and retirement law for Government employees of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The basic reasons which underly the adoption of these principles for workers in Government employment apply with equal pertinence to office workers in private employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Conven-

tion of the American Federation of Labor authorize the Executive Council to make such provisions as shall be necessary to establish a system whereby employes may have assistance in making provision for old age, and such disabilities as may prevent them from working.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate James A. Duncan, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Following the dictates of Democracy, and in an effort to secure for our citizenship the fullest possible opportunity for the expression of its sentiment relative to the laws for its government, the American Federation of Labor has for years past stood out as the foremost champion of direct legislation, which has, where placed in operation proved a boon to popular government, by placing in the hands of the people an instrument by means of which many progressive measures have been enacted into law; and

WHEREAS, In the interests of cooperation and efficiency in the matter of securing desirable legislation, the officers of the American Federation of Labor have from time to time suggested model and uniform laws to be urged by, and for the welfare of the workers of the various states; and

WHEREAS, There is a woeful lack of uniformity in the laws governing our international unions, which condition makes efficient cooperation and team work between the membership of the various international unions extremely difficult and in many instances impossible, which chaotic condition it is eminently desirable to overcome; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that its Executive Council be, and hereby is, instructed to, within ninety days of this date, prepare and send to all international unions a model initiative and referendum provision as a suggested amendment to their various constitutions, such suggested amendment to be drawn in such manner as will make possible the submission of any given proposition to the whole membership of the American Federation of Labor simultaneously, and in legal manner; the demand of five per cent of the local unions being necessary to invoke the use of this amendment by any international union at given stated periods; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That each international union be urged to take whatever steps may be necessary to secure (if possible) the adoption of this proposed amendment to its constitution at the earliest possible date and notify the secretary of the American Federation of Labor as to the results of its efforts.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Duncan (J. A.), Seattle, in discussing the question, said in part: The resolution sets forth that there is a woe-ful lack of uniformity among the organizations. One of the last reports of the committee was on an appeal to bring about uniformity in compensation. I believe if there is any set of people in the United States and Canada that need uniformity in their organizations more than any other set of people it is the labor movement. Nothing would do more to remove discontent and take away ammunition from those who would destroy our movement than to set up the machinery whereby the membership of our organization can, as a last resort, have an opportunity to express themselves.

It might be extremely desirable at times to refer to the membership of the American Federation of Labor actions upon which it is thought the convention does not reflect the sentiment of the membership. That would remove all the doubt as to where our membership stands on any question, such, for instance, as government ownership. That might be referred to the members in order to get a definite answer. If we are to start out tomorrow to get the sentiment of the membership, it might take us a year or a year and a half to get that information. In some internationals, to get such an expression of sentiment the proposition must be made in April, sent out in May and the information given to a convention held in November. According to the last available figures, there are 34 organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. that have the initiative and referendum; 75 of our organizations still do business by the convention system. We have no uniformity at all. It does not matter what crisis might arise or what question of great moment might come before us upon which we need an expression, we cannot get it, because we haven't the machinery to do it. We ought to improve the machinery of our organization and make it more responsive to the membership.

I have battled with the opponents of the A. F. of L. as much as any man in this hall, and I think I have championed the cause before opponents of this labor movement of ours as much as anyone, because we are in a position in the west where we

get a taste of secession movements, new movements, I. W. W., O. B. U., and all that sort of thing coming to our doors. We are not so conceited as to stand here or in our own labor hall and say there are no faults that can be pointed to in the American Federation of Labor or the American labor movement. When we champion its cause against our opponents, we do it to the best of our ability and usually come out on top. Whatever else may be said of the Seattle labor movement, it is not a secession movement, because you never heard of secession establishing itself in Seattle, and I predict it never will if, with the help of the Seattle movement, the American Federation of Labor will move.

Delegate Duncan described some of the institutions established by the Seattle labor movement, among them a model laundry built and equipped for the striking laundry girls, the establishment of a bank, a savings and loan association, and stated that on the first of January labor in Seattle would establish the first national bank, owned and controlled by the labor movement. He stated further that they had a healthy co-operative movement in Seattle and were well organized in a political movement. In concluding, he urged the adoption of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Rogers, California, supported the recommendation of the committee and opposed the adoption of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 110 by striking out the word "blind" in the fourth line of the third Whereas, and inserting the word "unquestioning." The resolution as amended is as follows:

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Chas. B. Stillman, L. V. Lampson and Abraham Lefkowitz of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The World War has proved conclusively the fallacy of the theory that military preparedness is the best protection against war; and

WHEREAS, The inculcation of mechanical obedience through military training made Germany a menace to the civilized world; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of military training in the schools is the first step in the development of mechanical and unquestioning obedience which results in the killing of initiative: therefore, be it

RESOLVED. That the American Federation of Labor oppose the introduction of military training into the schools and the establishment of compulsory military service or training as unnecessary, undesirable and un-American.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: That is all the committee has to report at this time.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 111—By A. R. Linn, Thomas Cameron, L. E. Gerrity, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees; W. L. FunderBurk, Stove Mounters' International Union:

RESOLVED. That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended so as to provide that the dues of directly affiliated Federal Unions shall not be less than one dollar per month and that the per month and that the per capita tax of American Federation of Labor shall be fifty cents per month, and that one dollar per member shall be the amount of initiation fee to be forwarded to the A. F. of L. on each initiate.

Your committee recommends the following substitute for Resolution No. 111.

RESOLVED. That Article 10, Section 1, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended so as to provide that the dues of directly affiliated local unions shall not be less than 75 cents per month and that the per capita tax of such local unions to the American Federation of Labor shall be 25 cents per month; that the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all such 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 one dollar.

Vice-President Green: May I inquire does this provide for an increase in the per capita tax of Federal Local Unions?

Treasurer Tobin, Chairman of the Committee: We left the dues as they now are; a minimum of 75 cents is provided for. The locals can charge anything over 75 cents that they wish. We have raised the per capita tax to the Federation from 20 to 25 cents.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Constitutional Amendment

The 1919 convention increased the benefit in case of strikes or lockouts of members of directly affiliated local unions from \$4 to \$6 per week without making provision

to meet that increased expenditure. To remedy that situation, we recommend to the convention that for the word "five" in the ninth line, section 1, article 10 of the Constitution, there be substituted the word "ten" in lieu thereof.

On the above portion of the Executive Council's Report the Committee on Law made the following recommendation:

On the constitutional amendment recommended in the Executive Council's Report, your committee desires to substitute the words "twelve and one-half" for the word "ten" appearing in the last line of the recommendation, making Section 1, Article 10 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor read as follows:

"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 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; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

In Section 5, Article 13, substitute the word "seven" for "six" in line 6, making the section read:

"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 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 a strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period."

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates William P. Clarke, John E. O'Brien and John F. Carbrey, of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union:

RESOLVED. That Section 1 of Article 3, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be changed by substituting the word "first" for the word "second," and thereby provide that in the future the conventions convene the first Monday in June.

There was submitted to the committee considerable complaint against holding the

convention of the American Federation of Labor in June, due to the fact that there were a great many trade-union agreements expiring during the months of May and June. The average organization is preparing or has under discussion trade agreements during this particular time of the year. In addition to this objection there was considerable complaint that due to the intense heat at many times during the month of June it made it somewhat disagreeable to hold the convention in any of the middle western or southern states. It was decided by the committee and we so recommend that the date of the holding of the convention be changed from the second Monday in June to the second Monday in November and that the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be held the second Monday in November, 1921.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegates Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor; Wilson, Pattern Makers; McGearry; Diehl, Metal Polishers; O'Hara, Hatters; Swartz, Letter Carriers; Preece, Bricklayers; Burke, Molders, and the chairman of the committee.

In response to an inquiry as to the reasons the committee had for bringing in a recommendation to change the convention date, Chairman Tobin stated that nearly all the evidence submitted to the convention favored a return to the month of November. The delegates who argued against the report of the committee based their position on the grounds that many organizations had changed their laws to conform to the change in the date of the A. F. of L. convention, and in some instances had taken referendum votes on the subject.

Delegate Diehl moved to amend the committee's recommendation by striking out the word "November" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "April." The amendment was seconded, but was defeated on being put to vote.

The recommendation of the committee on Resolution No. 84 was also defeated.

When the question was called on the adoption of the original resolution, Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, made a brief statement in support of the resolution, explaining why his organization fa-

vored a change to the first Monday in June. Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt Resolution No. 84 was defeated.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, President Gompers announced that the Committee on Laws in all probability could finish its report in a short time. A motion was then adopted to remain in session until six o'clock.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate John Coefield, of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters:

WHEREAS, The splendid growth and high standing of the American Federation of Labor has been brought about jointly by the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and the International Unions; and

WHEREAS, The salaries paid the officials of the American Federation of Labor should be increased at least in proportion to the added labor, responsibility and growth of the organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That on and after July 1, 1920, the salary of the President of the American Federation of Labor be made \$12,000, and that of the Secretary \$9,500.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Treasurer Tobin in the chair.

President Gompers opposed the adoption of the committee's report, and said in part: At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor the convention raised the salary of the President to \$10,000 per year, against a protest that I endeavored to present with all the earnestness at my command. I believe that the salary you now pay the President of the American Federation of Labor is all-sufficient. There must be something more than salary, and when an officer of the American Federation of Labor tells you that the salary he now receives is sufficient, that ought to have some influence upon your judgment. I hope some delegate will make a motion that the proposition of the committee lie on the table.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Tobin, explaining the recommendation of the committee, stated that for years the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor worked in the interests of the Federation with practically no financial remuneration; that the cost of living had mounted rapidly since 1914, and that the increases recommended were scarcely more than sufficient to meet the cost of living.

Delegate McKillop, Boiler Makers: I desire to amend the report by striking out on the last line of the resolution the figures "\$9,500," and inserting in lieu thereof the figures "\$10,000," making the salary of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor \$10,000 per year. (Amendment seconded.)

Delegate Bolander, Journeymen Tailors, spoke briefly in opposition to the report of the committee, stating that, in his opinion, the rank and file of the trade union movement would not take kindly to the recommendation.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Delegate Gompers moved that the report of the committee on Resolution No. 30 be laid on the table. The motion was seconded, but was lost on being put to vote.

Delegate Morton, Stationary Firemen, moved that the amendment offered by Delegate McKillop be laid on the table. (Seconded, and lost on being put to vote.)

The amendment offered by Delegate McKillop to increase the salary of the Secretary to \$10,000 per year was adopted.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 30, as amended, was adopted.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate James P. Holland, of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The cost of living has continued its upward climb and the salary of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor is insufficient to meet the increased cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The toilers in every craft have received substantial increases in wages in order to meet the increased cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor are compelled to travel from place to place and must therefore meet the enormous increase in the cost of hotel bills, clothing and incidentals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the salary of organizers be increased from \$8 per day, or \$48 per week, to \$60 per week, or at a rate of \$10 per day, Sunday not included, and that the hotel allowance be increased from \$6 per day to \$8 per day in order to meet the increased cost of travel and home.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 7 and 10, which are as follows:

Resolution No. 7—By Herrin (Ill.) Central Trades and Labor Council:

RESOLVED, That all officers of the A. F. of L. be elected by a popular vote

of the membership of the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we do not approve of the system whereby our officers of the A. F. of L. are elected by a delegate vote.

Resolution No. 10—By Christopher, (Ill.) Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Sentiment has been aroused all over the United States among the rank and file in regard to "political action," and the sentiment is justified by the attitude of the federal judges in the recent coal miners' strike and other craft strikes; and

WHEREAS, We believe that some of our prominent officers of the A. F. of L. do not believe in injecting politics into labor organizations, thereby throwing us upon the mercy of these men, who are diametrically opposed to the principles of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Christopher Trades Council, representing the membership of local unions Nos. 232, 1421, 2376 and 2468, U. M. W. of A., 1219 U. B. C. and J. of A., U. B. P. P. and D. No. 854, Boot and Shoe Workers No. 532, Hod Carriers and Common Laborers No. 389, Barbers' Local No. 234, Teamsters Nos. 596, 434 and 457, Maintenance of Way Local No. 1321, Franklin County Teachers Local No. 137, I. B. of E. W. No. 702, B. of R. W. Clerks No. 1315, and Plumbers and Steam Fitters Local No. 551, do most earnestly appeal to the Convention, that the Constitution be so amended that all officers be elected by a referendum vote of the members of the A. F. of L.

Your committee had two resolutions referred to it relative to the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum system, and the committee acted on them collectively. On Resolution No. 7, submitted by the delegate representing the Central Trades and Labor Council of Herrin, Illinois, and Resolution No. 10, submitted by the delegate representing the Central Body of Christopher, Illinois, which deal with the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote, your committee desires to say that as this subject has been before the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and as it has been thoroughly discussed and covered by the action of the Rochester Convention held in 1912 and each convention by an overwhelming vote has refused to adopt resolutions of this kind, your committee therefore believes that there is no substantial reason for changing the system of the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor and therefore we, your committee, concur in the resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted. President Gompers in the chair.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Chas. J. McGowan, William J. Brennan, Geo. L. Berry, A. R. Linn, Thomas Cameron, S. E. Gerrity, W. L. Funderburk:

RESOLVED, That Section 1, Article 5, be amended to read as follows:

"The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, twelve 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."

Referred to the Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates E. J. Evans, of the Lake County Central Union; John H. De Young, of the Calumet Joint Labor Council; Thos. L. Gregson, of Blue Island Central Labor Union; E. H. Metz, of the South Bend C. L. U.; Vernon E. Vaughan, of the Framingham, Mass., C. L. U.; H. W. Raisse, of the Lorain Central Body:

RESOLVED, That Section 1, Article 5, be amended to read as follows:

"The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eleven 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."

Referred to the Committee on Law.

Your committee wishes to state that these two resolutions were discussed by the committee, and although the committee was not unanimous in its decision, the majority of the Committee on Law decided to recommend the adoption of Resolution No. 59, increasing the membership of the Executive Council from eleven to fifteen. Your committee therefore concurs in Resolution No. 59.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, asked what arguments had been offered to convince the committee that the Executive Council should be increased to fifteen, and whether or not in the judgment of the Executive Council members, such an increase was essential to carrying on the work of the Federation.

Chairman Tobin, of the committee, replied that the Executive Council had not expressed itself in any way on the resolution, and that the action of the committee was determined very largely by the fact that the railroad workers had added

one million members to the American Federation of Labor, and that their representatives felt that the Executive Council should be increased, with the idea in view of greater efficiency and greater representation for the various affiliated crafts.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Law, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman,
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary,
FRANK FARRINGTON
LUTHER C. STEWARD
PHILIP J. GUEST
THOS. F. FLAHERTY
PETER J. SHAUGHNESSY
S. E. HEBERLING
JAMES P. HOLLAND
Committee on Law.

Upon motion of Delegate Joyce, the report of the Committee on Law as a whole, as amended, was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Schlesinger, Ladies' Garment Workers, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger, International Ladies Garment Workers:

WHEREAS, Forty per cent of the membership of the International Fur Workers Union have been thrown out of employment in New York City; and

WHEREAS, The employers of New York City refused to reinstate the said workers, and by doing so forced 10,000 fur workers out on strike; and

WHEREAS, While on strike the International Fur Workers Union, submitted to the employers a demand for reinstatement of all workers on strike, equal distribution of work among all workers, and to institute a 40-hour working week, with pay for forty hours in place of 44; and

WHEREAS, These demands were submitted to the employers for the purpose of securing work for all, or nearly all, members of the International Fur Workers Union in New York City: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 40th convention assembled, endorse the above described strike and give its full moral support.

Delegate Schlesinger requested immediate action upon the resolution. No objection was offered, and, on motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the resolution was adopted.

At 11 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, June 18.

ELEVENTH DAY -- Friday Morning Session

Montreal, Que., Can., June 18, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Boyer, Detlef, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Nelson, Baker (E. E.), Conway (H. J.), Desepte, Coulter, Adamsky, Metz, Morrison (H. L.), Bock, Maitland, Murray (P.), Hayes (F. J.), White (J. P.), Kennedy (T.), Valentine, Carey (J. T.), Berudt, Hannah, Kearney (T.), Anderson (C.), Hurley (J. T.), Flynn (P.), Shay, Blasey, Heberling, Curtis, Hatch, Graves (E. E.), Jones (J. W.), Ely (S.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (D. M.), Lennon, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Queeney, Witherell, Rogers (R. E.), Owens, Oplinger, Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill (H.), Stanley, Parker (E.), Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Hemsley, Freind, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell (E. W. A.), Knight, Murray (J. F.), Barnack, Sims, Wright, Ralsae, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Jagers, Dunlop (E.), Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Green (R. J.), Coyne, Ferguson (F. D.), Mercier, Wood (R. T.), Canavan, Harrell, Link (L. A.), Williams (J. W.), Leary (P. J.), Steh-meyer, Talbot, Enright, Pugh (J. J.), Turner, Ellis (C.), Butler (S. C.), Mezza-vano, Posey, Phaire, Castleman, Smoot, Earle, Schoonover, Davies (W. J.), Longe, Carlock, Hall (W. J.), Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, LaRose, Heywood (D.), Hodge, McKnight (D. B.), Lewis (M.), Jasppe, McDaniel, Shay, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Weber (C. P.), Quesse, Kelleher (S. E.), Gabrio, Malone (M.), Bridges, Weln-stock, Gites, Flynn (J.), Stevens, Small-wood, Steele, Wilcox (J. H.), Allen, Jen-kins, Rincker, Stewart (W.), Tait, Reynolds (G.), Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, Robins, Jones (J.).

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: I rise, with all respect, to ask for some information of greatest importance to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. I ask whether the report of the Committee on Law, as adopted yesterday, was adopted in conformity with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, as set forth in Article XVI, which provides a two-thirds vote of the convention to amend the constitution. I make that inquiry.

President Gompers: The chair is not in position to say. It was taken by a viva voce vote.

Delegate Lewis: Then, Mr. Chairman,

as a delegate to this convention, and as a representative of my organization, I ask that that fact be determined, and that a roll call be taken on the motion to adopt. I ask that now, because no other business has been transacted by the convention since the adoption of the report of the Committee on Law.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: I call your attention to the fact that the report of the Committee on Law was adopted unanimously, and it so states in the proceedings.

Delegate Lewis: I hold in my hand the proceedings of the tenth day, and on page 422 it states that certain sections of the constitution were amended, but does not state whether the vote was unanimous or whether it carried the necessary two-thirds majority required by our constitutional provision. I hold that this is an important question, and one that ought to be determined by the convention before proceeding to other business.

Delegate Berry: I believe that the declaration that the report of the Committee on Law had been adopted unanimously by this convention is sufficient. I am convinced that Delegate Lewis did not read the report of the Committee on Law on Page 422, otherwise he would not have said that the language, "unanimous," was not used. It says: "Upon motion of Delegate Joyce, the report of the Committee on Law as a whole, as amended, was unanimously adopted." If that isn't definite enough, I would like to know it, and I am opposed to bringing up the reconsidering of a question that has been adopted by the unanimous vote of this convention.

Delegate Lewis: I am asking information from the chair. Delegate Berry errs when he says that I stated that the committee's report as a whole had not been adopted unanimously. What I stated was that the constitution, at the time when specific consideration was given those sections, was adopted in a manner which

does not show that the necessary two-thirds vote was had.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: In order that there might be no question of doubt in the minds of the delegates, I move that we have a roll call vote in order to determine that this matter has been carried in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Plummer, Altoona Central Labor Union: I claim that there has been other business transacted. If you refer to the last line in the last column on page 422, tenth day's proceedings, you will find that other business has been transacted since the adoption of the report of the Committee on Law.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: I would like to state, for the assistance of the chair, that there has been no business transacted since that motion was made which the members refer to. For further information, I would like to know what specific point Delegate Lewis has in mind.

Delegate Lewis: Delegate Lewis is endeavoring to secure the information of the chair on these questions. I will fully elucidate anything I have in mind when the course of procedure is determined. I have asked, exercising my prerogative as a delegate, that the question of the validity of constitutional changes be determined in conformity with the law which provides a two-thirds vote, and, acting in conformity therewith, I have asked that a roll call be taken on this question, that there may be no doubt.

Delegate Berry: Do I understand that delegate Lewis to call for a roll call to determine whether or not the chair will render a decision upon this subject? Upon what subject is a roll call demanded?

Delegate Lewis: On the theory that the records do not show that certain changes in the constitution carried by the necessary two-thirds vote.

Delegate Berry: A roll call for what? Which section?

Delegate Lewis: I challenge the validity of the action of the convention.

President Gompers: A roll call is asked. Are there a sufficient number?

The request was supported by more than the necessary number of delegates.

President Gompers: Upon which question is the validity of the convention's action challenged?

Delegate Lewis: I challenge the validity of the vote on the action taken yesterday in enlarging the number of Vice-Presidents who constitute the Executive Council, and I ask that the validity of that vote be determined by the calling of the roll.

President Gompers: The Secretary will read the proposal of the committee upon the subject.

Secretary Morrison read resolutions Nos. 59 and 88, appearing on page 422 of the tenth day's proceedings, and the action of the Committee on Law thereon.

President Gompers: The request for a roll call having been honored, the Secretary will call the roll upon that proposition.

Delegate Berry: Do I understand that the chair has decided that this proposal was not adopted by a two-thirds majority of the convention?

President Gompers: No, the chair has not decided. The convention has called for a roll call upon the subject.

Delegate Berry: Upon this subject?

President Gompers: Yes, sir.

Delegate Berry: It is a most unusual procedure.

President Gompers: It is.

Delegate Lewis: May I ask, Mr. Chairman, for the information of myself and other delegates, if a vote "aye" votes to sustain the committee's report and enlarge the Executive Council, and a vote "nay" votes to reject the committee's report and continue the Executive Council as at present constituted? Is that correct?

President Gompers: The report of the committee recommends the adoption of the principle in a resolution by which the Executive Council shall be increased in number from eleven to fifteen. The roll call being ordered, any delegate who desires to increase the membership of the Executive Council will vote "yes;" those who are opposed will vote "no."

Delegate Summer, Stereotypers: A question of information: I think it worth while for us to understand the ruling on this matter. As I understand it, it means that the report of the committee which was adopted, after which other business was transacted....

Delegate McCarthy: I rise to a point of order. The time for debate on the subject as indulged in by the brother has passed, and we are now dealing with another matter, the roll call. I would like to get a ruling on my point of order.

President Gompers: The roll call was been ordered by this convention. The delegate arises for a question of information and the chair cannot deny him that right.

Delegate Summer: Wasn't there another proposition from the Committee on Law acted upon after our action on the question of increasing the number of the Executive Council?

President Gompers: There has been no other business transacted. That is the last act.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: A point of information—I want to know whether or not all of the amendments adopted are now open for reconsideration or a roll call vote.

President Gompers: If demanded, yes.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll of delegates, with the following result:

Roll Call on Amending Constitution to Enlarge Executive Council

Yes—Blacksmiths delegation, Boiler-makers delegation, Brick and Clay Workers delegation, Railway Carmen delegation, Railway Clerks delegation, Postal Clerks delegation, Murphy (W. O.), Coopers delegation De Raay, Browne (M. J.), Electrical Workers delegation, Fire Fighters delegation, Stationary Firemen delegation, Ladies Garment Workers delegation, Thomas (Herbert) Broening, Jewelry Workers delegation, Letter Carriers delegation, Machinists delegation, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers delegation (53 votes), Paper Makers delegation, Dold, Printing Pressmen delegation, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers delegation, Sultor, Railway Mail Association delegation, Stereotypers and Electrotypers delegation (29 votes), Switchmen delegation, Tailors delegation, Railroad Telegraphers delegation, Johnson (Roscoe H.), Bowen (Louis), Copeland, Bleretz, Coney, Williams (David), Fox (Harry), Plummer, Haney, Francis, Gregson, DeYoung (John H.), Parker (Ben F.), Dill, Block, Evans (John R.), Dermont, Nuzum, Lange, Walsh (Bert), Forsyth, Adams (C. A.), Klemfelder, Duncan (James A.), Mercier, Vaughan, Christal, Norrington, Smoot, MacDougal, Cobert (Wm. F.), Burford, Walcott, Mullen. Representing 13,841 votes.

No—Gillmore, Fitzpatrick (James Wm.), Mullaney, Bakery and Confectionery Workers delegation, Barbers delegation, Bookbinders delegation, Boot and Shoe Workers delegation, Brewery Workers delegation, Bricklayers delegation, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers delegation, Carpenters delegation, Cigarmakers delegation, Steam and Operating Engineers delegation, Photo-Engravers delegation, Federal Employes delegation, United Garment Workers delegation, Glass Bottle Blowers delegation, Flint Glass Workers delegation, Brogneaux, Granite Cutters delegation, Hatters delegation, Hod Car-

riers delegation, Marshall, Hotel and Restaurant Employes delegation, Iron and Steel Workers delegation, Lathers delegation, Laundry Workers delegation, Leather Workers delegation, Longshoremen's delegation, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's delegation, Sheet Metal Workers delegation, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers delegation (58 votes), United Mine Workers delegation, Molders delegation, Musicians delegation, Yarrow, Baker (Harry), Painters delegation, Berndt, Platen Makers delegation, Bergstrom, Plasterers delegation, Plumbers delegation, Metal Polishers delegation, Operative Potters delegation, Roth, Street Railway Employes delegation, Theatrical Stage Employes delegation, Stereotypers and Electrotypers delegation (30 votes), Teachers delegation, Teamsters delegation, Textile Workers delegation, Tobacco Workers delegation, Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), McCullough, Young (William), Hays (J. W.), Barrett, Manning, O'Connell, Lord, Rogers, O'Meara, Moore (Charles M.), Fritz, Lewis (J. C.), Shea, Lawson, Shobe, Holland, Staf, Smith (T. J.), Cunningham, Riley (James), Weber (F. J.), Costello, Lacey, Niemeier, Rogers, Ewald, Stanley, Pollock, Dinsmore, Freind, Snyder, Jennings (C. J.), Barnack, Raisse, Gray, Mathien, Deming, Zusi, Ornburn, Draper, Fitzgerald (John E.), Gebhardt, Green (Richard J.), Brand, McLaughlin, Quinlivan, Simpson, James, (Newton A.), Leary (Patrick J.), Hogan (Ann), Golden (James J.), Lalonde, Peebles, Thomson (J. F.), Scott (Alice), Kelleher, Ramsey, Roberts, Sharon, Tracy (E. J.), Polrier. Representing 23,083 votes.

Not Voting—Corley, Boyer, Detlef, Retail Clerks delegation, Feehey, Marine Engineers delegation, Foundry Employes delegation, Roy, Lithographers delegation, Hogan (Stephen C.), Masters, Mates and Pilots delegation, Stickle, Evans (R. E.), Hannah, Clark (Wm. D.), Hurley, Seamen's delegation, Signalmen's delegation, Stonecutters delegation, Funder Burk, Curtis, Upholsterers delegation, Spencer (Wm. J.), Walker, Howat, O'Donnell, Jones (Jos. W.), Ely (Stephen), Kavanaugh, Johnson (George B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (Dan M.), Gilletly, Blair, Rohr, Caddy, Moore (Robert R.), Garrity, Kelley, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Queeney, Witherell, Owens (John J.), Oplinger, Thomas (John J.), O'Neill, McCue, Fink, Parker (E.), Stansberry, Mueller, Hassard, Hemsley, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Krouse, Knight, Murray (James F.), Andler, Kerns, Argo, Smith (John T.), Evans (Edw. J.), Hayward, Breslin, Sims, Wright, Gorman, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Jagers, Lanoux, Ryan (J.), Dunlop, Carney, Wilkinsoh, McKosky, Heck, Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Spencer (H. L.), Curran, Campbell (F. A.), Coyne, Ferguson, Hourigan, Maloy, Wood, Louthood, Canavan, Harrell, Fennell, Link, Fitzgerald (J.), Williams (J. W.), McGeory, Talbot, Enright, Pugh, Smith (John H.), Turner, Ellis, Cahillane, Campbell (J. C.), Butler (S. C.), Mezzacapo, Posey, Phaire, Billinger, Lane (M.), Harte, Schoonover, Davies (Wm. J.), Longe, Carlock, Dellsale, Hall, Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, La Rose,

Middleton, Heywood, Boyd, Carter, Hodge, McKnight, Lewis (Matt), Ward (A.), Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Griffard, Schwartzkopf, Gray, Weber (C. P.), Quesse, Woodmansee, Gabrio, Gould (A. V.), Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Flynn (James), Ely (F. W.), Stevens, Smallwood, Steele, Wilcox, Chambers, Allen, Wilson (F.), Jenkins, Bincker, Burns (A.), Stewart (W.), Tait, Reynolds (G.), Engle, Witzahnkin, Rothenstein, Feinstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, representing 2,001 votes.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: I move the re-adoption of Article 5, Section 1 in its present form. (Seconded.)

President Gompers: You are making no change to the Constitution. If the matter is left as it is, the constitutional provision remains as it is.

Delegate Lewis: I am very willing, Mr. Chairman, if that is your ruling.

Delegate McCarthy, Carpenters: I move that the work of the Committee on Law, as amended, be adopted. (Motion seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: It is adopted.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I rise to a question of information. You have just declared the motion by Delegate McCarthy carried. Is it your ruling that it is carried by a two-thirds vote of this convention?

President Gompers: It has been adopted by more than a two-thirds vote.

The Secretary of the Local Arrangements Committee announced that the official convention photograph would be taken upon the adjournment at noon.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Brady, Secretary of the Committee, presented the following report:

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate R. J. Smallwood, of the Railroad Shop Workers' Union No. 16797, Houston, Texas:

RESOLVED, That where there is an organization (colored) that is not eligible to membership in the various white locals (internationals) and have the affiliation with the A. F. of L. that said organizations will co-operate together and said internationals will give them all of the desired support with reference to the six crafts internationals. We want to say further that we believe we can do more to further the interests of this and other (colored) organizations if we can handle our difficulties through the internationals; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That when the internationals get out an agreement the colored union should be included in the agreement, and should have the greatest recognition, as you know the greatest problem before the

American people today is the labor question; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the Railroad Shop Workers Union No. 16797, composed of colored mechanics and helpers of the six crafts, namely machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, carmen, painters and all other trades of wage earners, do solemnly believe that such a step taken as an amendment to the constitution of the A. F. of L., will get us to the four million mark; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we place ourselves on record before the American Federation of Labor to have them to get the recognition of our Union from the companies in order to remove doubts that may exist in the opinion of the railroad world and general public that this union is a labor organization in the common acceptance of the word.

As the workers referred to in this resolution are already protected in the agreements with the railroad craft organizations, and in the action of the convention on Resolutions Nos. 5 and 37, in the report of the Committee on Organization, this committee believes that no further action is required.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Jacob Middleton, of Janitors' Helpers and Laborers Union 16084, Charleston, S. C.:

WHEREAS, We, the Janitors and Laborers of Local 16084, are not being paid the scale of wages that is being paid at Norfolk, Philadelphia, and all other Northern yards; and

WHEREAS, The high cost of living is no lower upon us in Charleston than those in the Northern yards; and

WHEREAS, The scale of wages that is accorded us at the Charleston Navy Yard is not sufficient to provide for ourselves and families; and

WHEREAS, This Local has made protest against the unjust discrimination made against the ratings of Laborers and Janitors in the Charleston Navy Yard; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record as being willing to assist in the cause of Local 16084 and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a thorough investigation be given our cause before the Convention assembled at Montreal, Canada.

We recommend this this be referred to the Executive Council to render whatever assistance they can.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate W. J. Hall of the Federal Labor Union No. 16786, Ludington, Mich., and C. F. Foley of the Journeymen Barbers International Union of America:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of workers engaged in the House Wrecking

Industry, at the present time unorganized; and

WHEREAS, No jurisdiction over this vast army of wage earners is ceded to any of the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Certain specialized skill is demanded because of the precarious nature of House and Industrial Wrecking; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and they are hereby authorized to issue a Federal Charter to this class of workers, when duly applied for, covering jurisdictions where a sufficient number of men are so regularly employed.

At the request of the introducers, the committee recommends that they be permitted to withdraw this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates W. M. Carlock, No. 16579, Knoxville, Tennessee; Wm. Shaw, Freight Handlers, No. 17105; Wm. Carter, Freight Handlers and Stationary Employees, Local 16381; W. E. H. Wilcox, Freight Handlers No. 16738, Wichita Falls, Texas; Matt Lewis, Freight Handlers; James J. Fugh, No. 165559, Philadelphia, Pa.; D. B. McKnight, No. 16700, Petersburg, Va.; E. D. Rhone, Central Labor Union, of Mobile, Ala.; Robert E. Burford, of the Freight Handlers, No. 16220, Freight Handlers, Station and Express Employees:

WHEREAS, The B. C. of R. C. having jurisdiction of all Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees; and

WHEREAS, There are about one hundred thousand (100,000) colored employes that came under their jurisdiction and are barred from membership in the B. of R. C. on account of color; and

WHEREAS, The B. of R. C. is affiliated with the A. F. of L. and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the A. F. of L. does not bar any worker on account of color or race; and

WHEREAS, The Grand President, Mr. J. J. Forrester, of the B. of R. C., stated to the 39th annual convention of the A. F. of L., in Atlantic City, that he would not relinquish jurisdiction over these employes, and that he would arrange everything satisfactorily with these employes at the next executive meeting; and

WHEREAS, This meeting was called in Washington, D. C., in July, 1919, and our committee attended that meeting and stated their case before that Board, and Mr. Gompers and Mr. Morrison addressed the Board in our favor; and

WHEREAS, The Board gave every assurance that this matter would be speedily adjusted, and we would hear from them as soon as it could satisfactorily be adjusted; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the B. of R. C. met in Cincinnati last February or March and discussed this question.

and not having any of our committee present, they tabled the matter for further investigation of the so-called "Negro Problem," as handled by the older organization; and

WHEREAS, The Negro Problem is a myth, and only exists in the minds of those that do not want to deal justly with them; and

WHEREAS, We are not trying for, nor do we want what is called "social equality," as some are trying to insinuate; and

WHEREAS, We only want equal protection and representation in all of the matters that concern us; and

WHEREAS, We are not looking for charity, nor do we want anybody to bear our burdens, but we are willing and ready to bear our part; and

WHEREAS, Our loyalty cannot be questioned, and as we believe that the fate of our organization is in the balance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th convention assembled will use every means in its power to have the words "only white" members stricken out of the constitution of the B. of R. C., and admit the colored workers to full membership in their Brotherhood, or have them relinquish jurisdiction over the Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, and allow them to establish a Brotherhood of their own.

Delegate Robert E. Burford, Freight Handlers' Union No. 16220, appeared before the committee and requested the withdrawal of this resolution, to which the committee agreed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 42—By Harbor Employees Union No. 16208, of Montreal, Quebec:

WHEREAS, There have been numerous complaints from certain craft organizations that we have craftsmen in our Local; and

WHEREAS, These craft organizations demand the transfer of these craftsmen to their own Locals; and

WHEREAS, The transfer of these our members would disrupt our Local; and

WHEREAS, Our charter granted by the A. F. of L. gives us permission to retain these our members in these words:

"And the Union being duly formed is empowered and authorized to initiate into its membership any person or persons, in accordance with its own Laws, and to conduct the said Union in compliance with the best interests of the Trade and Labor in general, the autonomy of the Union is hereby ordained"; and

WHEREAS, The granting of our Charter was accepted by us as proof that we were not trespassing on the jurisdiction of any affiliated Unions, as expressed by Article 9, Section 11 of the Constitution of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It expressly states in the constitution of the A. F. of L., Article 11, Section 4, that it is our duty to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number

of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization; and

WHEREAS, We believe that we have conformed to all rules laid down by the A. F. of L. and only used the power invested in us by our Charter; and

WHEREAS, By outside interference all electrical workers on the Port of Montreal have left our Local, and absolutely refuse to join any other organization; and

WHEREAS, We believe that other crafts will follow the example set by following resolution:

That the Harbor Employees Union Local 16293 be allowed to continue to exercise their powers invested in them by their charter, and as long as they act in conformity with the Constitution of the A. F. of L., they shall not be interfered with by any local influences whatever.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate D. B. McKnight, of the Freight Handlers' Union No. 16700:

WHEREAS, Freight Handlers' Union No. 16700 of Petersburg, Va., after suffering various hardships and abuses, has united its efforts to fight our enemies continually, until the objects as pertaining to our rights have been accomplished; and

WHEREAS, We urge the American Federation of Labor to give us its sincere support and attention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we apply for our organization known to embrace three divisions, viz.: Norfolk & Western, Atlantic Coast Line, Seaboard Air Line; whereas, we are rejected and refused by employers on grounds that they are not obliged to grant us our privileges, pertaining to Labor, as we have no contract with the railroads who employ us; whereas, we apply to you that such action as necessary be used to furnish Freight Handlers contract to establish our fundamental rights with employers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we consider such action of representatives in refusing to co-operate and deal justly by investigating Freight Handlers' affairs, and to withhold certain reports for reasons personal, are unconstitutional, and should cease to exist; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we object to laying off of Freight Handlers' employes and thereafter place the clerks and checkers against their craft or calling to perform said work of employe who is laid off; whereas, Freight Handlers are not allowed to take the clerk's position and perform his tasks, nor does the clerk be laid off any day and substitute any freight handler in his place; and be it further

RESOLVED, That eight hours constitute a day's work and a 48-hour week. To work in emergency calling, 8 hours on Saturday; otherwise four hours should constitute a day's work on Saturday, for

reason that the laborer is human. It is the day to consider preparations for his home and establish a basis to better qualify him to render to industry each week a more perfect satisfactory production.

Propositions to Be Considered

1. That time and a half for overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays without discrimination, the right of passes and free speech, more freedom, liberty and justice.

That employes be given fair trial and not discharge^d by employers without cause, and legal proof should be shown, prohibiting dismissals for personal and sentimental reasons.

2. That duly authorized representatives of this union be granted privilege to meet employers when needed to co-operate and discuss matters affecting interests of both.

3. Recognition, and that the A. C. L. division receiving 31c per hour and the S. A. L. division receiving 31c per hour should be equalized with the same rate of pay as N. & W. at 40½c, as our organization shows nearly 100 per cent and each division is subject to same class of work.

4. That the present system of paying quarterly on the Norfolk & Western division has never been satisfactory and should be abolished, and each Saturday established as a regular pay day.

5. That ten days' vacation be given Freight Handlers in each year without reduction of pay.

6. That the case involving the discharge of our Brother, John Daily, without a fair trial and justice, be declared unconstitutional and should be repealed, and a further hearing granted.

7. That the Seaboard Air Line refuses Freight Handler employes of No. 16700, A. F. of L., the right of a pass for transportation over any other road, except the Seaboard, be considered, and efforts to certify same privileges to S. A. L. employes for pass over any route be made apply for seem legal and abolish such discrimination.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

Delegate O'Connor, Longshoremene, requested that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration.

The Secretary of the Committee stated that such a course was entirely agreeable to the members of the committee, and with that understanding the report of the committee was adopted.

Reporting upon Resolution No. 80, the committee recommended the adoption of the following substitute:

Resolution No. 80—

WHEREAS, There are many federal unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor and local unions chartered by the international unions that are

not affiliated with central bodies and state federations of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the international unions be urged to have their local unions comply with Section 2, Article XI, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, by their immediate affiliation with the local central bodies and state federations of labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates Julia S. O'Connor, James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, C. L. Love, M. T. Joyce, J. J. McAndrews and Edw. Barton, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; James R. Sweeney, Chelsea Labor Union; H. L. McDougall, Federal Labor Union No. 14451, J. M. Hourigan, Schenectady Trades Assembly; and W. E. Wolcott, Federal Labor Union No. 15251:

WHEREAS, Organization work among telephone operators is attended by grave difficulties owing to the oppressive anti-labor policy of the Bell Telephone Company and its associated companies; and

WHEREAS, This policy seeks to perpetuate the present unorganized condition of the telephone industry, and to that end has herded its operating employees into so-called associations, company-initiated, company-controlled and company-financed; and

WHEREAS, These associations are wholly destructive of the opportunity for genuine collective bargaining, are wholly false in economic theory, wholly vicious in tendency, reposing such organized power as they accumulate in the hands of the telephone company to be used against the interests of the operators; and

WHEREAS, These alleged "employees' associations" are active agencies for the dissemination of falsehood and innuendo against the legitimate unions of telephone operators where they exist; and

WHEREAS, They seek to secure and hold their membership by persecution, by threats of reprisals, with company voting on company time, on company premises, and at the insistence of company officials; compulsory attendance at meetings presided over by company officials; circulation with signature demanded of papers headed with a declaration of satisfaction with existing wage and work standards—these methods but instance the unhalloved determination of this corporation to maintain its tyrannical and feudalistic labor policy; and

WHEREAS, The telephone companies of the country (with one or two notable exceptions) with the advantage on their side by reason of the youth, the helplessness, the inexperience in organization matters of the operators, have carried on a consistent and largely successful policy of stamping out union organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Telephone Operators' Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the organization having jurisdiction, is, by reason of the short period of its existence, wholly

unequipped with the resources to carry on an adequate organization campaign against the telephone companies; and

WHEREAS, The unprotected condition of these young women, both as to wages and as to opportunity for the expression of any measure of industrial democracy, challenges the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the fortheth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Montreal, pledge its support to the organization of the telephone operators of the country, and calls upon State Federations, city central bodies, all regular and volunteer organizers, to assist in the complete organization of the telephone industry.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Representation of Centr 1 Bodies

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council and recommends its adoption by the convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lefkowitz, Teachers, discussed the question briefly and stated that while he had no objection to the Executive Council determining the maximum representation, he believed that the various localities were best able to determine the question for themselves.

Delegate Duncan, James A. (Seattle), moved to amend by striking out that part of the Executive Council's report referring to minimum and maximum representation. (Amendment seconded.)

Delegate Bieretz, Maryland and District of Columbia State Federation of Labor, favored a graduated representation, made mandatory by the American Federation of Labor. He offered the following amendment to the report of the committee—That the matter be again referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with definite instructions to establish a graduated basis of representation to govern Central and State Bodies. (Seconded by Delegate Connors, Switchmen.)

Delegate Rogers, California State Federation of Labor, opposed the amendment and favored the adoption of the recommendation of the Executive Council.

Delegate Marshall, Horseshoers, also discussed the question.

Delegate McLaughlin, San Francisco La-

bor Council, offered the following amendment: To strike out the Executive Council's recommendation, in reference to minimum and maximum representation, the word "three" and substitute therefor the word "two," and to strike out the word "eight" and substitute therefor the word "ten." (Seconded.)

Delegate Fritz, Indiana State Federation of Labor, favored Delegate McLaughlin's amendment, and referred to instances where Local Unions with only eight or ten members had the same representation in Central Bodies as Local Unions with several hundred members.

President Gompers, in explanation of the Executive Council's recommendation, said: There is no desire to dominate. The recommendation is simply a suggestion to the local Central Bodies. Everything that goes on in the labor movement is subject to review, either by the Executive Council or the convention. There is no mandatory power conferred on the Executive Council. The amendment offered by Delegate McLaughlin was adopted.

The amendment offered by Delegate Bierets was also adopted.

President Gompers: The whole matter will be referred to the Executive Council.

Labor's Memorial Day and Sunday

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, the committee recommends concurrence in the recommendation of the Council and further recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Brady: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

(Signed) JACOB FISCHER, Chairman,
 PETER J. BRADY, Secretary,
 CHARLES SHAY
 WILLIAM C. McHUGH
 H. B. O'DELL
 JOHN CLARK
 P. H. DRAPER
 C. A. ADAMS
 JOHN T. SMITH
 ROSE COPELAND
 MICHAEL J. O'DONNELL
 A. J. ROGERS
 RICHARD A. COONEY
 NEWTON A. JAMES
 WILLIAM KAVANAGH

The report of the Committee on Local

and Federated Bodies as a whole, as amended, was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Patriek F. O'Meara, Connecticut State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Baker Drivers of Bridgeport have organized under the charter of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Stablemen and Helpers Local No. 665; and

WHEREAS, This industry is a part of the bakery industry that is chartered under the name of International Bakers and Confectioners of America; and

WHEREAS, Experience has proved to us the necessity of being affiliated with International Bakers and Confectioners to have the support in full of that organization and industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Connecticut Federation of Labor to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to urge upon that convention the necessity of changing the Baker Drivers to the organization known as International Bakers and Confectioners of America where they properly belong.

This matter having been decided by a previous convention, which gave jurisdiction over bakery wagon drivers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, your Committee non-concurs in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Myrup, Bakers and Confectionery Workers: I rise to simply make a statement that the Bakery Workers, although they are not the authors of this resolution or parties thereto, are in sympathy with its contents and not in sympathy with the report of the committee. We desire to be so recorded without taking the time of this convention to discuss the merits of the resolution or the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Fred W. Baer of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Buffalo, New York, November 1917, granted jurisdiction to the International Association of Fire Fighters over all men engaged in Fire Fighting and Prevention; and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, There exists, by virtue of charter from the International Association of Fire Fighters, a local of same, being known as Local No. 2, which Union has sole jurisdiction over all Fire Fighters in the City of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, There exists in the City of Chicago a local union of Fire Engineers, chartered and known as Local No. 577 of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, who are engaged wholly in Fire Fighting and Prevention; and

WHEREAS, The existence of two locals engaged in the same occupation chartered under different internationals, works for the detriment of the International Association of Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, Letters from the International Association of Fire Fighters bearing upon this matter have been ignored by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers revoke Charter of Local No. 577, and turn over to the International Association of Fire Fighters the Chicago Fire Engineers known as Local No. 577; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor re-affirm its declaration of Resolutions Nos. 17 and 106 at the Buffalo Convention as regards to jurisdiction of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to use their good offices in bringing about an adjustment of the situation in Chicago.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Alexander F. Hastie, of the Quincy (Mass.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, A condition prevails in the metal industry of this country that is impractical from an organization standpoint insofar as it concerns one of the crafts whose occupation is being rapidly expanded because of changing methods of manufacture, namely the welding and burning processes by electricity and oxy-acetylene gas; and

WHEREAS, It is for mutual protection of all employed in metal work, irrespective of craft or calling, that all be organized to the greatest possible extent; and

WHEREAS, Because of the prevailing conditions in this craft many workers cannot be organized owing to jurisdictional claims of various national and international bodies in the organized metal crafts; and

WHEREAS, The workmen following the electric and oxy-acetylene welding industry are employed at their trade in shipyards, foundries, auto manufactories, repair shops, machine shops, blacksmith shops, copper shops, sheet metal shops and structural operations, in fact, in all

the industries where metals of any nature are used; and

WHEREAS, All these trades or crafts claim jurisdiction necessitating the electric and oxy-acetylene welders to carry cards in as many different organizations as there are trades involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the electric and oxy-acetylene welders be recognized as a separate trade and that a charter recognizing this fact be issued by the American Federation of Labor, because the electric and oxy-acetylene welding process is a distinct trade apart entirely from the other trades in the metal industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That committees composed of men following the electric and oxy-acetylene trade be given an opportunity to appear before the committees at the above-named conventions to show reasons why the request for charter should be granted, or if the matter is referred to Executive Council of American Federation of Labor, that the committee referred to be given the same opportunity to present its case before the Executive Council.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution and reaffirms the previous decisions of the Baltimore and Atlantic City conventions, as follows:

"We recommend that this convention declare that 'acetylene welding' is a process, and that 'acetylene welder' is a tool, which can no more come under the exclusive jurisdiction of any one trade or calling than can the hammer or the saw."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Vaughn offered as an amendment that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for action. (Seconded.)

Delegate McGowan: I only wish to make a brief statement that the amendment should be rejected by this convention, as the matter has already been determined and requires no action by the convention.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: I wish to speak in opposition to the amendment. Previous conventions of this body have acted upon this matter.

The amendment was defeated.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, Wm. Neer, James Wilson, of the Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs have had during their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor absolute jurisdiction over all men loading and unloading all kinds of material on wagons, trucks and automobiles; and

WHEREAS, This is one of the important parts of the work of teaming and transferring of merchandise and machinery; and

WHEREAS, The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers claim jurisdiction over Riggers and insist on loading heavy machinery, etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirm the jurisdiction originally granted to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs by giving them the absolute right of loading and unloading wagons and automobiles in which the membership of that organization are daily employed, and that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be instructed by this convention not to interfere with the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs in the loading and unloading of heavy machinery and merchandise.

Your committee recommends that a conference be held between the representatives of the two organizations at interest within a period of 90 days from the adjournment of the convention with the object of adjusting their differences in connection with this matter.

Delegate O'Connor, Longshoremen: That calls for a conference between the riggers and the teamsters. I hope the Council will not lose sight of the fact that about 75 per cent of the loading and unloading of all trucks on the water front is done by the Longshoremen. We do not intend to give away that jurisdiction, and we request that if any conference is held the Longshoremen be made part of that conference.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate A. M. Huddell, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The Quarry Workers' International Union have claimed jurisdiction over engineers working in quarries; and

WHEREAS, They have tried to get engineers chartered by our International Union to join Quarry Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, They now have engineers in some parts of the country in their local union; and

WHEREAS, Engineers who were members of their local unions have been refused withdrawal cards, in order to join our organization; and

WHEREAS, Our International Organization has had for years local unions

whose engineers are exclusively employed in quarries, and are now working under agreement with their employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby instructed to notify the Quarry Workers' International Union that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, by virtue of their charter rights, have jurisdiction over engineers employed in quarries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council notify the above-named organization that engineers who are now in their different local unions have a right to apply for withdrawal cards for the purpose of joining our International Union, and that the above-named organization be instructed to grant such card for such purpose.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that representatives of the two organizations meet in conference within sixty days from the adjournment of this convention for the purpose of coming to a mutual understanding in regard to the issuance of withdrawal cards.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Sultor: I rise to oppose the report of the committee. The Quarry Workers have claimed jurisdiction over quarry engineers ever since our organization was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor and we intend to maintain that jurisdiction. I do not understand how the committee arrived at the decision, because the laws of the American Federation of Labor provide that no question of this kind can be considered by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor unless the two parties at interest have had a conference. No conference has been held between the two organizations. We have not refused to attend a conference; in fact, we agreed with the introducer of the resolution to attend a conference with the engineers.

I move as a substitute for the committee's report, in view of the fact that the two organizations involved have not held a conference as required by the constitution and laws of the American Federation of Labor, that the whole subject matter be referred to the Executive Council and that they be instructed to arrange a conference of the two organizations at interest to settle the matter. (Seconded and carried.)

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates M. Snellings, H. M. Comerford, A. M. Huddell

and E. L. Edgerton, International Union Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 61, introduced by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, at the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor, asking that the brick-makers be instructed to respect the charter rights of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, which resolution, after strenuous objection by the brick-makers, was concurred in; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, during the past year, have repeatedly tried to hold conferences with the brick-makers to adjust this trouble, with the result that the brick-makers would not meet us or treat with us in any way therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council call a conference between these two organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this Convention, and in the event that the brick-makers refuse to attend or refuse to respect the charter rights of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, their charter shall be suspended.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Kasten, Brickmakers, asked the secretary of the committee if their report implied that if the Brickmakers did not turn the engineers in question over to the other organization within sixty days the Brickmakers would be suspended?

Secretary Golden: The Steam Engineers delegation claim that they cannot get a conference with the representatives of the Brickmakers. In the last convention they were ordered to go into conference. The Steam Engineers claim the Brickmakers have refused to go into conference. After hearing the Brickmakers, your committee felt that they had not satisfied the committee that they tried to get into conference, hence we concurred in the resolution.

Delegate Kasten opposed the recommendation of the committee, and in discussing the question, said in part: We told the representatives of the Engineers before the committee that we would go into conference within ninety days, and we would like to have that conference held in Chicago where the men involved in the controversy would have an opportunity to speak for themselves. We said that it probably would be a physical impossibility for us to turn those engineers bodily over to the Engineers' organization, and we were

not willing to make outlaws out of that small body of men. When we left the committee, the representatives of the Engineers' Union said that they did not want to revoke or suspend our charter, they only wanted a conference. It seemed that after eight long years we had taken the first step to amicably adjust the situation that exists in the brickyards around Chicago. The report of the committee, instead of drawing us together, will keep us farther apart.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Snellings, Engineers, in discussing the question, said in part: Possibly this controversy would have been adjusted if the representatives of the Brickmakers had obeyed the mandates of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. They were ordered by that convention to confer with us. That they have steadfastly refused to do. They have these engineers in their organization, and the American Federation of Labor ordered us years ago to order them to turn those engineers over to us. They did not do so; they seceded from their organization and remained outside until the Buffalo convention. We did not object to their reinstatement; we wanted the organization to get together, but they steadfastly refused to do anything; and if this convention does not adopt the report of the committee you will have the same situation before the next convention.

Delegate Glover, Blacksmiths, spoke briefly in favor of the amendment. He opposed the recommendation of the committee because of the provision in regard to suspending the charter if a conference could not be arranged within sixty days.

Delegate Tracy, Brickmakers, in discussing the question, said in part. We have a hundred per cent organization in Chicago. We organized every engineer that was ever organized in a clay plant. We had the engineers until after 1910, when they were turned over, not by orders of the American Federation of Labor, but by mutual agreement. After being turned over to us, we worked along with the Engineers and today we are working with the Firemen and Machinists. We have an agreement with the Stationary Firemen, and the Machinists and Carpenters who come to work in the yards must carry cards. When the Engineers were turned

over to the Engineers' Union, we found that when we went out for an agreement the Firemen went with us, but the Engineers stayed behind; not because they wanted to, but because they were instructed to do so.

Delegate Tracy spoke at length of the introduction of machinery into the brick yards, the efforts made by the Brick and Clay Workers to secure jurisdiction over those machines and to arrange a proper wage scale for the men who operated them, because the machines took the place of their highly paid workers. He stated that his organization asked 85 cents an hour for the men who ran those machines while representatives of the Engineers signed an agreement for 37½ cents. In concluding his argument, Delegate Tracy said:

When these men were with the Engineers they received \$150 and \$175 a month. They are now drawing from \$350 to \$400 a month, and they are not allowed to do carpenter work, blacksmith work, machine work, electrical work and be bosses on the side, as they were under the Steam Engineers. Now these engineers say: "We will not go back to the engineers. If you throw us out we will go to the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen. The Steam Shovel and Dredgemen have had their charter suspended. I suppose if these men do go there, the Steam and Operating Engineers will want the Brickmakers to strike or to have our charter suspended. All we ask is fairness and justice. We are not trying to defy the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I rise to offer an amendment to the committee's report, that all reference to suspension be stricken out of the resolution. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Snellings: It is rather unusual to put an amendment to a vote without giving those who are directly interested a chance to say something. Now I desire to speak on the question. It does not matter whether you adopt the motion to suspend or whether you cut it out, we have Hoisting Engineers in Chicago and we can tie up the buildings if we want to. We have gone through the legal way of doing things, and if the Brickmakers are going to be given an industrial organization, say so, and we will be able to tie up building in Chicago.

The resolution as amended by the convention is as follows:

Resolution No. 81—By * Delegates M. Snellings, H. M. Comerford, A. M. Huddell and E. L. Edgerton, International Union Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 61, introduced by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers at the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor, asking that the brickmakers be instructed to respect the charter rights of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, which resolution, after strenuous objection by the brickmakers, was concurred in; and

WHEREAS, The Representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, during the past year, have repeatedly tried to hold conferences with the brickmakers to adjust this trouble, with the result that the brickmakers would not meet us or treat with us in any way: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council call a conference between these two organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this Convention.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m., Friday, June 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Boyer, Detlef, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Nelson, Baker (E. E.), Conway (H. J.), Desepete, Coulter, Adamsky, Langer, Metz, Greenstein, Morrison (H. L.), Bock, Maitland, Murray (P.), Hayes (F. J.), Farrington, Moore (J.), White (J. P.), Kennedy (T.), Valentine, Carey (J. T.), Berndt, Hannah, Kearney (T.), Anderson (C.), Hurley (J. T.), Flynn (P.), Shay, Blasey,

Heberling, Curtis, Hatch, Graves (H. E.), Jones (J. W.), Ely (S.), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (D. M.), Caddy, Lennon, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Queeney, Witherell, Rogers (R. E.), Owens, Oplinger, Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill (H.), Stanley, Parker (E.), Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Hemsley, Freund, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell (E. W. A.), Knight, Murray (J. F.), Barnack, Sims, Wright, Raisee, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Jagers, Dunlop (R.), Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Green (R. J.), Coyne, Ferguson (F. D.),

Mercier, Wood (R. T.), Canavan, Harrell, Link (L. A.), Williams (J. W.), Leary (P. J.), Stehmer, Talbot, Enright, Fugh (J. J.), Turner, Ellis (C.), Butler (S. C.), Mezzacapo, Posey, Phaire, Castleman, Smoot, Harte, Schoonover, Davies (Wm. J.), Longe, Carlock, Hall (W. J.), Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, LaRose, Heywood (D.), Hodge, McKnight (D. B.), Lewis (M.), Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray (F.), Weber (C. P.), Quesse, Woodmansee, Kelleher (S. E.), Gabrio, Morse, Malone (M.), Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Flynn (J.), Stevens, Smallwood, Steele, Wilcox (J. H.), Allen, Jenkins, Rincker, Stewart (W.), Tait, Reynolds (G.), Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, Robins, Jones (J.), Fitzgerald (A.).

PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Gompers, addressing the fraternal delegates, stated that it was the custom of the delegates of the A. F. of L. to contribute to a fund to purchase gifts for the fraternal delegates, to show their appreciation of the presence of the fraternal delegates in the convention and as a testimony to the friendly relations existing between the labor organizations in their respective countries.

President Gompers then presented to J. W. Ogden, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, a handsome gold watch suitably engraved.

President Gompers announced that Mr. Jones, Mr. Ogden's co-delegate, was still in the hospital. He expressed deep regret that Fraternal Delegate Jones was unable to be present, and asked Mr. Ogden to accept for and convey to him a gold watch, also suitably inscribed.

To Mr. J. A. McClelland, Fraternal Delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, was presented a ring with a diamond setting; and to Mrs. J. A. McClelland a handsome beaded handbag.

Fraternal Delegate Ogden, for himself and for his co-delegate, expressed his deep appreciation of the gifts, and assured the convention that both would treasure them as mementoes of one of the pleasantest experiences of their lives.

Fraternal Delegate McClelland and Mrs. McClelland both addressed the convention briefly and expressed their appreciation of the gifts and the thought that inspired them.

President Gompers: We hope that when Brother Jones recovers his health sufficiently to move around that both Brother Ogden and he will visit the United States.

Fraternal Delegate Ogden: That was our intention, Mr. President.

President Gompers: Of course the Fraternal Delegate from Canada will come and go at will.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President Gompers: I am going to ask President Hutcheson, of the Carpenters, to preside during the election of President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hutcheson in the chair.

Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers, in nominating President Gompers for re-election, said in part: I rise to nominate for the office of President of the American Federation of Labor the present incumbent. I deem it unnecessary to advance any reason for so doing, and if I attempted to do so I am not sure that I could give one single reason that you did not already know. However, an incident which occurred yesterday brings me in memory back to 1886, when a handful of devoted men, fighting, militant, constructive trade unionists, met in the city of Columbus, Ohio, for the purpose of reorganizing what is now known as the American Federation of Labor. After adopting a constitution, they provided a salary of \$1,000 a year for the president, who was to devote his whole time to that office. When it came time to make nominations for the office, it went begging, for a large number of the men in that convention had official obligations, which they owed their own organizations, which made it incumbent upon them to decline.

When the choice came to the man who now occupies that position, at great personal sacrifice, he accepted the office, and since that time, with the exception of a year or two, has devoted his entire time and attention to building up what is the greatest Federation of Labor the world has ever seen. How successful he has been in that work you know, and you here yesterday, over his protest, expressed your satisfaction at the work he has accomplished by offering to pay to him or to the one which shall follow the sum of \$1,000 a month.

Without taking up further time, I take great pleasure in nominating that physically battle-scarred but keen, clear and perceptive man, that veteran, that great outspoken, fighting, militant trade unionist, who has devoted his entire life to

the building up of our splendid organization, Mr. Samuel Gompers.

Delegate McGowan, Boltermakers: It gives me great satisfaction to have the opportunity of seconding the nomination of President Gompers. I do this, Mr. Chairman, on account of the press reports that have been circulated throughout the country that a certain action taken at this convention yesterday was a repudiation of President Gompers. May I say to you, in behalf of our organization and, I believe, in behalf of all the railroad organizations, that such is not the intention. We have always been staunch admirers of the excellent qualities of the grand old veteran, and I wish for that purpose to say to this convention and to the world that we are with him, that we love him, and God bless him.

Delegate McCarthy (P. H.): I rise to second the nomination of Brother Samuel Gompers in behalf of the State Building Trades of California and, with your permission as the chairman, of the delegation of the Brotherhood of Carpenters.

Chairman Hutcheson: Granted.

No further nominations being made, nominations were closed and Vice-President Woll moved that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the convention for Samuel Gompers as the unanimous choice of the convention as president of the American Federation of Labor for the coming year.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.

Secretary Morrison complied with instructions and announced that the unanimous vote of the convention had been cast for President Gompers.

Chairman Hutcheson: I think the secretary is slightly in error. I think I saw Delegate James A. Duncan of Seattle on his feet when I called for the negative vote.

Delegate Duncan (J. A.): Correct.

Chairman Hutcheson: It gives me pleasure to announce, Brother Gompers, that with the exception of one vote, you have been unanimously elected president of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year. Let me present you with this gavel and wish you as successful an administration in the future as you have had in the past.

President Gompers: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I cannot begin to tell

you the depth of my appreciation for the feeling you have manifested toward me in casting the vote that has been cast to elect me to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year. I want you to know that it is my earnest desire to serve the cause of the working people of our common countries and of the whole world, and by that to serve all the people of our countries and of the whole world. It would be impossible for me to refrain from giving that service, whether as president of the American Federation of Labor or as one in the ranks. Service is service, and if as president of the American Federation of Labor I have larger and better opportunities to serve than I would have in the ranks, it simply an incident.

There is an old saying that it is difficult to teach an old dog new tricks. I have not reached that time in life when I cannot learn new tricks. My mind is open, receptive, and I am vain enough to believe that there is not a day nor an hour which passes that I do not learn something new. My mind is not closed; I am receptive to suggestions and to thoughts and to actions, and to conform our movement to the acceptance of anything that can and will contribute toward the general welfare and the betterment of the great body of the workers of our countries and of the world.

Referring to articles printed in regard to the proceedings of the convention, President Gompers said in part: It was my intention earlier in the proceedings during this week to make a statement regarding an article which has been syndicated and published in many newspapers in the United States, but I have withheld the correction of the statement until the convention should have expressed itself in this way or in another; but having expressed yourselves by your votes as you have, I want to take advantage of this opportunity to call your attention to the fact that a gentleman reporting for a number of newspapers in the United States has sent out a story saying that President Gompers has suffered his first defeat in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The article states that against the action and protest of President Gompers the Executive Council turned him down and that it affected the standing and prestige of President

Gompers, not only in the Executive Council but with the public.

The question was whether the American Federation of Labor would present to either or both of the political party conventions the question which was determined by the last convention, in which the Federation, by an almost unanimous vote, declared for the restoration of the right to use light beers and light wines, and that against my wish the Council turned down that proposition. While the subject was discussed by the Executive Council, there was no division in the judgment of the Council of the advisability of the Council presenting the question to either of the conventions. While we have not changed our policy or our views upon this subject, we believe that insofar as the rights and the freedom and the activities of the labor movement of our country were concerned we had to do the things that were immediately essential; and though the other was important, we did not wish in any way to modify our demands by incorporating the demands for beers and light wines in what we presented to the Republican convention.

At this point, President Gompers submitted an official letter advising the Brewery Workers that they or any other organization had the right to use the declaration of the Atlantic City convention upon the subject of light wines and beer.

Continuing, President Gompers said:

I have had a talk with the gentleman who sent out the story, and he said, in view of the information I had given him, he would correct the story.

And now, let me add this word: You have nominated me; there were no nominations of other labor men against me; you have elected me by practically a unanimous vote. I regard that as a command to duty, and I obey.

Delegate Frey, of the Molders Union, in nominating a candidate for First Vice-President, said in part:

It is a privilege to be recognized at this time for the purpose of presenting for nomination as First Vice-President the name which I intend to submit in a few minutes. It is unnecessary for me to enter into a description of his character, his abilities, his accomplishments, because the delegates to this convention and the American trade union movement have for years recognized his sterling worth.

Not only has the American Federation of Labor honored him, but when the President of the United States was searching for a labor man who could be placed upon the first diplomatic mission which included a representative of our movement, he was selected. His life, his ability, his knowledge, his sound common sense, again led a President of the United States to indicate that when we chose representatives on the Council that were of that type, that the President might well depend upon him when looking for those who were to fill some of the nation's most important and responsible positions.

I have had the personal pleasure of placing Brother James Duncan in nomination before, and, Mr. Chairman, I again have that personal pleasure, as well as privilege, to nominate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, for First Vice-President.

Delegate Ryan, Railway Carmen: I desire at this time to second the nomination of Brother Duncan, and to say that the railroad men of this country to the number of two million are behind Brother Duncan a hundred per cent.

No further names were presented, and the chairman declared nominations closed. The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan. The instruction of the convention was complied with, and Vice-President Duncan was declared unanimously re-elected.

President Gompers asked the First Vice-President to take the chair and respond to a request of the delegation that he speak.

Vice-President Duncan: I thank you for a renewal of your confidence in the work I have a chance to perform for the labor movement. A time there was, when I was a boy, that it was difficult to get an announcement in connection with labor affairs into the public press, and, therefore, viewing for a few seconds the lapse of time from then until the reference which has been made about me by my good friend, John Frey, note the advancement in the labor movement, in that the President of the United States has seen fit to send my name to the Senate as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. I recognize that as a great compliment to the development of the labor movement. However, as president of my own international, as a member of the

Executive Council, as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission or elsewhere, I shall ring true to our great labor movement.

Vice-President Duncan presided during the election of the second vice-president, who was placed in nomination by Delegate McCarthy, of the California State Building Trade Council, who said in part: I rise to place in nomination a trade unionist who has the support, not only of the two million trade unionists working under the banner of the railway institutions of the United States and Canada, but also the millions of other trade unionists affiliated with the A. F. of L. The man I have in mind is now in the western portion of the United States working in the interests of the trade unionists in that section of the country. He has given his time, his talent—and it is rare—in a manner calculated to give the labor movement of our country the greatest good possible to the greatest number of our people. I take great pleasure in presenting to you for Second Vice-President Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Wilson, of the Pattern Makers.

Delegate Franklin, Boiler Makers, moved that the secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine. The instruction of the convention was complied with, and Vice-President Valentine was declared unanimously re-elected.

Vice-President Duncan: Inasmuch as our old friend, Joe Valentine, is not with us, it may not be out of order to ask our friend, John Frey, to say a word to this convention in behalf of the election of Joe Valentine.

Delegate Frey, Molders, in response to the request of the chairman, said in part: I know that the convention would hardly expect me to occupy much of its time at this period of its session, but I do know, not only because of my official association with Vice-President Valentine, but because of the close ties of friendship that have bound us together inseparably for many years, how highly he has always honored the confidence that the American Federation of Labor has expressed in him in re-electing him to the Council since his first election in 1905.

I personally know how deeply grieved he was when he started to the Pacific

Coast to assist in bringing about an adjustment of a strike involving some 47,000 metal trades workers; and how he debated in his mind whether it was his duty to be in this convention. He was finally prevailed upon to go to the Pacific Coast so that his personal influence might be able to bring about an adjustment of the situation. It will be an added pleasure to know that as a result of his labors there a settlement has been brought about since this convention has been in session. On his behalf, I express his appreciation of this renewed evidence of your confidence, your respect and your affection for as sterling a trade unionist as ever fought the battle of trade unionism.

Vice-President Duncan: In giving the chair to President Gompers, I desire to say that since this convention has been in session the Granite Cutters International Association has won one of the biggest contentions in which it has ever been a part. Half of our members had to leave their work the last day of March because of not having reached an agreement with their employers. Since this convention has been in session, we have got a full agreement with an increase of \$2.00 a day in their wages.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, in nominating a candidate for third vice-president, said in part: In nominating the brother I have in mind, I shall make no attempt at oratory or try to eulogize him, other than to call to the attention of the delegates the old saying that actions speak louder than words, and point to the fact that the record made by the brother stands second to that of none in the labor movement. It therefore gives me pleasure to present the name of Frank Duffy for Third Vice-President.

No further names were presented and the chairman declared nominations closed. Upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instruction of the convention was complied with and Delegate Duffy was declared unanimously elected Third Vice-President.

Vice-President Duffy was invited by the President to take the chair to preside while making his response to a request that he address the convention and while

the next election was being conducted. Responding to the request for a speech, Vice-President Duffy said: I have spoken so much at conventions in the last twenty years that I have been thinking you were tired listening to me. I have been a member of the Executive Council for several years, and while acting in that capacity I do not think I have missed one session of the Council. I have given the best that was in me, and I propose to do that in the coming year. I thank you for the confidence you have placed in me by re-electing me as Third Vice-President.

Delegate Lewis (J. L.), Mine Workers, in nominating a candidate for Fourth Vice-President, said: The United Mine Workers are honored in being privileged to present to this convention the name of that most distinguished trade unionist, the secretary of our organization, for the place of Fourth Vice-President. I shall not at this time attempt to extol his virtues nor chronicle his accomplishments, other than to say that to the organized mine workers of the country William Green has become an institution, and as the days and the years of his services extend in our ranks we have learned to honor and to love him. He typifies the ideals of the American trade unionist who renders service to the trade union movement and to the citizens of our great land. He has the highest ideals, and in every way he labors most diligently to apply them in a proper manner. He is a manly man, a courteous gentleman, and I can testify that he is a most valiant warrior. I am honored, Mr. Chairman, in presenting for the consideration of this distinguished assembly the name of William Green, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, for the place of Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Weber of the Musicians.

No further names were presented and the chairman declared the nominations closed. The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green. The secretary complied with the instruction, and Vice-President Green was declared unanimously re-elected for the ensuing year.

Vice-President Green: I cannot find words to express my sincere appreciation of this renewed call to service. I regard

it as such and shall always keep that fact in mind. The opportunity to serve on the Executive Council with such veterans as President Gompers, Brother Duncan, Brother Valentine, Brother Duffy, Brother Mahon and others is a rare privilege that certainly cannot help but be appreciated. During the years I have served I have learned much. I have endeavored to benefit by association with these men, to understand better the trade union philosophy, the struggles, the hopes, the aspirations of the toilers. It has been a real inspiration and a genuine pleasure. I can think of nothing that can be more gratefully appreciated than the opportunity to serve men with whom I have worked and labored all my life. During the ensuing year I shall give the work the best service, the best thought and the best co-operation of which I am capable, and again I sincerely thank you.

Delegate Larger, United Garment Workers, said in placing in nomination a candidate for Fifth Vice-President: I rise to place in nomination one of the old war horses of the organization. When tried he has always proved true. I take great pleasure in nominating W. D. Mahon for the Fifth Vice-Presidency.

Delegate Voll, Glass Bottle Blowers: I arise to second the nomination. May I say that of the many units that comprise the A. F. of L., it is doubtful if any has forged to the front as has the organization of the street railway men. This is due largely to the man who all his life has given his time, his effort and his energy to that work. I therefore take pleasure of seconding the nomination of W. D. Mahon.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), in seconding the nomination of W. D. Mahon, said in part: In view of things that happened the other day, I feel that it is not out of place to say something of what Brother Mahon has been doing as a trade unionist. It has been my privilege to be active in a portion of our country during the last year in the work of the trade union movement where I have observed the work of Bill Mahon, what he has done for the men who are working without protection, at the mercy of employers who have no justice in their make-up. In at least four cities of our state, these men have been organized, their wages increased, their hours reduced, their conditions of employ-

ment made safer and their opportunities of making a living bettered. I feel this is not out of the place, because of what was said here the other day. At that time, he did not arise to say a word, because he felt the work of his life would speak for itself.

No further names were presented and the chairman declared nominations closed. Upon motion of Vice-President Woll, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for W. D. Mahon. The instruction of the convention was complied with, and the chairman declared Fifth Vice-President Mahon duly elected for the ensuing term.

Vice-President Mahon: I assure you that I cannot express in words my appreciation for your action. I have wanted the opportunity in this convention to say but a word, and I take this occasion to say it. When the resolutions with charges against me were before the convention I said to all who talked about it that I would let my life's work in the trade union movement stand as my defense, and if this convention or any other convention wanted to crucify me, they could do so; I would let my work in the trade union movement stand.

I am placed in a very unfortunate position. This unfortunate affair has been to me one of the worst things I have ever met with in my life. I have spent some twenty-eight years attending these conventions. I have put in thirty years of my life in the trade union movement. I have worked consistently as a union man from my childhood days. Since the days back in the miners' union, when I was a boy, I have consistently fought all my life for the union, for the rights of labor, for collective bargaining, and I shall continue to do so as long as have life to do it.

I will not be driven by anyone. I presume if I had been willing to bow to certain politicians and certain other people the resolutions would not have been presented here; but no man or set of men can drive me from what I believe to be right.

I assure you that I appreciate what you have done this afternoon. Possibly I would not have been in this convention but for the charges. My work for my own organization takes all my time. In the past two years we have been confronted with very difficult conditions. I have stood by my

union and I shall stand by it as long as I live, without fear of anyone, and so I came here to meet any charge that anyone had against me and to answer for it, and I stand upon that position today.

Brother Duncan and others reported some results of their work in their organizations. We had word today from Chicago that our two big locals, comprising 18,000 men, have just settled. They will continue their eight-hour day and will receive 80 cents an hour for the future. In many of the big cities like Boston we have established an absolute eight-hour day, something that a few years ago the strongest trade union workers would not have believed possible for the street railway workers.

I want to thank you again and to assure you that you will find me fighting for the union as I have always fought for it.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: May I be permitted to say a word or two. I want to say for the Sheet Metal Workers' delegates, as I said to the committee on Resolutions when I appeared before them on the resolution introduced from the labor movement of Detroit, that the first intimation our delegation had of it was when it was shown to us in Montreal. I told the committee I did not find any fault with Vice-President Mahon on account of the action of his son in running a non-union shop in Detroit.

I want to make this statement on account of publications, particularly in Chicago, under glaring headlines, giving the public to understand that Hynes and the Sheet Metal Workers' delegation were going after Vice-President Mahon to try to defeat him and elect Hynes as Vice-President of this organization. If Vice-President Mahon would drop out I would not be a candidate, and I determined if he were to run for reelection I would vote to put him back in the position he now holds. I say this so that nobody will then think there was any feeling on the part of the Sheet Metal Workers towards Vice-President Mahon.

Delegate Manning, United Garment Workers, in nominating a candidate for Sixth Vice-President said in part: Two years ago at the St. Paul convention it was my privilege to place in nomination a candidate for Sixth Vice-President. I felt it an honor and a privilege to stand sponsor for him, and said then that no

enough of mine, no oratory of mine, would add one whit to his ability or integrity; that the service and the work accomplished were the only yard sticks by which we could measure our officers; and I say now it is my firm conviction, and I believe the conviction of a large majority of the delegates to this convention, that the predictions I made two years ago in St. Paul have been verified. With that thought in mind, I nominate for the office of Sixth Vice-President T. A. Rickert, of the United Garment Workers of America.

No further names were presented and the chairman declared nominations closed. The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The secretary complied with the instruction, and T. A. Rickert was declared unanimously elected Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Noschang, Barbers: At our former convention held in Atlantic City, I took great pride in conveying to the delegates of that convention the esteem in which I hold the man I propose to nominate for the office of Seventh Vice-President, my colleague in office and my associate. I said to you then that I hoped you would have no reason to lose faith in him, if elected, as a member of the Executive Council. I shall not attempt to impress upon your minds the qualifications that he possesses. He has attended numerous conventions of the A. F. of L. and I know that you know him. According to this unusual procedure that has been adopted by our venerable President in calling the Vice-Presidents to the roster in the order of their election, I hope you will have the same faith in the man I am about to place in nomination. I take great pleasure in offering the name of Jacob Fischer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, for the office of Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Heberling, Switchmen: I deem it an honor to present to this convention the name of a man who represents one of the great international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Twelve years ago the organization that I have in mind came into this convention with 598 votes, and year by year they have built up their craft and benefitted the condition of the workers until today the organization has over 3300 votes in this convention, due to the supervision of the man

I have in mind and the co-operation he has had. I desire to ask the delegates to give consideration to his worth and ability, not by way of oratory, but by way of accomplishment. As service seems to be the guiding star in this convention, I should like to see recognized the services of organizations that have made history and progress; therefore, I desire to place in nomination the name of William H. Johnston, International President of the Machinists' Union.

The nomination of Delegate Johnston was seconded by Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers.

The secretary called the roll of delegates, with the following result:

Roll Call on Seventh Vice-President American Federation of Labor

Fischer—Fitzpatrick, Mullaney, Noschang, Fischer, Shanessy, Foley, Baker, Reddick, Davies (D. T.), Meehan, Lovely, Balne, O'Byrne, Lacouture, Richard, Brewery Workers' delegation (205 votes), Preece, Price (W. V.), Greely, Shaughnessy, McLeod, Murphy, Morrin, Tobin (S. P.), Cunnane, Bowen (Bert), Hutchison, Duffy (F.), Woodbury, Van Duyn, White, Ross, McCarthy (P. H.), Moore (Tom), Perkins, Gompers, Campbell, Sexton, Hughes (A. C.), Doyle (J. J.), Feeney, Snellings, Comerford, Edgerton, Fuddell, Stehneyer, Wall, Brady, Rickert, Langer, Adamsky, Doyle (F.), Houck, Voll, Arnold, Loder, Clarke (Wm. P.), O'Brien, Carbery, Granite Cutters delegation (70 votes), Lawlor, O'Hara, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, De Falco, Carley, Dwyer, Marshall, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Koveleski, McDewitt, Davis (D. J.), Sullivan (J. J.), Mahoney, Edwards, McSorley, Duty, Morrison (H. L.), Young, Bryan (W. E.), Alterman, Longshoremen's delegation (296 votes), Hart, Lane, Guest, Davis (J. H.), McCrash, Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Pattison, Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Green (Wm.), Farrington, Moore (J.), Kennedy (T.), Frey, Burton, Rosendale, Sutherland, Guerin, Sherman, Lynch, Wilson (James), Gernon, Forrest, Bergstrom, McGivern, Donlin, Hamilton, Anderson (C. M.), Coefield, Kearney, Anderson (C.), Rau, Leonard, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Roth, Mahon, Cookman, Burns (G. F.), Rooney, Raleigh, Theatrical Stage Employees delegation (147 votes), Freel, Sumner, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (B. L.), Gillespie, Neer, Wilson (James), Golden, Conboy, Kelleher, McMahon, Dean, McAndrew, Evans (E. L.), Alder, Typographical delegation (587 votes), Manning, Lord, Rogers, O'Meara, Moore (C. M.), Copeland, Fritz, Walker, Shea, Lawson, Jones (J. W.), Shobe, Cooney, Holland, Staf, Smith (T. J.), Cunningham, Fox, Rohr, Garrity, Costello, Niemeier, Dill, McCue, Dinsmore, Jennings, Kerns, Gray (J. A.), Gorman, Deming, Ornburn, Ryan (J.), McKosky, Eeck, Gebhardt, Green (R. J.), Curran, Coyne, McLaughlin, Maloy, Vaughan, Quinnivan, McGeary, Smith (J. H.), Hogan

(Ann), Cahillane, Campbell (J. C.), Billinger, Golden (James J.), Ward, Griffard, Ramsey, Ely (F. W.), Chambers, Sharon, Mullen, Tracy (E. J.). Representing 19,929 votes.

Johnston — Gillmore, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider, Corley, Kline, Powlesland, Glover, Martin (M. W.), Franklin, Weyand, MacGowan, Scott (C. F.), McKillop, Dohney, Brewery Workers' delegation (136 votes), Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Ryan, (M. F.), Shoemaker, Hyland, Nolte, Beuloin, McKinnon, Laurendeau, Barnes, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Hay, Shurtleff, O'Dell, Nelson, Dee, McNulty, Flaherty, Butler (P. E.), Shine, Murphy (W. O.), DeRaay, Browne (M. J.), Noonan, McNulty, Joyce (M. T.), Barton, O'Connor (Julia S.), Love, McAndrews, Brown (Wm. S.), Grubb, Todd, Steward, Wiegand, Baer, Dalphond, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Linn, Cameron, Gerrity, Schlesinger, Langer, Metz, Berlin, Antonini, Goff, Brogneaux, Thomas, Granite Cutters delegation (35 votes), Broening, Greenstein, Beardsley, Mathieu, Gainor, Cantwell, Mugavin, Swartz, Duffy (C. D.), Longshoremen's delegation (444 votes), Johnston, Schoenberg, Connolly, Brown (H. W.), Grow, Hannon, Taylor, Moyer, Cannon, Davidson, Langdon, Weber (J. N.), Carey, Weaver, Winkler, Stickle, Evans (R. E.), Yarrow, Baker (H.), Hedrick, Skemp, Root, Parker (M. H.), Dold, Menge, Ward, Clark (W. D.), Berry, McHugh, Sauve, Marks, Dunwoody, Burke, LaBelle, Sullivan (H. W.), Sultor, Link, Collins, Harvey, Flynn (Patrick), Clark (John), Conway, Ingraham, Brown (Wm. H.), Grange, Helt, Cone, Martin (C. D.), Theatrical Stage Employees delegation (49 votes), Heberling, Connors, Cashen, Sweeney, Trummer, Bolander, Stillman, Lampson, Lefkowitz, Manion, Perham, Gorman, Braun, Atkins, Johnson (R.), Typographical delegation (118 votes), Hatch, Graves, O'Connell (James), Bowen (L.), Howat, Bieretz, Williams, Riley, Weber (F. J.), Gilletly, Blair, Plummer, Haney, Francis, Moore (R. R.), Gregson, De Young, Kelley (F. L.), Parker (E. F.), Fink, Block, Pollock, Mueller, Snyder, Murray (J. F.), Andler, Argo, Nuzum, Evans (E. J.), Lange, Mathieu (Alfred A.), Walsh (Bert), Zusl, Carney, Brand, Forsyth, Adams, Klemfelder, Hourigan, Duncan (J. A.), Mercier, Louthood, Christal, Simpson, Fennell, James Fitzgerald (John), Norrington, MacDougall, Lalonde, Thomson, Delleke, Grove, Boyd, Scott (Alice), Carter, Roberts, Walcott, Burns (Agnes), Poirier, Feinstein. Representing 18,195 votes.

Not Voting—Boyer, Detlef, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, Roy, Bock, Maitland, Hogan (Stephen C.), Pruett, Strain, Carey (J. T.), Berndt, Hannah, Hurley, Dougherty, Blasey, Funder Burk, Curtis, Spencer (Wm. J.), Lewis (J. C.), O'Donnell (M. J.), Ely (Stephen), Kavanaugh, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Jones (D. M.), Caddy, Lacey, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Queener, Witherell, Rogers, Owens, Oplinger, Thomas, O'Neill, Ewald, Stanley, Parker, Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Hemsley, Friend, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Krouse, Dermont, Knight, Smith (J. T.), Barnack, Hayward, Breslin, Sims,

Wright, Raisse, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Jagers, Lanoux, Dunlop, Draper, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Spencer (H. L.), Campbell (F. A.), Ferguson (F. D.), Wood, Canavan, Harrell, Link, Williams, Leary, Talbot, Enright, Pugh, Turner, Ellis, Butler, Mezzacapo, Posey, Phaire, Smart, Lane (M.), Harte, Schoonover, Davies (Wm. J.), Longe, Peebles, Carlock, Hall, Brown (Sam), Maund, La Rose, Middleton, Heywood, Covert, Burford, Hodge, McKnight, Lewis (Matt.), Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray (Frances), Weber (C. F.), Quesse, Woodmansee, Kelleher, Gabrio, Gould (A. V.), Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Gites, Flynn (J.), Stevens (P. S.), Smallwood, Steele, Wilcox, Allen, Wilson (F.), Jenkins, Rincker, Stewart (W. J.), Tait, Reynolds (G.), Engle, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond. Representing 891 votes.

Vice-President Fischer was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

Vice-President Fischer: I desire to thank the delegates for the confidence they have placed in me, and I will try to do the best I can during the ensuing term. It is very much appreciated by me and my organization.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, the convention adopted a motion offered by Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, to remain in session until the election of officers, fraternal delegates and the next convention city was completed.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers: At the 39th Annual Convention held a year ago, I had the opportunity to place in nomination to fill the vacancy on the Executive Council the name of Matthew Woll, and at that time I prophesied that if he was elected he would prove a valuable asset to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I think you will agree with me that the prophesy of a year ago is now an established fact. Through the splendid condition of the affairs of the organization of which he is the honored President, he has been able to give considerable of his time to the work the Executive Council called upon him to do. That work has unquestionably been done intelligently and with a deep conception of the duties of the American Federation of Labor. While he cannot be classed as a scarred veteran because of his age, nevertheless I think we have a right to congratulate ourselves that we have a man of his capacity, intelligence and integrity in the labor movement today. I have the honor of presenting the name of Matthew Woll for Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, seconded the nomination of Delegate Woll.

No further names were presented and the Chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Matthew Woll. The instruction of the convention was complied with, and Matthew Woll was declared unanimously elected Eighth Vice-President.

Vice-President Woll: There are times when it is difficult to express the emotions within one's self. I have listened to the eulogies and I can hardly find words to respond properly and efficiently. Without trespassing on your time and good will, may I only say that I have tried to do the best, no matter in what position I have been. Whether in office or out of office, I feel keenly the need of reform for the advancement and for the betterment of mankind and human kind, and I shall endeavor in the future, as I have in the past, to do the best best that is in me that the common lot of the common people may be made better and happier for all concerned.

Delegate Hughes, Teamsters: I rise at this time to place before this convention for its consideration the name of Daniel J. Tobin for Treasurer for the ensuing term.

No further names were offered, nominations were declared closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin. The Secretary complied with instructions, and Treasurer Tobin was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

Treasurer Tobin: I appreciate very much the honor conferred upon me by your unanimously electing me Treasurer. I shall do everything in my power to fulfill the duties of that office in the future as I have in the past. I have endeavored since becoming a member of the Executive Council to exercise the best judgment within me in deciding the questions confronting us in the best interests of the labor movement. I want to assure you that I will do the same thing during the coming year; I shall pursue the course that I think is the straight course, the honest course and the honorable course toward the benefit of the labor movement.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: I rise to offer the name of Delegate Frank Morrison for the office of Secretary, and

in doing so I desire to draw the attention of the delegates to the growth of the American Federation of Labor, with which there has been an ever-increasing responsibility to the office of Secretary of the Federation. It is the business office of the Federation; I have had the pleasure and the opportunity of visiting the office of the Secretary a great many times, and if the international officials who are here today will investigate the conduct of the office of the Secretary of this great body, I am sure they will agree with me that there is no business institution in this country better conducted and more efficiently operated than the office of Secretary Morrison. That is due very largely, if not entirely, to his untiring efforts, and I take great pleasure in submitting his name for re-election.

Delegate Bolander, Journeymen Tailors, seconded the nomination.

The Treasurer was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary. Treasurer Tobin cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Secretary Morrison, who was declared unanimously elected for the ensuing term.

Secretary Morrison: I want to express my appreciation for your unanimous vote; more than that, I want to extend to you my hearty thanks for the kindly assistance that I have received from the delegates to this convention. This, perhaps, is one of the most remarkable conventions in the history of the labor movement. We have made wonderful progress, as the reports show; but notwithstanding that, I feel that the coming year will mark still more remarkable gains for the organized workers of this country. And I want to say that I shall, as I have in the past, use every ounce of energy and what ability I may have gathered by my years of service in carrying on the work for the emancipation of the workers, so that every citizen shall be a free man in all that the word implies. I thank you.

Andrew Hughes, President of the Coopers' International Union, was placed in nomination by Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen, for first fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

For the same position, Delegate Green, United Mine Workers, offered the name of William F. Clark, President of the Flint Glass Workers' Union.

Timothy Healy, President of the Stationary Firemen, was placed in nomination by Delegate Holland, New York State Federation of Labor.

The nomination of Delegate Hughes was seconded by Delegate Perham, of the Railroad Telegraphers.

Upon motion, nominations were closed.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: I rise to inquire if the candidates whose names have been placed before the convention are nominated for the first position.

President Gompers: One delegate is to be elected at a time.

Treasurer Tobin: There are three candidates; does it require a majority vote of the convention to elect, or is the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes elected?

President Gompers: Unless otherwise ordered and directed, it will require a majority.

Delegate Tobin: I move that the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes be declared elected first fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. (Motion seconded).

President Gompers: Hearing no objection, it is so ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll of delegates, with the following result:

Roll Call on First Fraternal Delegate to British Trades Union Congress

For Hughes—Bakery and Confectionery Workers delegation (91 votes), Brewery Workers delegation (136 votes), Preece, Price, Greeley, Shaughnessy, McLeod, Murphy (T. J.), Barnes (J. Mahlon), Flaherty, Butler, Shine, Hughes (A. C.), Doyle (James J.), Duncan (James), Russell (A. W.), Ironside, Hod Carriers delegation (210 votes), Bryan (W. E.), Alterman, Berry, McHugh, Sauve, Marks, Dunwoody, Railroad Telegraphers delegation (98 votes), Garrity, McKosky. Representing 2,002 votes.

For Clarke—Fitzpatrick (James W.), Nechang, Fischer, Shanessy, Foley (C. F.), Baker (Roe H.), Reddick, Davies (David T.), Meehan, Lovely, Baine, O'Byrne, Lacouture, Richard, Brewery Workers delegation (68 votes), Hutcheson, Duffy, Woodbury, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), McCarthy (P. H.), Moore (Tom), Perkins, Gompers, Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Feehey, Steam and Operating Engineers (100 votes), Woll, Brady, Rickert, Lareg, Adamsky, Doyle (Frank), Houck, Clarke (Wm. P.), O'Brien (John B.), Carrey, Brogneaux, Thomas (Herbert), Hod Carriers delegation (210 votes), Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Davis (David J.), Sullivan (John J.), Mahoney, Edwards (Phillip), McSorley, Duty, Morrison (Harry L.), Young (Earl W.), Hart, Lane, Guest, Davis (Jacob H.), McCreash, Lewis (John L.), Murray (Phillip), Green (Wm.), Farrington, Moore (John), Kennedy, Frey,

Burton, Rosendale, Sutherland, Painters delegation (343 votes), Pattern Makers delegation (30 votes), Bergstrom, Coefield, Kearney, Anderson (Charles), Rau, Leonard, Britton, Diehl, Menge, Ward, Clark (Wm. D.), Mahon, Cookman, Burns (Garrett F.), Rooney, Raleigh, Sweeney, Trummer, Bolander, Tobin, Hughes (Thos. L.), Gillespie, Neer, Wilson (James), Golden (John), Conboy, Kelleher, McMahon, Dean, McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), Alder, Typographical Union delegation (587 votes), Manning, Lord, Bowen (Louis), Rogers, Fritz, Smith (Thomas J.), Cunningham, Blair, Rohr, Moore (R. R.), Niemeyer, McCue, Dinsmore, Ornourn, McLaughlin, Duncan (James A.), Quinlivan, Fitzgerald (John), Hogan (Ann), Campbell (Joe C.), Griffard, Roberts, Sharon, Tracy (E. J.), Representing 16,607 votes.

For Healey—Gillmore, Mullaney, Bakery and Confectionery Workers delegation (189 votes), Corley, Kline, Powlesland, Glover, Martin, Franklin (J. A.), Weyand, MacGowan, Scott (Chas. F.), McKillop, Dohney, Brewery Workers delegation (137 votes), Knston, Tracy (Wm.), Morrin, Tobin (S. P.), Cunnane, Bowen (Bert), Ryan (Martin F.), Shoemaker, Hyland, Nolte, Beuloin, McKinnon, Laurendeau, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Hay, Shurtleff, O'Dell, Nelson, Dee, McNulty (Mable), Murphy (W. O.), Browne (Michael J.), Noonan, McNulty (Frank J.), Joyce, Barton, O'Connor (Julia S.), Love, McAndrews (J. J.), Brown (Wm. S.), Grubb, Todd, Steam and Operating Engineers delegation (160 votes), Steward (Luther C.), Wiegand, Baer, Dalphond, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Linn (A. R.), Cameron, Gerrity, Schlesinger, Langer, Metz, Berlin, Antonini, Goff, Voll, Arnold, Loder, Lawlor, O'Hara, Humphrey, Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Greenstein (Abraham), Beardsley, Mathieu, O'Connor (T. V.), Anderson (O. A.), O'Brien (S. P.), Cavanaugh, Workman, Johnston (Wm. H.), Schoenberg, Connolly, Brown (H. W.), Grow, Hannon, Taylor (J. A.), Hynes, Redding, Morarity, Pattison, Moyer, Cannon, Davidson (Wm.), Langdon, Weber, Carey (D. A.), Weaver, Winkler, Painters delegation (688 votes), Carey (J. T.), Parker (M. H.), Pattern Makers delegation (60 votes), Leary, Burke (John P.), La Belle, Sullivan (H. W.), Link, Collins, Harvey, Flynn (Patrick), Clark (John), Conway (Thos.), Ingraham, Brown (Wm. H.), Grange, Helt, Cone, Martin, Heberling, Conors (James E.), Cashen, Stillman, Lampson, Lefkowitz, Railroad Telegraphers (389 votes), Johnson (R. H.), Typographical Union delegation (118 votes), Hatch, Graves, O'Meara (P. F.), Walker (J. H.), Holland (J. P.), Staff, Williams (David), Gilletty, Plummer, Gregson, Costello, Kelley (Frank L.), Parker (B. F.), Fink, Block, Pollock, Mueller (G.), Murray (J. F.), Kerns, Nuzum, Gorman (Patrick), Mathieu, Walsh, Zusi, Ryan (J. C.), Carney, Grech (Richard J.), Curran, Forsyth, Mercier, Maloy, Vaughan, Louthood, Christal, James (N. A.), Norrrington, Cahillane, Billinger, Golden (J. J.), Longe, Lalonde, Delisle, Covert (Wm. P.), Carter (Wm.), Kelleher, Walcott (W. E.), Burns (Agnes), Mullen, Poirier, Feinstone, Representing 18,278 votes.

Not Voting—Boyer, Detlef, Baker (E. E.), Conway (E. J.), Desepte, Coulter, De

Raay, Roy, Marshall, Broening, Gainer, Cantwell, Mugavin, Swartz, Duffy (Chas. D.), Bock, Maitland, Hogan (Stephen C.), Pruett, Strain, Stickel, Evans (R. E.), Yarrow, Baker (Harry), Berndt, Hannah, Dold, McGivern, Donlin, Hamilton, Anerson (C. M.), Roth, Saitor, Hurley, Lemke, Ryan (P. J.), Malloy (Thos.), Free, Sumner, Dougherty, Blasey, Funder Burk, Curtis, Spencer, O'Connell (James), Moore, (Chas. M.), Copeland, Lewis (J. C.), Howat, Shea (Wm. G.), Bieretz, O'Donnell (M. J.), Lawson, Jones (J. W.), Shobe, Ely (Stephen), Cooney, Kavanaugh (Wm.), Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Harlin, Riley (James), Weber (F. J.), Fox (H. W.), Jones (Dan M.), Haney, G. F.), Francis, Caddy, Lacey, De Young, Darr, Stewart, Queeney, Witherell, Rogers, Owens, Oplinger, Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill, Dill, Ewald, Stanley, Parker (E.), Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (John R.), Hemsley, Freind, Taylor (C. O.), Snyder (R. B.), O'Dell, Krouse, Dermont, Knight, Andler, Jennings, Argo, Smith (John T.), Barnack, Evans (Edw. J.), Hayward, Breslin, Sims, Lange (W. F.), Wright, Raisse, Gray (J. A.), Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Deming, Jagers, Lanoux (J. L.), Dunlop, Draper, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (J. B.), Heck, Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Gebhardt, Spencer (Harry L.), Campbell (F. A.), Brand, Coyne, Adams (C. A.), Klemfelder, Ferguson, Hourigan, Wood (R. T.), Simpson, Canavan, Harrell, Fennell, Link, Williams (J. W.), Leary, McGeary, Enright, Pugh, Smith (J. H.), Turner, Ellis, Butler (S. C.), Mezzacapo, Posey, Phaire, Smoot (W. L.), Lane (Milford), Harte (G. H.), MacDougall, Schooner, Davies (Wm. J.), Peebles, Thomson (J. F.), Carlock Hall (Wm. J.), Brown (Sam), Maund, Grove, La Rose, Middleton (Jacob), Heywood, Boyd, Scott (Alice), Burford, Hodge, McKnight (D. B.), Lewis (Matt), Ward, Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Grey, Weber (C. P.), Quesse, Woodmansee, Gabrio, Gould, Ramsey, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Glites, Flynn (James), Ely, Stevens, Smallwood, Steel, Wilcox, Chambers, Allen, Wilson (Frederick), Jenkins, Rincker, Stewart, Tait, Reynolds (Geo.), Engle, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, Representing 1,978 votes.

Delegate Timothy Healy, having received the largest number of votes cast, was declared duly elected first fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Hughes, Coopers, moved that the election of Delegate Healy be made unanimous.

Delegate Clark, Flint Glass Workers, who had arisen to make the same motion, seconded the motion of Delegate Hughes, and Delegate Healy was declared the unanimous choice of the convention.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters, placed in nomination for second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress the name of Mrs. Sarah Conboy, United Textile Workers. The nomination was se-

conded by Delegate Tobin, of the Teamsters and by Delegate McCarthy of the Carpenters.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, offered the name of Benjamin Schlesinger, International Ladies Garment Workers, for second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Connors, of the Switchmen, and by Delegate Morton, of the Stationary Firemen:

Upon motion nominations were closed.

The Secretary called the roll of delegates, with the following result:

Roll Call on Second Fraternal Delegate to British Trades Union Congress

For Conboy—Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Foley (C. F.), Baker (Joe H.), Reddick, Davies (D. T.), Meehan, Lovely, Baine, O'Byrne, Lacouture, Richard, Preece, Price, Greeley, Shaughnessy, McLeod, Murphy (T. J.), Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Bridge and Structural Iron Workers delegation (60 votes), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross, McCarthy (P. H.), Moore (Tom), Perkins, Gompers, Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Railway Clerks delegation (372 votes), Flaherty, Butler (Pierce E.), Shine, Hughes (Andrew C.), Doyle, Browne (M. J.), Noonan, McNulty, Joyce, Barton, O'Connor (Julia S.), Love, McAndrews, Feeney, Snellings, Comerford, Edgerton, Huddell, Stehmeyer, Woll, Brady, Rickert, Larger, Adamsky, Doyle (Frank), Houck, Voll, Arnold, Loder, Clarke (Wm. P.), O'Brien (J. B.), Carbery, Duncan (James), Russell, Ironside, Lawlor, O'Hara, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, De Falco, Carley, Dwyer, Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Davis (D. J.), Sullivan (John J.), Mahoney, Edwards (Philip), McSorley, Duty, Morrison (H. L.), Young (Earl W.), Longshoremen's delegation (600 votes), Hart, Lane, Guest, Davis (Jacob H.), McCreash, Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Pattison, Lewis (John L.), Murray (Philip), Green (William), Farrington, Moore (John), Kennedy, Frey, Burton, Rosendale, Sutherland, Musicians delegation (525 votes), Guerlin, Sherman, Lynch (John J.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Forrest, Bergstrom, Coefield, Kearney, Anderson (Charles), Rau, Leonard, Britton, Leary (George), Diehl, Berry, McHugh, Sauve, Marks, Dunwoody, Mahon, Cookman, Burns (Garrett F.), Rooney, Raleigh, Teachers delegation (62 votes), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie (John M.), Neer, Wilson (James), Golden (John), Conboy, Kelleher, McMahan, Dean, McAndrew (Anthony), Evans (E. Lewis), Alder, Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), McCullough, Young (Wm.), Hays (J. W.), Barrett, Hatch, Graves, Manning, Lord, Rogers, O'Meara, Frits, Walker, Lawson, Holland, Smith (Thomas J.), Cunningham, Rohr, Garrity, McCue, Fink, Block, Dinsmore, Mueller, Argo, Gorman, Walsh (Bert), Zusi, Ryan (J.), Carney, McKosky,

Heck, Forsyth, Hourigan, Louthood, Hogan (Ann), Campbell (J. C.), Lalonde, Hodge, Griffard, Roberts, Walcott, Sharon, Mullen, Tracy (E. J.). Representing 22,371 votes.

For Schlesinger—Kilne, Powlesland, Glover, Martin, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers delegation (182 votes), Ryan (Martin F.), Shoemaker, Hyland, Nolte, Beuloin, McKinnon, Laurendeau, Barnes, Railway Clerks delegation (1488 votes), Brown (Wm. S.), Grubb, Todd, Steward, Wiegand, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Schlesinger, Langer, Metz, Berlin, Antonini, Goff, Brogneaux, Thomas (Herbert), Greenstein, Beardsley, Mathieu (T.), Longshoremen's delegation (140 votes), Johnston, Schoenberg, Connolly, Brown (H. W.), Grow, Hannon, Taylor (J. A.), Moyer, Cannon, Davidson, Langdon, Musicians delegation (175 votes), Burke, LaBelle, Sullivan (Herbert W.), Flynn (Patrick), Clark (John), Conway, Ingraham, Brown (Wm. H.), Grange, Heberling, Connors, Cashen, Sweeney, Trummer, Bolander, Teachers delegation (31 votes), Manion, Perham, Gorman, Braun, Atkins, Johnson (Roscoe H.), Bowen, Plummer, Parker (Ben F.), Nuzum, Lanoux, Duncan (James A.), Burns (Agnes), Polrier, Feinstein. Representing 11,483 votes.

Not Voting—Gillmore, Fitzpatrick, (James W.), Mullaney, Myrup, Belsel, Schneider, Corley, Franklin, Weyand, MacGowan, Scott, McKillop, Dohney, Rader, Kugler, Obergfell, Proebstle, Sullivan (John), Boyer, Detlef, Baker (E. E.), Conway (H. J.), Desepte, Coulter, Murphy (W. O.), DeRaay, Baer, Dalphond, Linn, Cameron, Gerity, Roy, Marshall, Broening, Bryan, Alterman, Gainer, Cantwell, Mugavin, Swartz, Duffy (Chas. D.), Bock, Maitland, Hogan (Stephen C.), Flynn, Strain, Stickle, Evans (B. E.), Yarrow, Baker (Harry), Hedrick, Skemp, Root, Carey (J. T.), Parker (M. H.), Berndt, Hannah, Dold, McGivern, Donlin, Hamilton, Anderson (C. M.), Menge, Ward, Roth, Clark (Wm. D.), Sutor, Link, Collins, Harvey, Hurley, Helt, Cone, Martin, Lemke, Ryan (P. J.), Malloy, Free, Sumner, Dougherty (A. C.), Blasey, Funder Burk, Curtis, Spencer (Wm. J.), O'Connell, Moore (Chas. M.), Copeland, Lewis (J. C.), Howat, Shea, Bieretz, O'Donnell, Jones (Jos. W.), Shobe, Ely (Stephen), Cooney, Kavanaugh, Stalf, Johnson (Geo. E.), Williams (David), Iglesias, Harlin, Riley, Weber (Frank J.), Fox, Jones (Dan M.), Gilletly, Blair, Hane, Francis, Caddy, Moore (Robert B.), Gregosa, Costello, Lacey, DeYoung, Kel-

ley, Darr, Stewart, Queeney, Niemeier, Witherell, Rogers, Owens (John G.), Oppinger, Thomas (John J.), O'Neill, Dill, Ewald, Stanley, Parker (E.), Pollock, Stansberry, Hasard, Evans (John R.), Hemaley, Freind, Taylor (Claude O.), Snyder, O'Dell, Krouse, Dermont, Knight, Murray (James F.), Andler, Jennings, Kerns, Smith (John T.), Barnack, Evans (E. J.), Hayward, Breslin, Sims, Lange, Wright, Raisse, Gray (James A.), Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Mathieu (A.), Deming, Jagers, Ornburn, Dunlop, Draper, Wilkinson, Fitzgerald (John B.), Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Gebhardt, Green (Richard J.), Spencer (Harry L.), Curran, Campbell (Frederick A.), Grand, Coyne, Adams, Klemfelder, McLaughlin, Ferguson, Mercier, Maloy, Vaughan, Wood, Quinlivan, Christal, Simpson, Canavan, Harrell, Fennell, James, Link, Fitzgerald (John), Williams (Joseph W.), Leary, McGeary, Norrington, Talbot, Enright, Fugh, Smith (John H.), Turner, Ellis, Cahillane, Butler (Seymour C.), Mezscapo, Posey, Phaire, Billinger, Smoot, Lane, Harte, MacDougall, Schoonover, Golden, Davies, Longe, Peebles, Thomson, Carlock, Dellsale, Hall, Brown (Sam), Maund, Grove, La Rose, Middleton, Heywood, Boyd, Scott (Alice), Covert, Burford, Carter, McKnight, Lewis (Matt), Ward (Alfred), Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray (Frances), Weber (Charles P.), Quesse, Woodmansee, Kelleher, Gabrio, Gould, Ramsey, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Gites, Flynn (James), Ely (Frederick W.), Stevens, Smallwood, Steele, Wilcox, Chambers, Allen, Wilson (Frederick), Jenkins, Rincker, Stewart, Tait, Reynolds, Engle, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Ryan (Thomas F.), Dodson, Bond. Representing 5,161 votes.

Delegate Sarah Conboy was declared duly elected second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

During the tabulation of the vote, Delegate Duncan, Granite Cutters, moved that with the announcement of the vote, the convention adjourn to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock Saturday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 7:25 p. m., the convention adjourned to reconvene Saturday morning, June 19th.

TWELFTH DAY--Saturday Morning Session

Montreal, Quebec, June 19, 1920.

The convention was called to order at 10 o'clock a.m., Saturday, June 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider, Corley, Kasten, Tracy (W. M.), Boyer, Detlef, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, Murphy (W. O.), De Raay, Baer, Dalphond, Roy, Marshall, Broening, McSorley, Duty, Gainor, Cantwell, Mugaivin, Swatyz, Duffy (C. D.), Bock, Matland, Hogan (S. C.), Pruett, Strahl, Stickle, Evans (C. D.), Evans (R. E.), Yarrow, Baker (H.), Carey, Hannah, Dold, Hurley, Dougherty, Blasey, Funder Burk, Curtis (T. J.), Hatch, Graves, Spencer (W. J.), Moore (C. M.), Copeland, Howat, Shea, Bieretz, O'Donnell (M. J.), Jones (J. W.), Shobe, Ely (S. J.), Cooney, Kavanaugh, Stalf, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Cunningham, Harlin, Riles, Weber (E. J.), Fox, Jones (D. M.), Hanev, Caddy, Gregson, Lacey, Kelley, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Queeney, Nelmeier, Withereil, Rogers, Owens (J. G.), Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill, Dill, McCue, Ewals, Stanley, Block, Parker, Pollock, Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Hemsley, Freind, Taylor (C. O.), Snyder, O'Dell, Krouse, Dermont, Knight, Murray (J. F.), Andler, Jennings, Smith (J. T.), Barnack, Evans (E. J.), Hayward, Breslin, Sims, Lange, Wright (D. H.), Ralste, Gray, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Deming, Jagers, Ornburn, Lanoux, Ryan, Dunlop, Draper, Wilkinson, McKoosy, Heck, Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Gebhardt, Green (R. J.), Spencer (H. L.), Curran, Campbell (F. A.), Brand, Coyne, Forsyth, Adams, Klemfelder, Ferguson (F. D.), Dunran (J. A.), Maloy, Wood, Quinlivan, Canavan, Harrell, Fennell, Link (L. A.), Fitzgerald (J.), Williams (J. W.), Leary (P. J.), McGeary, Talbot, Enright, Fugh, Smith (J. H.), Turner, Ellis, Campbell (J. C.), Butler, Mezzacapo, Posey, Phaire, Billing, Smoot, Lane (M.), Harte, MacDougall, Schoonover, Golden (J. J.), Davies (W. J.), Longe, Peebles, Thomson, Carlock, Dellsle, Hall, Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, Middleton, Heywood, Boyd, Scott, Burford, Hodges, McKnight, Lewis (M.), Ward, Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray, Weber (C. P.), Quesse, Woodmansee, Kelleher (S. E.), Gabrio, Gould (A. V.), Ramsey, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Gites, Flynn (J.), Ely (F. W.), Stevens, Smallwood, Steele, Wil-

cox, Chambers, Allen, Wilson (F.), Jenkins, Rincker, Stewart (W.), Tait, Reynolds, Poirier, Engle, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Feinstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond (J.).

Delegate Sarah Conboy, fraternal delegate-elect to the British Trades Union Congress, was introduced by President Gompers, and made brief acknowledgment of her appreciation of the honor bestowed upon her in selecting her to be the first woman delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress.

Nominations were called for candidates for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. As no nominations were made, Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers, moved that the matter be left with the Executive Council to select a suitable delegate. The motion was seconded and carried.

CONVENTION CITY

Before nominating cities secretary Morrison read a telegram from the president and Secretary of the Alabama State Federation of Labor inviting the A. F. of L. to hold the 1921 convention in Birmingham, Ala. Accompanying the telegram was the following resolution, which was also read.

Birmingham, Ala., June 14, 1920.

Mr. Frank Morrison,
Secy A. F. of L.,
Montreal, Que.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the twenty-third annual convention, district No. twenty, United Mine Workers of America:

"WHEREAS, the Alabama Federation of Labor, the Birmingham Trades Council and the Allied Labor Organizations of this District have launched a campaign looking toward the securing for Birmingham of the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and have instructed the delegates from this State to the convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session at Montreal,

Canada, to use all of their efforts and influence to accomplish this end; and

"WHEREAS, the convention of the American Federation of Labor has not been held in Alabama for some twenty years, we feel that Alabama is entitled to the next convention, and that there is no State or city where its educational effects and influence could be of more good to the public and to the laboring people than the city of Birmingham or the State of Alabama. There are many good substantial reasons why the next convention of the American Federation of Labor should be held in Birmingham. As is known, Birmingham is called the industrial metropolis of the South. It is in this District and in the city of Birmingham where the greatest corporations of the South are located, namely, the United States Steel Corporation, the Republic Iron and Steel Company, the Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron Company and other big corporations of this State and of the South. The coal miners of which there are some twenty-five thousand in this State are denied by these corporations the right of substantial collective bargaining and the right of functioning through their organization. Also, the men who work in the mills and steel plants of these corporations are denied these fundamental rights and privileges as are the mine workers of these respective companies. The keenest of antagonism and hostility on the part of these companies exists against their employes enjoying and exercising their rights spoken of above. The influence and potentiality of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in stimulating organization and in educating public opinion on vital questions affecting labor is badly needed in this District, and we feel that said convention would go a long way toward alleviating and remedying this situation; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention go on record as endorsing the action of the organizations in endeavoring to have this convention brought to Birmingham, and urge all delegates to the Montreal convention and its officers to work and vote for Birmingham as the next convention city of the American Federation of Labor; be it further

"RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the officers of the American Federation of Labor to our State representatives at the convention, and to the International delegates of the United Mine Workers of America.

J. R. KENNAMER, President.

J. L. CLEMO, Secretary.

Cheyenne, Wyo., June 13, 1920.

Frank Morrison,

Secretary American Federation of Labor,
St. Denis Theatre, Montreal, Que.

Wyoming joins Colorado in extending a hearty invitation to visit Rocky Mountain region at annual convention 1921 at Denver, Colo.

ROBERT D. CARRY, Governor.

Denver, Colo., June 18, 1920.

Frank Morrison,

Secretary American Federation of Labor,
St. Denis Theatre, Montreal, Que.

I want to urge the delegates to the American Federation of Labor to hold their nineteen twenty one convention in Denver. Colorado welcomes the opportunity to entertain the distinguished representatives of the workmen of the nation, and I personally pledge the efforts of this office and of the State Government generally to make your stay delightful. Mr. Moore and Mr. Oplinger will tell you of the charms of our scenery and climate, and they could not if they would exaggerate those delights. I will appreciate a telegram announcing that the convention has made a favorable decision.

OLIVER H. SHOUP, Governor.

Birmingham, Ala., was placed in nomination by Delegate Bowen, representing the Alabama State Federation of Labor. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Moore, representing the Birmingham Central Labor Body, and by delegate Connors, of the Switchmen. All the speakers made eloquent pleas for Birmingham, and all emphasized the fact that the invitation came solely from the organized labor movement of the city and state.

Denver, Colo., was placed in nomination by Delegate Oplinger, representing the Colorado State Federation of Labor. The nomination was seconded by Delegate McCarthy, California States Building Trades Council. Both speakers discussed the fine climate and magnificent scenery of Colorado. They assured the delegates that Denver was equipped to furnish everything necessary for the comfort and convenience of the convention if held in that city.

A roll call vote was taken which resulted as follows:

ROLL CALL ON CONVENTION CITY.

For Birmingham, Alabama.—Kline, Powlesland, Glover, Martin, Reddick, Davies (D. T.), Meehan, Preece, Price (W. V.), Greeley, Shaughnessy, McLeod, Murphy, (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Shoemaker, Hyland, Nolte, Beuloin, McKinnon, Laurendeau, Perkins (G. W.), Flaherty, Butler (P. E.), Shine, Browne (M. J.), Brown (Wm. S.), Grubb, Todd, Schlesinger, Langer, Metz, Berlin, Antonini, Goff, Voll, Arnold (J. H.), Loder, Greenstein, Beardsley, Mathieu (Theo.), Johnston (Wm. H.), Schoenberg, Connolly (J. J.), Brown (H. W.), Grow, Hannon, Taylor (J. A.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Forrest, Coffield, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Leonard (E. W.), Berry (Geo. L.), McHugh, Sauve, Marks, Dunwoody, Burke (John P.), La Belle, Sullivan (H. W.), Mahon, Cookman, Burns (Garrett F.), Rooney, Raleigh, Link, Col-

hns, (W. M.), Harvey, Flynn (Patrick), Clark (John), Conway (Thomas), Ingraham, Brown (Wm. H.), Grange, Helt, Cone, Martin (C. D.), Heberling, Connors (J. B.), Cashen, Sweeney, Trummer, Bolander, Stillman, Lampson, Lefkowitz, Railroad Telegraphers' Delegation (194 votes), Johnson (Roscoe H.), Golden (John), Conboy (Sara A.), Kelleher, McMahon, Dean, Bowen (Louis), O'Meara, Walker (John H.), Smith (Thomas J.), Blair (J. E.), Moore (R. R.), DeYoung, Parker (B. F.), Dinsmore, Mueller (G.), Nuzum, Gorman (Patrick E.), Fitzgerald (John B.), Mercier, Louthoud, Cabillane, Lalonde, La Rose, Griffard, Mullen (Peter), Tracey (E. J.), representing 12,611 votes.

For Denver, Colo.—Gillmore, Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Foley (C. F.), Baker (Roe H.), Franklin (J. A.), Weyand, MacGowan (Chas. J.), Scott (Chas. F.), McKillop, Dohney, Lovely, Balne (C. L.), O'Byrne (P. J.), Lacouture, Richard, Rader, Kugler, Obergefell, Proebstie, Sullivan (John), Morrin, Tobin (S.), Cunnane, Bowen (Bert), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Van Duyen, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), McCarthy (P. H.), Moore (Tom), Gompers, Barnes (J. Mahlon), Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Hay, Shurtleff, O'Dell, Nelson, Dee, McNulty (Mable), Hughes (Andrew C.), Doyle (James J.), Noonan, McNulty (Frank J.), Joyce, Barton, O'Connor (Julia S.), Love, McAndrews (J. J.), Feeney, Snellings, Comerford, Edgerton, Huddell, Stelmeyer, Woll, Brady (Peter J.), Steward (Luther C.), Wiegand, Healy, Champ, Morton (J. W.), Brennan, Linn, Cameron, Gerrity (L. E.), Rickert, Langer, Adamsky, Doyle (Frank), Houck, Clarke (Wm. F.), O'Brien (John B.), Carbery, Brogneaux, Thomas (Herbert), Duncan (James), Russell (Alex. W.), Ironside, Lawlor, O'Hara, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, De Falco, Carley, Dwyer, Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, Koveleskie, McDevitt, Davis (David J.), Sullivan (John J.), Mahoney (Michael), Edwards, Morrison (Harry L.), Young (Earl W.), Bryan (W. E.), Alterman, O'Connor (T. V.), Anderson (O. A.), O'Brien (S. P.), Cavanaugh, Workman, Hart (John F.), Lane (Dennis), Guest, Davis (Jacob H.), McCreash, Hynes, Redding, Moriarity, Pattison, Moyer (Chas. H.), Cannon, Davidson (Wm.), Langdon, Lewis (John L.), Murray, Green (Wm.), Farrington, Moore (John), Kennedy (Thomas), Frey, Burton (R. W.), Rosendale, Sutherland, Weber (Jos. N.), Carey (D. A.), Weaver, Winkler, Hedrick, Skemp, Guerin, Root, Sherman, Lynch (John J.), Bergstrom, McGivern, Donlin, Hamilton, Anderson (C. M.), Britton, Leary, Diehl, Menge, Ward (James J.), Clark (Wm. D.), Sultor, Lemke, Ryan (P. J.), Malloy (Thos.), Freel, Sumner (Chas. A.), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (Thos. L.), Gillespie, Neer, Wilson (James), Railroad Telegraphers' Delegation (293 votes), McAndrew (Anthony), Evans (E. Lewis), Alder, Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), McCullough, Young (Wm.), Hays (J. W.), Barrett, Rogers (A. T.), Lawson, Holland (J. P.), Williams (David), Gilletty, Plummer, Rohr, Garrity, Costello (James), Oppinger, Fink, Kerns (Clarence E.), Argo, Mathieu (Alfred), Walsh (Bert), Zusl, Carney (M. A.), McLaughlin, Hourigan, Vaughan, Christal, Simpson, James (New-

ton A.), Norrington, Covert, Carter (Wm.), Roberts (Hugh J.), Walcott (W. B.), representing 24,046 votes.

Not Voting—Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Mullane, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider, Corley, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Boyer, Deleif, Baker, Conway, Desepke, Coulter, Murphy (W. O.), De Raay, Baer, Dalphond, Roy, Marshall, Broening, McSorley, Duty, Gainer, Cantwell, Mugavin, Swartz, Duffy (C. D.), Bock, Maitland, Hogan (Stephen C.), Prunett, Straln, Stickle, Evans (R. E.), Yarrow, Baker (Harry), Carey, Parker, Berndt, Hannah, Dold, Roth, Hurley, Dougherty, Blasey, Funder, Burk, Curtis (T. J.), Hatch, Graves, Spencer (Wm. J.), Manning (J. J.), O'Connell, Lord, Moore (Chas. M.), Copeland, Fritz, Lewis (J. C.), Howat, Shea, Berezts, O'Donnell (M. J.), Jones (J. W.), Shobe, Ely (Stephen), Cooney, Kavanaug, Staf, Johnson (G. G.), Iglesias, Cunningham, Harlin, Riley, Weber (F. J.), Fox, Jones (Dan. M.), Haney, Francis, Caddy, Gregson, Lacey, Kelley, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Queeney, Niemeier, Witherell, Rogers, Owens (J. G.), Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill, Dill, McCue, Ewald, Stanley, Block, Parker, Pollock, Stansberry, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Hemsley, Freind, Taylor (C. O.), Snyder, O'Dell, Krouse, Dermont, Knight, Murray (J. P.), Andler, Jennings, Smith (J. T.), Barnack, Evans (Edw. J.), Hayward, Breslin, Sims, Laugs, Wright (D. H.), Raisse, Gra, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Deming, Jagers, Ornburn, Lanoux, Ryan, Dunlop, Draper, Wilkinson, McKosky, Heck, Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Gebhardt, Green (R. J.), Spencer (H. L.), Curran, Campbell (F. A.), Brand, Coyne, Forsyth, Adams, Klemfelder, Ferguson (F. D.), Duncan (J. A.), Maloy, Wood, Quinlivan, Cavanaugh, Harrell, Fennell, Link, Fitzgerald (John), Williams (J. W.), Leary (P. J.), McGeary, Talbot, Enright, Pugh, Smith (J. H.), Turner, Hogan (Ann), Ellis, Campbell (J. C.), Butler, Mazzecco, Posey, Phaire, Billinger, Smott, Lane (M.), Harte, MacDougal, Schoonover, Golden, Davies (Wm. J.), Longe, Pebles, Thomson, Cardlock, Delisle, Hall, Brown (Sam), Maund, Grove, Middleton, Heywood, Boyd, Scott (Alice), Burford, Hodge, McKnight, Lewis (Matt.), Ward, Jagger, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray, Weber (C. P.), Quesse, Woodmansee, Kelleher, Gabilo, Gould (A. V.), Ramey, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstein, Gites, Flynn (James), Ely (F. W.), Stevens, Smallwood, Steele, Wilcox, Chambers, Allen, Wilson (F.), Jenkins, Rincker, Sharon, Burns, Stewart (Walter), Tait, Reynolds, Poirier, Engle, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Feinstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, representing 2,357 votes.

Delegate Bowen, moved that the result of the vote be made unanimous for Denver or the 1921 convention. (Seconded).

Delegate Bowen: In doing that, Mr. Chairman, we want to advise this convention that we are doing to keep on, as we are doing in the labor movement in Alabama, until victory crowns our cause.

The motion of delegate Bowen was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Wilson, Patternmakers: I move to reconsider the motion to leave the selection of a delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to the Executive Council, and elect a delegate here. The delegate who was assigned to nominate a candidate had stepped out before the former motion was made.

The motion of Delegate Wilson was seconded and carried.

Delegate W. G. Shay, Brotherhood Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, was nominated by Vice-President Mahon. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Connors, Switchmen. No further candidates were offered, and the chairman declared nominations closed. The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Shay. This instruction was complied with and W. D. Shay was declared unanimously elected Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

In a very brief address Delegate Shay expressed his appreciation of the unanimous election.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Golden, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

The committee considered jointly Resolutions Nos. 19 and 74, which are as follows:

Resolution No. 19—By the Building Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes has attempted to establish jurisdiction over construction work in motion picture studios by either requiring members of the several unions of the building industry to affiliate with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes or requiring the members of that union to infringe upon the construction work that properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, An effort was made at the Atlantic City Convention to bring about an understanding between the representatives of the Building Trades and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, so as to avert contention and misunderstanding between the two organizations, to which the officials of the Theatrical Stage Employes agreed; and

WHEREAS, In attempting to work out the tentative agreement entered into at Atlantic City we find the officials of the Theatrical Stage Employes averse to an adjustment of any character, to the extent

that the said tentative agreement has been wilfully ignored and repudiated; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes to cease further encroachment upon the jurisdiction claims of the Building Trades Department, cancel such agreements as may have been entered into with the Motion Picture Producers that affected employes of the building industry, and cause the members to be restored to their right organizations. For failure to carry out the spirit of this resolution within sixty days, the charter of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes shall be suspended.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates John Donlin, George F. Hedrick, Milton Snellings, William J. McSorley, John J. Hynes, William L. Hutcheson, William J. Spencer, B. T. D. A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes has attempted to establish jurisdiction over construction work in motion picture studios, by either requiring members of the several unions of the building industry to affiliate with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes or requiring the members of that union to infringe upon the construction work that properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, An effort was made at the Atlantic City Convention to bring about an understanding between the representatives of the Building Trades and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes so as to avert contention and misunderstanding between the two organizations, to which the officials of the Theatrical Stage Employes agreed; and

WHEREAS, In attempting to work out the tentative agreement entered into at Atlantic City we find the officials of the Theatrical Stage Employes averse to an adjustment of any character, to the extent that the said tentative agreement has been wilfully ignored and repudiated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes to cease further encroachment upon the jurisdiction claims of the Building Trades Department, cancel such agreements as may have been entered into with the Motion Picture Producers that affected employes of the building industry, and cause the members to be restored to their rightful organizations. For failure to carry out the spirit of this resolution within sixty days the charter of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, shall be suspended.

Secretary Golden: There have been several conferences between the representatives of the Building Trades Department organizations and the Theatrical Stage Employes. There was a lengthy hearing giv-

en before our committee, with this result: your committee recommends that the whole matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to call a conference of all parties at interest within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with the object of arriving at a satisfactory agreement.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: If the committee's report is adopted, does that carry with it concurrence in the resolution?

President Gompers: No, sir, it does not.

Delegate Hynes: Might I ask through the chair, or through the committee, just what position the controversy will be in if the committee's report is adopted?

Delegate Golden: The understanding arrived at with the representatives—I don't know whether any of your representatives were there or not—was that the whole matter remain in abeyance until the conference could be called and possibly an agreement satisfactory to all parties concerned be arrived at, that they would have this conference, and we would have the Executive Council of the Federation call a conference at the earliest possible date satisfactory to all concerned.

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers: So far as the conference of the trades was concerned, the Electrical Workers were not in on that conference. We had heard reports as to what the result of the committee's action would be, but we as Electrical Workers are going to protest the ninety day proposition. The agreement of the Theatrical Stage Employees expires on September 15, 1920, and if a conference is not called by that date it means we are not in position to say what the new agreement is going to be. The committee's report simply states that they are calling a conference, and if no results are obtained the matter goes on for another year.

Because of that, I am going to move to amend the committee's report to provide that a conference be called within sixty days. (Amendment seconded).

Delegate Canavan: It strikes me as being an unusual procedure for the organizations involved to come together and agree that a certain report be made to the convention, and then have one of the bodies come in on the floor and have that agree-

ment changed. As far as we are concerned, you can make it ten days. We are not objecting to the sixty-day proposition at all, but we would like to reach a point whereby we would know that agreements entered into would be respected twenty-four hours. We have had agreements and we have tried to go along with them, and we are agreeable to the sixty-day proposition.

Delegate Noonan: The Electrical Workers did not agree to the ninety days or any other length of time, nor were they in on the conference that agreed to it, as just stated by the previous speaker. I, too, want agreements respected, and we have been trying to have same respected for four years and longer.

Secretary Golden: I don't want Delegate Noonan to labor under any misinformation. I didn't say that a conference of all parties concerned was held in regard to this particular recommendation of the committee. What I did say was that we were informed by the representatives of the various organizations at interest that a conference had been held and that the ninety day proposition was mutually satisfactory. We put in the ninety-day clause on account of the very strong appeal made by Delegate Lemke, of the Stage Employees, that he wanted to do the right thing and wanted all the time possible within reason to consider it. I think I may say on behalf of the committee that we have no objection to the amendment.

Delegate Noonan: I only made that objection because of the fact that their agreement expires on September 15, 1920, and ninety days would place us beyond that agreement.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, speaking on behalf of his organization as one of those vitally interested in the matter, stated that the Theatrical Stage Employees had recently elected a new President who had given manifestation of desiring to settle the controversy in fairness to all concerned. On this point he said: I feel we should give him the opportunity to meet these various representatives, although I believe it should be distinctly understood—and I trust the representatives of the Stage Employees will agree to the suggestion—that pending this conference they will not enter into agreements with the operators or managers of the moving picture studios in connection with matters covering jurisdic-

tion over tradesmen that are not recognized as being within their organization.

Delegate Noonan: If the suggestion is agreed to that no agreement will be entered into by them, I shall withdraw the amendment.

Delegate Lemke, speaking in behalf of the Stage Employes, said: So far as I am concerned, I want to go along and straighten out this entire proposition. There is no intention on our part from now on, if it has occurred in the past, to infringe upon any trade, and I will see to it that everything will be carried on in an honorable manner. That is what I am here for and that is what I intend to carry out.

President Gompers: Has the amendment been withdrawn?

Delegate Noonan: Yes.

The report of the committee was adopted. Vice-President Rickert in the chair.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates John Coefield and E. W. Leonard of the United Assn. Plumbers and Steamfitters:

WHEREAS, The Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance are now controlling in their membership several thousand members who work exclusively at the pipe fitting industry; and

WHEREAS, An agreement was consummated between the committees of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters, that all plumbers and steamfitters affiliated with the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance would become identified and transfer their membership to the United Association; and

WHEREAS, The consummation of this agreement has not been effected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance be directed to immediately carry out all provisions of agreement entered into with the United Association providing for the affiliation of all pipe fitters and plumbers in their alliance with the United Association.

In view of the fact that the representatives of the International Alliance of Sheet Metal Workers frankly admitted that an agreement is in existence which directed all plumbers and steamfitters affiliated with the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance to transfer their members to the United Association, your Committee recommends that this agreement be carried out in its entirety within a period of ninety

days after the adjournment of this convention, and that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to see that this recommendation is carried out.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I understand the committee's report means that a conference will be held between the Plumbers and the Steamfitters and the Sheet Metal Workers, by the Executive Council.

Delegate Golden: Yes, the Executive Council is instructed to see that that is carried out.

Delegate Hynes then stated that it was the understanding between President Coefield, of the Plumbers, and himself that the committee would recommend that the Executive Council arrange a conference between the interested trades. He suggested that the recommendation of the committee be made in that form.

Delegate Golden stated, on behalf of the committee, that they were willing to accept the suggestion.

Delegate Leonard, for the Plumbers, stated that they were agreeable to the report in that form.

The report of the committee with the suggestion offered by Delegate Hynes, was adopted.

Secretary Golden: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of the Committee on Adjustment, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

THOMAS A. RICKERT, Chairman
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary
COLLIS LOVELY
JAMES C. SHANESSY
H. J. CONWAY
MILTON SNELLINGS
EDWARD FLORE
A. W. RUSSELL
P. J. MORIN
C. L. SHAMP
J. B. ETCHISON
WILLIAM E. BRYAN
D. A. CAREY
J. W. KLINE

Committee on Adjustment.

The report of the Committee on Adjustment as a whole, as amended, was adopted. President Gompers in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Stillman, Secretary of the Committee, presented the following report:

Child Labor

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, your committee reports as follows:

Unhappily any adequate curb on the exploiters of childhood is still lacking, but the comparative effectiveness of the ten per cent tax amendment and the Revenue Act of 1918, more than justifies the vigorous effort of the American Federation of Labor in the campaign for its enactment. A nation may fairly be judged by its treatment of its children. Your committee heartily concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council, that efforts be made to renew the ten per cent tax when the present law expires, December 10, 1920. The committee further recommends that a constitutional amendment empowering Congress to enact more effective legislation on a subject so vital to national welfare be vigorously pushed to adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Education

The committee desires to supplement the second paragraph in the report of the Executive Council.

The appropriation of \$500,000 mentioned there as proposed in H. R. 7, better known as the Smith-Towner bill, revised, is merely for the administration of the act. The annual appropriation provided in that bill for the encouragement of the states in the promotion and support of education is one hundred million dollars; this sum to be apportioned among the states to aid in the payment of more adequate teachers' salary, in the equalization of educational opportunity, in the removal of illiteracy, in Americanization, in physical education, and in the preparation of competent teachers. The bill is very favorably regarded by the committees on Education of both House and Senate and is in excellent position to be pushed to enactment when Congress re-convenes for the short session next December.

The American Federation of Labor in the St. Paul and Atlantic City conventions has placed itself squarely behind the principles of a Federal Department of Education, and Federal aid to the states in the encouragement of general education. The Atlantic City convention strongly endorsed this specific measure, the Smith-Towner bill revised. Your committee again commends the Executive Council and the Ame-

rican Federation of Teachers for the part they took in the preparation and introduction of this bill. In recognition of the fact that the nation as a whole is under even deeper obligations to the schools than is any section of the nation, a small fraction of the total cost of our public school system is assigned to the federal government. But realizing with equal force the value of local initiative and experimentation within the various states, the bill completely safeguards local autonomy, providing that all the educational facilities encouraged by its provisions shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted authorities within the several states.

Your committee recommends that in conformity with the action of previous conventions, the President and Executive Council be instructed to use the full influence of the American Federation of Labor in support of H. R. 7, and S. 1017, in the approaching short session of Congress, and that State and City Central bodies be asked to urge vigorous support of this measure upon their Congressmen and Senators.

The report of the committee was adopted.

School Teachers' Retirement

The committee reports as follows upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption:

The committee is not familiar with the details of the act providing a retirement fund for the teachers of the District of Columbia. But it hopes that this federal action will give an impetus to the movement for retirement funds for teachers in the states which are still backward in this respect.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Suffrage in the District of Columbia

Your committee considered jointly that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption and Resolution No. 21, which is as follows:

Resolution No. 21.—By Delegate N. A. James of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia, numbering approximately 450,000 are denied the right of any form of participation in the affairs of their government, a condition which is contrary to the principles of our forefathers, who fought the Revolution that this country might be the greatest of free people the world has ever known, and which was

founded upon the theory that there shall be no taxation without representation; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the United States provides that Congress and the President shall legislate for the District of Columbia, which gives them the power to pass legislation which will give to the District residents a voice in their own affairs, and the affairs of their country; and

WHEREAS, There is an organization known as the National Press Committee, Inc. for D. C. Suffrage, composed of the foremost and influential newspaper writers of the country, the Washington Central Labor Union, Civic and Veterans Organizations, and on whose Advisory Council President Gompers is a member, who are waging a campaign to get some form of suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia through the passage of legislation by Congress; and

WHEREAS, The condition of disfranchisement at the nation's Capital is not only un-American and inimical to the best interests of manhood and womanhood, but it is the only Capital of any country which pretends a democratic form of government which denies the right of the residents to a voice in their own affairs: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates to the fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor deplore this un-American condition, and that we endorse the efforts being made by the Washington Central Labor Union by pledging ourselves to render all the assistance possible that the residents of the District of Columbia shall be given a voice in the affairs of our government, which will give to them the same rights accorded to the citizens of the various states.

The committee knows that this convention needs no argument for the right of the residents of the District of Columbia to citizenship in both municipal and national affairs. It concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that "agitation among the state federations and central bodies as well as local unions in the entire country be kept up for the purpose of waking members of Congress to the great injury they are doing to nearly half a million people," and in resolution No. 21, and recommends their adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Attack on Vocational Board

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under this caption, your committee congratulates the Federal Board for Vocational Education on its successful meeting of the charges brought against it. The Board is performing an exceedingly valuable service in the rehabilitation of

soldiers, and should receive hearty co-operation.

In this connection the committee desires to call attention to the work of the Federal Board for Vocational Education in the rehabilitation of the victims of accidents in industry or elsewhere under the provisions of the Fess-Kenyon law. The committee is glad to report that the following eleven states have already availed themselves of the provisions of the act: Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Illinois, Minnesota, North Dakota, Nevada, Oregon and California. The labor movements of the remaining thirty-seven states should see that the provisions of the act are accepted by early action of their state legislature. The full benefits of the Fess-Kenyon act can be obtained in practice only by those states which have Workmen's Compensation laws. The eight states which still lack compensation laws would find themselves economically compelled to enact such laws, soon after accepting the provisions of the Federal law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Women's Bureau

The committee heartily concurs in the endorsement by the Executive Council of H. R. 13229, providing for a Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor to safeguard and advance the interests of women in industry, and is gratified by the passage and final enactment of that measure, and by the securing of an appropriation of \$75,000 in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, instead of the previous \$40,000, for the maintenance of the Bureau.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Collective Bargaining

The Committee agrees that the principle of collective bargaining stands on its own merits, and should require no mandate of statutory law. But where judges by the arbitrary use of the injunction hamper or prevent collective bargaining, that un-American practice should be inhibited by law. And there are certain groups of employees, notably of public employees, whom the public through legislation may properly protect in the exercise of collective bargaining. But, in general, the spirit of democracy in industry would best develop through better mutual understanding and voluntary relationships between employer and employe.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Teachers' Union

The Senatorial investigation of the schools of the District of Columbia to which the Executive Council refers has been completed, and the Teachers' Unions, of which there are ten in the district, including in their combined jurisdictions every type of teaching work, were only incidentally involved. Nothing derogatory of the Teachers' Unions was established, no union officials were summoned to testify, and the official report of the Senatorial Committee conducting the investigation contained no word of criticism of the union.

However, your Committee desires to call the attention of the Convention to a concerted attack upon the union movement among teachers, made by the organized interests hostile to labor. In St. Louis, the Board of Education has adopted the following rule:

"No person shall be employed hereafter, in any capacity in the Instruction Department, who is a member of a trade or labor union or of an organization affiliated with a trade and labor union; and any person employed in the Instruction Department who becomes a member of any such organization shall be subject to immediate dismissal from the service."

This rule was adopted, notwithstanding the fact that the Missouri law requires every member of the Board of Education to take oath "that he will not be influenced, during the term of office, by any consideration except that of merit and fitness in the appointment of officers and the engagement of employees."

In Lancaster, Pennsylvania, eighty-six teachers were given the option by the Lancaster Board of Education, either of withdrawing from the American Federation of Teachers or of losing their positions; and upon their determined refusal to renounce their right as American citizens to maintain the religious, civic, or economic affiliations of their free choice, the Board of Education declared their positions vacant. This arbitrary action was taken in defiance not only of the rights of the teachers, but of overwhelming public opinion, as evidenced by the protests of the central labor union, business men, ministerial associations, mass meetings, and a petition demanding reinstatement, signed by thousands.

Similar attempts are being made by autocratic boards of education in other com-

munities. If the schools are to develop free, unafraid men and women, American citizens of the highest type, the teachers must live and work in an atmosphere of freedom and self-respect.

Your Committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this Convention to use every effort to protect teachers against intimidation and discrimination on account of affiliation with organized labor; and that affiliated state and central labor bodies be urged to resist with all vigor any attempt to coerce the judgment and conscience of the teachers of the public schools.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Conservatory of Music

Your Committee regrets that Congress has not regarded more favorably the proposal for a National Conservatory of Music, and recommends that the convention urge the passage of S. 561 and H. R. 124.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Investigation of Educational Systems

The caption in the Executive Council's report is misleading, since the matter referred to the special committee was the selection or preparation and publication of text books suitable for classes of workers. Your committee commends the entire report to the careful consideration of the delegates, and desires to call special attention to the summarized recommendations at the conclusion.

Summarized, your committee recommends for favorable consideration:

1. Including in the school curriculum the teaching of an unemasculated industrial history embracing an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, the teaching of the principles underlying industrial activities and relations, and a summary of legislation, state and federal, affecting industry.

2. The making of a careful and comprehensive survey and the preparation and distribution of a bibliography of all books, pamphlets and addresses dealing with industrial and economic problems, which are founded on accurate information, sound principles, and which will prove helpful in removing the false conception of existing theories of industrial, political, and social economy.

3. Encouraging all schools, colleges, universities, libraries, trade union centres, and all institutions of learning to secure copies of the books, pamphlets and addresses recommended, for use by those interested in securing accurate and reliable information regarding industrial problems.

4. Encouraging textbook writers and

publishers to avail themselves of the library and the records of the A. F. of L. upon all subjects dealing with the industrial development and progress, as well as the movement of the wage-earners, in the preparation of textbooks on industrial problems and movements.

5. The preparation of a textbook by the A. F. of L. to supplement the existing works of President Gompers and other recognized authorities of the American trade union movement, to be prepared by a competent trade unionist under the direction of the executive officers of the A. F. of L. in co-operation with a special committee for this purpose.

6. Encouraging and assisting affiliated international trade unions in the preparing of textbooks for their membership, dealing with economic laws, the development of their trade and the solving of trade problems, as well as the influence of their trade union activities upon the development of industrial relations.

The committee heartily concurs in these recommendations and recommends their adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Co-operative Plan

Your committee heartily endorses the valuable work of the special committee on Co-operation as outlined in its report, and hopes that the vital importance of the Co-operative Movement will be brought home to every worker. In approving the report of the committee attention is called to the sixth principle in the Rochedale plan on page 160, "Sales where possible, preferably to members only". This is intended simply to encourage membership in Co-operative societies, not to discourage sales to non-members, and it is unfortunate that the wording lends itself to the latter interpretation.

Your committee recommends that the Special Committee on Co-operation be continued as the American Federation of Labor Bureau of Co-operative Societies; and recommends further that a new contribution of \$1.00 or more be requested from every local trade union in the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor for the promotion of the Co-operative Movement under the direction of that Bureau, subject to the approval or disapproval of the Executive Council.

("The last clause in the recommendation, 'subject to the approval or disapproval of the Executive Council,' was added to the report at the suggestion of Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers, and also of President Gompers, and was agreed to by the committee".

The report of the committee was adopted.

Co-operative Stores

Your committee favors legislation authorizing the incorporation of co-operative associations organized under the Rochedale plan.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Duncan, James A., discussed the question briefly and suggested the adoption of a standardized form of co-operative stores, endorsed and recognized by the American Federation of Labor. He stated that he knew of no institution better qualified than the American Federation of Labor to place the stamp of approval upon a definite, standardized form of co-operation beneficial to the workers, as against other forms of co-operation not conducted in the interests of the workers.

President Gompers: The suggestion made by Delegate Duncan will be noted, so that it may be brought to the attention of the committee.

Delegate Walker, John H., discussed the question at some length, and stated that the Committee representing the American Federation of Labor had given a great deal of thought to an effort to agree on standardization; and that so far as the A. F. of L. speaking officially was concerned, a standard form of co-operation known as the Rochedale plan had been endorsed. He referred to other plans of co-operative institutions not so well constructed and managed as the Rochedale plan, and emphasized the necessity of having within these co-operative organizations only men and women who are known to be bona fide trade unionists. He said that it was unwise to allow even well-meaning persons outside the movement to get into the co-operative movement and attain positions of responsibility.

He referred briefly to the Central States Co-operative Association, and told of its rapid growth from the time it was instituted a few years ago, stating that the Association was doing a monthly business of something like \$200,000.00 at the present time, with 250 or 300 stores in operation.

In closing, he expressed the hope that the delegates and their organizations, would take a more active interest in the movement in the future, and that they would call upon the American Federation of Labor for any information they might desire on the subject.

The question of limitations to be placed

upon the Special Committee on Co-operation was discussed briefly by Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers, Delegate Woll, Chairman of the Committee, and President Gompers; and the request made by Delegate Perkins for a ruling, supported by a suggestion of the President, was incorporated in the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers: Just before this question is finally closed, the chair desires to submit a brief statement of fact as communicated to him. That at a meeting held in Chicago a few months ago, having under consideration the subject of co-operation, those in authority there were not only disinclined, but determinedly opposed to having the union label of any trade union upon the product of its members. In other words, to them the question of a label of a co-operative society was sufficient, without regard to the union label and the label and union whose members performed the work and created the products. The information was conveyed to me, and I suppose to others, that the conference having that subject in charge declined, in the first instance, to endorse such a principle, but that later, through some method of which I have not been informed, the matter was imposed upon the delegates to that conference and against their will.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department, made a brief statement in corroboration of what President Gompers had to say on the subject, and said that the action of the conference referred to, in which it was agreed to strike out the words "union label" and substitute the words "union made," was taken simply as a means of covering up products furnished by members of company unions, and not in any sense union made products. He stated that the Union Label Trades Department felt very keenly on the subject, and that its affiliated members felt that they ought to be given some consideration in connection with any co-operative plan or arrangement that might be arrived at.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The "Under-Paid" Professions

Your committee strongly endorses the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "The Under-paid Professions". The conditions under which teachers, nurses, clerical workers, and technical and semi-technical workers are employed, cannot be

too vigorously emphasized. One of the most hopeful signs for the future of these workers is the growing spirit of organization among them. The Committee concurs in the specific recommendation of the Executive Council concerning organization, and the assistance of organized labor in securing remedial political action where necessary, and recommends their adoption by the Convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 11—By Miami (Florida) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to enter into non-partisan politics and elect the friends of organized labor, has brought before us the necessity of being prepared to cast our vote; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That every member (male) affiliated with the American Federation of Labor throughout the United States and Canada, who has reached the age of 21, and who has resided the required period of time in the state, county and city, must qualify as a legal voter in said state, county and city, and place himself in a position to exercise the rights of an American citizen.

Since the resolution would bar non-citizens from the privileges of trade union membership, and therefore conflict with the arrangements of many international unions providing for the exchange of union privileges and courtesies during the temporary residence of members abroad, and since it would be an infringement on the autonomy of affiliated unions, your committee non-concurs in the resolution. But at the same time, the committee is keenly aware of the seriousness of the condition which the resolution was designed to remedy, and strongly recommends that all trade unionists whether men or women, where woman suffrage obtains in any degree, be urged to enfranchise themselves by registration, payment of poll tax wherever that outworn requirement has not yet been repealed, and the meeting of any other required qualifications.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 27—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in conformity with its whole-hearted endorsement of the labor educational work carried on by its various affiliated bodies, to instruct the Executive Council to found a National Labor University as a central educational place for the entire labor movement of the country.

The committee endorses the spirit of this resolution. While organized labor will always place its main dependence for educational facilities upon the public school system which it has done so much to establish and develop, a university endowed by the American Federation of Labor would be as legitimate and have at least as important function as a university the endowment of which came from any other private source. But there are practical questions of administration and finance which will require careful study. Your committee, therefore, recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint a committee to study the possibility of co-ordinating the present educational institutions and activities conducted under the auspices of organized labor; to investigate the strength of the demand for a central labor university which may be developed among the affiliated international unions, to consider the matter of extension courses and of scholarships, which would make the facilities of such an institution of widest service; and to consider the practical questions of administration and finance.

The report of the committee was adopted

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia, numbering more than 450,000, and the Canal Zone, numbering 3,350, are the only peoples in this country who do not enjoy the privilege of exercising the franchise, who are taxed without representation, and who have no voice in electing representatives to Congress and the Electoral College; and

WHEREAS, To secure this privilege which should be a right, it is necessary to have a constitutional amendment adopted, which requires a two-thirds vote of Congress and a ratification of three-fourths of the states; and

WHEREAS, There is now before Congress a joint resolution, H. R. No. 32, which provides by constitutional amendment for representation in both houses of Congress and electors for President and Vice-President; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the 40th annual convention of the A. F. of L., favor the passage of H. R. No. 32, and will render every assistance possible to the Washington C. L. U. in their efforts to secure universal suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia and the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, H. R. No. 32 does not include the Canal Zone in accordance with the action taken by the 39th convention of the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in conformity with said resolution a bill be introduced in the Congress of the United States to cover this omission from H. R. No. 32.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The campaign of misrepresentation concerning the objects of the bona fide trades union movement, as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National and International Unions, that has been carried on by those antagonistic to our progress, both by employers and the advocates of other forms of labor organizations, offers a serious menace to our further development; and

WHEREAS, We believe the principles underlying our movement to be in harmony with the ideals of democracy upon which our Governments are founded and worthy of the widest knowledge and publicity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in the 40th Annual Convention assembled, that we authorize our Executive Council to establish at the earliest date possible a lecture bureau or corps of lecturers, well informed as to the history and purposes of our movement, whose duty it shall be to address local unions and public gatherings, called under the auspices of our movement for the purpose of presenting the ideals and orderly program of labor; these lecturers to be selected from the membership of our affiliated National and International Unions.

Certainly the value of a Lecture Bureau to assist in meeting campaigns of misrepresentation and in bringing home to the public the true meaning of the organized labor movement, is not open to argument. And your committee believes that an effective start toward the establishment of such a Bureau can be made with little expense. If the Executive Council should secure the compilation of a list of competent speakers on labor subjects in the various sections of the country, giving such data concerning the speakers as is deemed advisable, and announce that this list was available to open forums, civic clubs, and any groups who desired it, the committee is of the opinion that the information would be welcomed and frequent and valuable use made of it; the expense of securing the speakers being borne by the groups themselves. From this as an immediately practicable step, a Lecture

Bureau on a larger scale and with more effective organization could later develop.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to secure the compilation of a list of competent speakers on labor subjects, and to make this list available to open forums, civic clubs and such groups as may desire it. The report of the committee was adopted.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, Delegate Frey, Moulders, moved that the rules be suspended and that upon adjourning at noon the convention reconvene at 2.30 o'clock for an afternoon session. (Motion seconded).

Vice-President Mahon offered an amendment that all matters now pending be referred to the Executive Council and that the convention adjourn sine die. The amendment was seconded, but was withdrawn after President Gompers had explained that there were certain matters upon which the action of the convention was absolutely necessary, matters which had been referred by the Executive Council to the convention.

The motion to suspend the rules and reconvene in afternoon session was adopted.

The secretary of the Committee on Education advised that their report would soon be completed, and the convention agreed to remain in session until its completion.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The residents of the Canal Zone, numbering more than 7,000, are the only people in the United States or its territories, who do not have representation in Congress, who are taxed regardless of this lack of representation; and

WHEREAS, The residents of the Canal Zone are compelled to pay all indirect and income tax to which all residents of the United States and its territories are liable, they are compelled to pay besides excise and transportation tax, etc., from which Alaska, the Philippines, Hawaii and Porto Rico are exempt; and

WHEREAS, It has been found necessary on numerous occasions, during the American occupancy of the Canal Zone, to send delegations of employes to Washington in order to secure much needed reforms in our local government; and

WHEREAS, The fact that the Canal Zone is located 2,500 miles, or about ten days by land and water from the seat of our National Government, the necessity of sending delegations to Washington is a serious financial burden to Canal Zone residents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 40th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the repre-

sentation in Congress, by a delegate elected by a popular vote from among the electorate of the Canal Zone; this delegate to have the same powers and privileges enjoyed by delegates from their territorial possessions of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every effort to secure this reformation in the Canal Zone government.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution by the convention. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67—By Wm. H. Johnston, C. F. Grow, J. A. Taylor, Robt. Fehner, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The power of the daily press has been fully recognized for many years, and the necessity for having a medium of this character through which Labor could voice its desires and aspirations has been keenly understood; and

WHEREAS, The policy of leaving the upbuilding of such an important asset to the local initiative of individuals or organizations has not proved to be entirely successful; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to devise a plan which will secure the control of a number of daily papers located in various sections of the country, such papers to be conducted an independent news arteries, whose main purpose will be the fair presentation of matters in which Labor is interested; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated organizations be called on to subscribe their proper quota for financing this important matter.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and consideration.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Machinists; Alex. Ironside, Granite Cutters; James Simpson, Toronto District Labor Council; L. E. Gerrity, I. B. F. Employees Union; Dan. P. McKillop:

WHEREAS, The moving picture screen, with such wonderful possibilities, truthful and artistic, is every day being put to more and more vicious service as an instrument of misrepresentation in the American-wide campaign against labor and labor organizations, all of which is evident in both news and feature pictures. Large open meetings of union men or strikers are shown as "mobs," their parades are termed "riots," and their cause is both ridiculed and falsified, to all of which Labor is without proper answering; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the fortieth convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Montreal, Canada, that the Executive Council take cognizance of the situation, and file protests with the leading producing, distributing and exhibiting picture concerns, and demand in

behalf of organized labor the truth and a fair deal for all.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle, suggested that the following be added to the recommendation of the committee; that labor interest itself in the use of the film to exploit its own educational work.

The chairman of the committee stated that the committee was entirely favorable to the suggestion, and the report was adopted with the addition proposed by Delegate Duncan, after a brief discussion by Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Delegate Holland, New York State Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for many years advocated the promotion of vocational education to meet the needs both of the large group of employed men and women and of those preparing to enter wage-earning pursuits; and

WHEREAS, A Vocational Education Act providing large sums of public money to promote this much needed kind of education in schools under public control has been in operation in the United States since August 1, 1917; and

WHEREAS, It appears that some educational administrators are not only willing but eager to organize so-called day vocational schools as departments in existing high schools, or in State institutions giving instruction of less than college grade, but in many cases are unwilling to so modify the character of the instruction and the qualifications of the teachers in these departments so as to meet the need of the worker for a more practical understanding of the technical drawing, science, and mathematics, and for additional shop experience necessary to the development of a capable workman; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that the subject matter or character of the instruction which should be included in practical courses of study organized for the self-improvement and better theoretical understanding of those engaged in occupations such as mining, pulp and paper, pottery, textiles, and other similar fields, is not available in suitable form; and

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that courses of instruction suitable for purposes of giving a general education to those who have not yet entered upon or chosen their employment, are not suitable for the vocational school where, because of time limitations, and the exacting requirements of modern methods of production, the course must be specific in character and must include both the shop experiences and technical instruction required for effective service and for promotion; and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that instructors cannot impart to others information which they themselves do not know, or skill in workmanship which they do not possess; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in previous reports recognized that advisory committees composed of representatives of employers, employes, and the public, when properly organized, are indispensable in any State or community in promoting and conducting vocational education; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon both State and Federal Boards for Vocational Education and upon local boards of education the necessity of maintaining effective standards that will be of practical value in giving vocational training, standards which will insure an equal opportunity for the large number who have left school and who are entering employment in industrial occupations, or who though already employed desire to attend evening or part time schools for self-improvement with that much smaller group who are able to remain through high school or college; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this body believes that the success of vocational education will depend largely upon the degree to which men and women from the trades are chosen as instructors, and upon systematic analysis of industries and the occupations included in order to determine the specific character of the instruction which should be given; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor intensive instructor training courses organized for the purpose of assisting men and women from the trades to become efficient instructors in vocational schools, and that we recommend co-operative understandings between State Boards for Vocational Education, the Committees on Education of the State Federations, the City Central Bodies, and the several trades that may be now or in the future will become interested, whereby sufficient instructor training classes may be organized to meet the needs of vocational schools for practical instructors; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor again urge upon State Federations of Labor the necessity for providing, preferably through State legislation, for the appointment of advisory committees to advise with State Boards for Vocational Education and local boards of education in the administration of vocational education, and that these advisory committees include representatives of employers, employes, and the public schools.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommend its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 98, by adding an additional "Resolve." The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, Uniformed Firemen's Association; T. A. Rickert, United Garment Work-

ers of America; Jacob Fischer, Barbers' International Union, Frank Feeney, Elevator Constructors' International Union; Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers' Union; James Lemke, Theatrical Stage Employees' International Union; Daniel J. Tobin, Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers' International Union; Joseph Ryan, International Longshoremen's Ass'n; John Coefield, Plumbers' International Union; Martin F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen;

WHEREAS, Wage-earners have become familiar with the merits of securities issued by the United States Government, in denominations small enough for saving, which are known as Saving Stamps and Treasury Savings Certificates; and

WHEREAS, Wage earners should adopt some form of easy saving for their individual benefit as well as the good of the entire country, through a practical method that is guaranteed to take care of the future and establish regular and systematic investment of small amounts; and

WHEREAS, Wage earners have the opportunity to affiliate themselves with the Government Savings Associations that are now being formed under the auspices of the Treasury Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, at Montreal, Canada, June, 1920, reiterate its former endorsement and approval of the plan of the Savings Division of the United States Treasury Department now being operated in each of the Federal Reserve districts; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all the International Unions and Federal Unions be urged to advocate Thrift Stamps, Government Savings Stamps and Treasury Savings Certificates as the best and safest method for saving and investment that their membership can adopt, as against the schemes of private corporations which are now attempting to take advantage of the Government's savings program and the saving habit formed during the war by introducing thrift systems in industry through which they will make profit from the savings of the workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. David F. Houston, the other members of the Cabinet; United States Senators and Congressmen; Governors of the different States and Territories; and the Directors of the Federal Reserve districts, with the request that steps be taken to extend and advertise the opportunities which the Government has provided for the practice of thrift and saving on a small, easy payment plan for all the people, and especially the wage-earners; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention, in view of the current low market prices of Liberty Bonds and Victory Notes, advise all affiliated international and federal unions, as well as state federations of labor and central bodies, to urge their respective

memberships to purchase government securities at current market prices, either for cash or in the instalment plan, and to hold their bonds until maturity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the members of the various unions be requested to urge their employers and local banks to provide partial payment facilities for the purchase of government securities at market prices.

Your committee concurs in the resolution as amended and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Chas. B. Stillman, L. V. Lampson, and Abraham Lefkowitz, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The history of the actions of many autocratic boards of education shows an urgent need for tenure of position for teachers based on efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at the Baltimore Convention adopted the policy of recommending that workers have representation on all boards, commissions or agencies dealing with matters that concern them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor, directly, and through its affiliated locals, use every effort to secure laws granting tenure of position for teachers along the following lines:

(1) Tenure should be permanent during efficiency after the lapse of the probationary period, which should not exceed three years.

(2) All dismissals, both during and after probation, to be for causes definitely embodied in the educational law, such as gross insubordination, inefficiency, conduct unbecoming a teacher, etc.

(3) After period of probation, dismissal for any cause (including inefficiency) to be only by a trial board of seven chosen as follows: three by the school board, three by the teachers, the six to elect a seventh, who is not to be either a member of the school board or of the teaching force. At all hearings teachers shall be represented by counsel. Appeal from the decision of the trial board may be made to the civil courts, whose decision shall be final.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 115 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate John P. McLaughlin, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, There exists in the salmon packing industry, as applied to cannery hands, a condition that borders on slavery, the men being recruited throughout Western states, placed on sailing ships, under guard, and given quarters between decks which, in many cases, are poorly ventilated and insanitary, narcotics being freely sold

in violation of the Federal statutes prohibiting the sale and use of same; and

WHEREAS, men and women with communicable diseases, should not be permitted to engage in the handling of food stuffs; and

WHEREAS, These cannery hands, many of whom are illiterate, are obliged to sign contracts agreeing to work any and all hours demanded by contractors and to be penalized for refusing to work if sick when the company's doctor so orders; and

WHEREAS, The salmon packing industry is interstate and should be under the supervision of some department of the Federal Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, request the United States Department of Labor to investigate labor conditions maintaining in said industry and recommend legislation necessary to remedy existing conditions.

The committee concurs in the resolution as amended and recommends its adoption. The report of the committee was adopted.

Vocational Education

Your Committee desires to call attention to the progress made in at least one of the phases of the Vocational Education during the last two years. Since the St. Paul Convention recommended a model law for compulsory part-time and continuation schools, sixteen states have enacted similar laws in addition to the six states which have previously provided for such schools. We anticipate that the labor movements in the remaining twenty-six states will take advantage of the next sessions of their legislatures to secure similar progressive measures. The Committee submits for re-indorsement the model law for part-time schools:

Model Part-Time Education Law for State Use.

Any city, town, or district establishing vocational, trade and industrial schools, departments, or classes shall provide as a part thereof part-time classes for the education of minors over fourteen years of age who are engaged in regular employment; and the Board of Education or trustees or other like body of such city, town, or district school, shall require all minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years employed within such city, town, or district, or minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years residing within such city, town, or district and employed elsewhere, who are not otherwise receiving instruction approved by the State Board for Vocational Education, to attend such part-time classes not less than four hours per week, between the hours of eight A.M. and five P.M., during the school term. The time spent by any such minor in a vocational school or class as provided herein shall be reckoned as a part of the

time or number of hours that minors are permitted by law to work. Any minor attending a vocational school or class in the city, town, or district of his residence in preference to attending such school or class in the city, town, or district of his employment shall file, or cause to be filed, regularly, at least once a month, with the superintendent of the city, town, or district at which such minor is employed a report of attendance, certified by the superintendent of the city, town, or district in which such minor is attending school.

The employer of any minor between fourteen and sixteen years of age who is compelled by the provisions of this act to attend vocational schools or classes, shall cease forthwith to employ any minor when notified, in writing, by the superintendent having jurisdiction over such minor's school attendance that such minor is not attending school in accordance with the provisions of this act. Any employer who fails to comply with the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offence.

However, even in some of the states which have provided effective legislation, there is an unfortunate tendency to neglect the continuation schools, particularly in the matter of equipment, and too often in the training of teachers. The state of New York has set an example for the country in providing \$2,000 scholarships to enable journeymen who have acquired through practical experience the craftsmanship of a trade, to gain through work in normal schools the craftsmanship of teaching.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Legal Restrictions upon Educational Progress

Organized Labor has always contended for the freedom of people to work out their educational ideals. The amazing passage by both houses of the New York State Legislature of two reactionary bills is of National importance because similar attempts may be made in other states. Your Committee asks the labor movements of the various states to be on their guard, and can bring the matter before the Convention in no more effective way than by quotations from the ringing veto messages of Governor Smith, whose independence and statesmanship saved the state of New York from disgrace.

One of the bills (S 1274) provided in brief that no school, class, or course of instruction be conducted without satisfying the regents of the university of the state that the instruction to be given would not be detrimental to public interests. Innocent

at first glance, as dangerous measures often are, but this is the way Governor Smith exposes it:

"This bill seeks to bring within the power of prohibition of the board of regents every subject, political, ethical, religious or scientific. Under its provisions they might decree that it was inimical to the public interest to give instruction on the theory of the single tax, on minimum wage, on child labor laws, and on public regulation of industry.

"It would then become a crime to instruct in any subject which in the judgment of this board was inimical to the public interest. The free play of public opinion, resting upon freedom of instruction and discussion within the limits of the law, would be destroyed, and we should have the whole sphere of education reduced to a formula proscribed by governmental agency. The destruction of the German Empire, through the blind inability of its people to understand the spirit of free institutions, is a striking example of the ruin that may ensue from forcing into a narrow, governmental mold processes of education."

The other bill, Senate Bill No. 1275, (Introductory Number No. 1121) especially applied to the public school teachers of the State of New York. It provided that all teachers of the State of New York should be required to be examined and to hold a certificate from the board of regents stating, "that the teacher holding the same is a person of good moral character, and that he has shown satisfactorily that he will support the constitutions of this State and of the United States, and that he is loyal to the institutions and laws thereof." The bill furthermore requires that, "The certificate authorizing a person to teach may be revoked by the commissioner of education on the ground that such person is not of good moral character, or for any act or utterance showing that he will not support the constitutions of this state and of the United States, or that he is not loyal to the institutions and laws thereof."

Governor Smith again calls attention to the underlying threat against the freedom of the schools for which organized labor has contended since the beginning of the nineteenth century. His veto message reads:

"This bill must be judged by what can be done under its provisions. It permits one man to place upon any teacher the stigma of disloyalty, and this without even a hearing or a trial. No man is so omniscient or wise as to have entrusted to him such arbitrary and complete power, not only to condemn any individual teacher, but also to decree what belief or opinion he deems to be opposed to the institutions of the country. No teacher could continue to teach if he or she entertained any

objection, however conscientious, to any existing institution. If this law had been in force prior to the abolition of slavery, opposition to that institution, which was protected by the constitution and the laws, would have been just cause for the disqualification of a teacher. Opposition to any presently established institution, no matter how intelligent, conscientious or disinterested opposition might be, would be sufficient to disqualify the teacher.

"Every teacher would be at the mercy of his colleagues, his pupils and their parents, and any word or act of the teacher might be held by the commissioner to indicate an attitude hostile to some of the institutions of the United States or of the state."

"The bill unjustly discriminates against teachers as a class. It deprives teachers of their right to freedom of thought; it limits the teaching staff of the public schools to those only who lack the courage or the mind to exercise their legal right to just criticism of existing institutions. The bill confers upon the Commissioner of Education a power of interference with freedom of opinion which strikes at the foundations of democratic education."

The Committee recommends that this Convention again declare the opposition of the American Federation of Labor to the spirit of reaction manifested in the bills herein described, and asks the state and city central labor bodies to do their utmost to defeat any attempts to secure similar legislation in their respective states.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor's Declarations on Education

In order to make easily available labor's position on education, and to add to the effectiveness of labor's contribution to educational progress, your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to have compiled and published in pamphlet form the official declarations of the labor movement upon education.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Re-Endorsement of Educational Platform

Your Committee recommends the re-endorsement of the educational platform adopted by the Atlantic City Convention, with the modification of Sections 14 and 25 to read as follows:

Section 14. Where there is sufficient demand, the school authorities should grant the use of school buildings for public forums, conducted by democratically organized local community groups, responsible under the law for the language used, the topics discussed, and the speakers selected. The democratic method of organization of public forum districts along these lines in Washington, D. C., is commended as a helpful model.

Section 25. Your Committee believes that

the most effective guarantee of democracy and progress in the schools is the affiliation of the teachers with the great democratic force of organized labor, which was the pioneer in the agitation for tax-supported public schools in the United States in the first half of the last century, and has ever since proved the steadfast friend of public education. The affiliation of the teachers with organized labor is not confined to the United States. 120,000 out of 140,000 French teachers are so affiliated, as are the great majority of the teachers in Holland. In England the teachers are affiliating with organized labor in constantly increasing numbers. In Australia, particularly in Queensland, the teachers have affiliated. The teachers of the United States and Canada will find vigorous and effective support for progressive educational measures through affiliation with the four and one half million of organized workers, as has been demonstrated by the growth and achievements of the American Federation of Teachers. Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and all state and city central labor bodies of the United States and Canada give every assistance to the American Federation of Teachers in the organization of teachers, and the improvement of the schools.

In face of the existing national emergency in education caused by wretchedly inadequate teachers' salaries and the financial starving of the schools, and by the lack of self-respecting conditions under which teachers work, and the absence of any democratic voice of the teachers in the conduct of the schools, your Committee particularly stresses Sections 17, 18 and 19.

"17. A thorough going revision upward of the salary schedule of teachers in public schools, normal schools and universities, to

meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services.

"18. The liberal, ungrudging reorganization and increase of school revenues as the only means of maintaining and developing the efficiency of our public schools.

"19. In order to secure a more democratic administration of our schools, to develop a spirit of co-operation, and to gain for the community the benefit of the experience and initiative of the teaching body, boards of education and superintendents of schools should confer with committees representing organizations of the teachers' choice in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers, and should consider and make official public record of suggestions dealing with the conduct of the schools submitted by the teachers through such committees. Respectfully submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman
CHARLES B. STILLMAN, Secretary
JOHN WALKER
FRANK GILLMORE
DAVID J. DAVIS
JOHN B. O'BRIEN
H. N. LINK
CHAS. A. SUMNER
IRA M. ORNBURN.

Delegate Stillman: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Education, and I move the adoption of the report as a whole, as amended. (Seconded and carried unanimously).

At 12:55 p.m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at three o'clock p.m. of the same day.

TWELFTH DAY--Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock p.m., Saturday, June 19th.

President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees — Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider, Corley, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Boyer, Detlef, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, Murphy (W. D.), De Raay, Baer, Roy, Marshall, Broening, McSorley, Duty, Gainer, Cantwell, Mugavin, Schwartz, Duffy (C. E.), Bock, Matland, Hogan (S. C.), Pruet, Strain, Stickle, Evans (R. E.), Yarrow, Baker (H.), Carey, Hannah, Dold, Hurley, Dougherty, Blasey, Funder, Burk, Curtis (T. J.), Hatch, Graves, Moore (C. M.), Copeland, Fritz, Lewis (J. C.), Howat, Shea, Bierzec, O'Donnell (M. J.), Jones (J. W.), Shobe, Ely (S.), Cooney, Kavanaugh, Staff, Johnson (G. B.), Iglesias, Cunningham, Harlin, Giles, Weber (F. J.), Fox, Jones (D. M.), Haney, Caddy, Gregson, Lacey, Kelley, Darr, Stewart (R. G.), Queeney, Niemeier, Witherell, Rogers, Owens (J. G.), Thomas (J. J.), O'Neill, Dill, McCue, Ewals, Stanley, Block, Parker, Pollock, Stansbery, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Hema-

ley, Freind, Taylor (C. O.), Snyder, O'Dell, Krouse, Dermont, Knight, Murray (J. F.), Andler, Jennings, Smith (J. T.), Barnack, Evans (E. J.), Hayward, Breslin, Sims, Lange, Wright (D. H.), Raisse, Gray, Keavney, Gagnon, Rhone, Deming, Jaggars, Ornburn, Lanoux, Ryan, Dunlop, Draper, Wilkinson, McKosky, Heck, Bush, Bradley, Fleury, Hastie, Bower, Gebhardt, Green (R. J.), Spencer (H. L.), Curran, Campbell (F. A.), Brand, Coyne, Forsyth, Adams, Klemfelder, Ferguson (F. D.), Duncan (J. A.), Maloy, Wood, Quinivan, Cavanaugh, Harrell, Fenell, Link (L. A.), Fitzgerald (J.), Williams (J. W.), Leary (P. J.), McGeary, Talbot, Enright, Pugh, Smith (J. H.), Turner, Ellis, Campbell (J. C.), Butler, Mezacapo, Posey, Phaire, Billinger, Smoot, Lane (M.), Harte, MacDougall, Schoonover, Golden (J. J.), Davies (W. J.), Longe, Peebles, Thomson, Carlock, Delisle, Hall, Brown (S.), Maund, Grove, Middleton, Heywood, Boyd, Scott, Burford, Hodge, McKnight, Lewis (M.), Ward, Jasper, McDaniel, Shaw, Tyler, Schwartzkopf, Gray, Weber (C. E.), Quess, Woodmansee, Keleber (S. E.), Gabrio.

Gould (A. V.), Ramsey, Morse, Malone, Bridges, Weinstock, Gites, Flynn (J.), Ely (F. W.), Stevens, Smallwood, Steele, Wilcox, Chambers, Allen, Wilson (F.), Jankins, Bincker, Stewart (W.), Tait, Reynolds, Poirier, Engle, Witashkin, Rothenstein, Feinstein, Ryan (T. F.), Dodson, Bond, Jones (J.).

Delegate Fitzgerald made a brief reference to the report of a special representative of the American Federation of Labor who had investigated the labor situation at the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, and asked that the attitude be made known to every labor organization in the country and the public generally.

The matter was referred to the Executive Council to carry out the recommendations made by the special representative if it was found possible to do so.

These recommendations were that the attitude of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company be made known to the people of the country. The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate McGowan, Secretary of the Committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Ben. F. Parker, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Chicago Culinary Workers have been forced to strike for the very reason that the Hotel Keepers' Association has refused to negotiate with the Local Unions; and

WHEREAS, The Cook County Superior Court has come to the assistance of the Hotel Trust by restraining the striking Cooks, Pastry Cooks, Waiters and Waitresses from using their constitutional rights of free speech and assemblage and of free press, thus reducing these workers and citizens of Chicago to mere serfs and slaves. Judge Denis E. Sullivan has issued injunction without even a hearing and without any substantial evidence, prohibiting peaceful picketing and all other strike activities; including attempting to organize or notify union members that a strike exists; in short—this order prohibits citizens from stating facts to other citizens, which is in direct contradiction of Article 2, Sec. 4 of the Constitution of Illinois, which reads:

"Every person may freely speak, write and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty and in all trials for libel both civil and criminal. The truth when published with good motives and for justifiable ends, shall be sufficient defense."

And the first amendment of the Federal Constitution dealing with Free Press and assemblage, has been denied to the Culinary Workers, now on strike, by the Cook County Court; and

WHEREAS, The nation is about to elect

a new government official, whose duty it will be to enforce the Constitution of State and Nation, are to be chosen by the people of this country. The Republican National Convention will be held in this city on June 7th, 1920, many delegates aspiring to become great leaders of our people are in Chicago at present, some of them have established headquarters at strike-bound hotels, some eat in the dining rooms manned by professional scabs who have been brought in from various parts of this country, most of whom are negroes brought from the South who have not been informed that a strike exists, and many who are now shanghaied and many who by economic pressure are deprived of liberty, guaranteed by the Constitution; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That any and all persons who are chosen at the Republican National Convention for any public office who are now stopping at any of the following hotels, clubs or restaurants, be declared unfair to organized labor and unfair to the working people of this country, and therefore unfit to become public servants of the American common people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution, together with a list of all nominated officials, be submitted, with a view of having them placed on Labor's Unfair List: Illinois Athletic Club, South Shore Country Club, LaSalle Hotel, Auditorium Hotel, Cooper-Carlton Hotel, Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago Beach Hotel, Brevoort Hotel, Palmer House, Fort Dearborn Hotel, Metropole Hotel, Stevens Restaurant, Twentieth Century Restaurant, Heinley's Restaurant, Louisiana Restaurant, Regan's, Saddle and Cycle, Hamilton Club, Blks' Club, Standard Club, Blackstone Hotel, Congress Hotel, Great Northern Hotel, Stratford Hotel, Randolph Hotel, Lexington Hotel, Hotel Sherman, Atlantic Hotel, Marigold Garden, Innovation Lunch, North American Restaurant, Thayer's, Midday Club.

Chicago Waiters Association, Local No. 7, Leo L. White, acting president; Chas. J. Goodrich, secretary.

Chicago Cooks and Pastry Cooks Association, Local 805; J. C. Stagenburg, president; Albert E. Stewart, secretary. Waitresses' Union, Local 484; Carrie Alexander, president; Elizabeth Maloney, secretary.

Your Committee cannot agree with all that is intended that this Resolution shall accomplish, and we therefore non-concur and submit the following substitute,

First: We recommend that this convention pledges its support to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union and its several local unions engaged in this controversy with the Chicago Hotel Keepers' Association;

Second: That we condemn the autocratic attitude of the Chicago Hotel Keepers' Association in refusing to negotiate with their employees;

Third: We deplore the use of injunctions in any labor dispute and reiterate the policy of the A. F. of L. on this subject as enunciated at previous conventions;

Fourth: We further recommend that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. stand instructed to render all possible assistance to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Union in this struggle.

The motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Parker, Chicago Federation of Labor, discussed the question. He spoke at length of the conditions in Chicago in hotels and restaurants, and criticised the officers and delegates of the Republican convention for patronizing the strike bound hotels. He also criticised the Building Trades for continuing work on hotels under police protection and belonging to interests that have secured injunctions against the culinary workers of Chicago.

The motion to adopt the substitute submitted by the committee was carried.

Secretary McGowan: This completes the report of the committee.

Signed,

W. D. MAHON, Chairman
 CHARLES J. MCGOWAN, Secretary
 JOHN J. SULLIVAN
 J. J. FREEL
 J. M. GILLESPIE
 W. W. BRITTON
 W. L. FUNDER BURK
 J. T. MORIARTY
 C. N. GLOVER
 JAS. B. CONNERS
 PATRICK J. BYRNE
 MABLE McNULTY
 PIERCE E. BUTLER
 FRED. GROGNEAUX
 JOHN H. ARNOLD

Committee on Boycotts.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

International Labor Relations

Your committee on International Labor Relations having under consideration that part of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption "International Labor Relations" begs to leave to say we agree with the Executive Council wherein it says:

"There cannot be during the coming year nor probably ever again in our future, a restriction of our interest and activity in relation to the work and welfare of the

rest of the world. Whatever may be our desires, the fact is that the course of events, and the needs of the people, have woven their destinies into such a relation with the peoples of the world that our attention cannot be withdrawn from what is happening in other countries and on other continents."

We, the committee, however, hold that the principle of self-determination applies industrially as well as politically in the affairs of human kind and of nations. While realizing our obligations to the peoples of every country in the world and anxiously desirous of fulfilling these obligations to the fullest, yet we cannot surrender our democracy and freedom to any foreign political rights involving self-government, country or combination of foreign countries. Neither can we nor should we surrender our rights to determine our own policy and to fix our nation's standards on the economic field of human endeavor and achievement. With these fundamental principles always in mind we shall make recommendations on other important matters that have been referred to and upon which we shall report separately and under the proper headings.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Mexico

On that portion of the Executive Council's report entitled "Mexico" your committee finds itself in full agreement with the declarations made and commends the Executive Council for its clear exposition of the situation.

Unquestionably the greed-of capitalist exploiters is at the bottom of the difficulties between the United States and Mexico. A full understanding of the truth by the people of both countries will frustrate the efforts of greed to embroil the two nations in conflict.

Ordinarily we concede to Americans the right to invest in Mexico or in any other country, and under ordinary circumstances Americans who do not so invest are entitled to the protection of their government.

It is an accepted principle that the people of one country who emigrate from it to another are bound by the laws of the country to which they emigrate, and this principle applies equally to those who acquire titles and grants as well as those who engage in business. When there is

added to such a condition the fact that much of the land to which certain adventurers obtained possession corruptly and in collusion with the previous governments of Mexico unfaithful to their people, they are not justified in having other nations of which they are citizens protect them in those corrupt practices and holdings.

And where American capitalists engage in intrigue and in deliberate defiance of the law of a foreign land in which they invest, we deny that they have any just claim upon the government of the United States for its protection.

There has been in the United States, as the Executive Council points out, a persistent campaign to induce intervention in Mexico by the United States. The thought back of the campaign for intervention or annexation is that ill-gotten property of Americans in Mexico will be more secure under an American protectorate or by annexation.

We call attention to the unquestionable fact that the issue of intervention in Mexico will be more acute during the immediate future than it has been for some time. There are evidences of a growing determination on the part of many of those interested in Mexican investments to force the issue to a conclusion. Intervention, in one form or another, is urged and one of our great political parties has written into its platform a declaration which clearly means deep sympathy with this demand.

The extent of the propaganda for intervention, the powerful backing it enjoys, and the stake of fabulous wealth for which it plays, are clearly brought out in an interesting and instructive expose of the whole situation relating to Mexico, written by Chester M. Wright, and published in the June issue of 1920 of the American Federationist, which we commend to the attention of those seeking information on the subject.

We express our deep sympathy with the Mexican people. Their trial has been severe. Their idealism has been inspiring, and their tenacity of purpose in persisting in the struggle toward freedom and justice and a freer opportunity for development and expression has been evidence of a national character that eventually will force Mexico into the ranks of the ordered and orderly and advanced nations of the world.

It is with satisfaction that we call attention to the fact that between the work-

ing people of the United States and Mexico there has been no misunderstanding, but that on the contrary there has been the most harmonious and complete agreement upon all matters of principle and upon all questions of human progress. They find in mutual effort a common advantage, and we point out that while the workers are in harmony there is the best and surest guarantee of international harmony.

We concur heartily in the recommendations of the Executive Council, and we urge the council to make known as widely as possible the position of American organized labor and its understanding of the facts.

Delegate Grove, Machinists: It gives me pleasure at this time to listen to a report which sets forth so briefly and precisely questions that affect the peace of Mexico and the United States. I am in hearty accord with the report of the Executive Council and the Report of the Committee bearing on this vital question, and I hope that both reports will be given wide publicity.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cry for Relief

Under the caption "The Cry for Relief", your committee had under consideration the subject matter of the starving peoples of devastated Europe, and more specifically Austria, Serbia and Armenia and neighboring countries, and note with approval the action of the Executive Council in joining with other authorized forces in securing assistance for those stricken peoples; and recommend that this convention endorse their action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison in the chair.

Pan-American Federation of Labor

On that section of the Executive Council's report entitled "Pan-American Federation of Labor", your committee commends the work of the delegates selected to represent the American Federation of Labor in the last convention of the "Pan-American Federation of Labor" and calls attention to the growing necessity for a closer relationship with the Latin-American nations and a better understanding of their peoples. Relations between the United States and the other nations on the American continent are constantly becoming more in-

timat in every direction; and it is essential for our common welfare that the relations of the labor movements of these countries be developed to keep pace with the development of the relations of other interests.

Your committee notes with satisfaction the adoption by the Pan-American Federation of Labor of a resolution urging upon the Secretary of the United States' Treasury the necessity for labor participation in the Second Pan-American Financial Congress, and urges that every effort be made to continue and develop such participation; and recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to take whatever steps are essential to this end.

We are informed that the convening of the Third Pan-American Federation of Labor convention has been postponed to the month of January, and since there is a possibility of further postponement, we recommend that the selection of delegates to represent the American Federation of Labor be left to the Executive Council. We recommend that the American Federation of Labor be represented by the full quota allotted to it, which is five delegates.

We note with deep regret the death of John Murray, one of the two Secretaries of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We heartily commend the work of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in general and recommend that every possible effort be made to strengthen the organization, so that it may fully and efficiently meet the needs of the working people of all American nations and fully conserve their rights, interests and welfare.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Report of Delegate John J. Hynes to the British Trades Union Congress.

Your committee has read the report of Delegate Hynes and notes with deep interest the information set forth therein. It commends his faithful service in this connection.

We feel that he has been of material influence in further cementing the ties of fraternal friendship which bind that country to ours.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

International Labor Conference

Your committee having under consideration the report of the Executive Council on the International Labor Conference

which convened in Washington October 29, 1919, under the provisions of the labor charter of the Covenant of the League of Nations, we note that this conference conferred the honor upon President Gompers of requesting him to participate in this Conference without vote; and while President Gompers attended one of the sessions and made an address upon one of the important questions before it, he declined to longer participate in the conference as a delegate without the powers of a full-fledged delegate. In this connection, we heartily endorse the action of President Gompers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee had under consideration the communication from Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, (page 327-328 Sixth Day's Proceedings.) In view of the importance of this matter of the uncertainty as to when and where this commission is to meet, your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor confer in person with Secretary of Labor Wilson, report to the Executive Council, and that the Executive Council be authorized and empowered to deal with this entire subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wage-Workers' Organization in India

Under the caption "Wage-Workers' Organization in India," page 112, Executive Council's Report. The birth of a new labor movement in India founded upon the principles of constructive trade unionism is gratifying, and justifies the claim that all real economic freedom, justice and achievement must have its inception in and finally emerge out of the voluntary constructive trade union effort. We see in the splendid start upon which the workers of India are now launched a triumph of industrial justice, freedom, better living and working conditions, and moreover a final realization of the political hopes and aspirations for freedom, democracy and self-government.

President Gompers in the chair.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Amsterdam Conference

The report of the Executive Council under the foregoing caption covers thirty-five pages, and should be read and studied for a comprehensive insight of what is known

as the International Federation of Trade Unions, its ramifications, its practices and what it seeks to accomplish.

Your committee in its report can only briefly present the fundamental facts as presented in so thorough and voluminous report. When the American Federation of Labor became affiliated with the world's labor movement in 1910 it was known as the International Secretariat, the name of which, however, was changed on the motion of the American delegate in 1913 to the Zurich, Switzerland, Convention, to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and has so remained and is now known as such. It should be noted that up to the convention of 1919, the Amsterdam Conference, and which is now under discussion, it required a unanimous vote of all Trade Union National Centers represented to adopt a motion that was fundamentally declaratory in character, and limited attendance to two delegates from each trade union center. This wise provision held inviolate the fundamental principles upon which the American Federation of Labor is founded—"complete autonomy"—and preserved the fundamental rights of self-government of the Labor Movement of each country. Its activities were necessarily and we hold rightfully limited to an exchange of experiences, hopes, ideals, aspirations, dissemination of knowledge in a broader and common interest of the world's producing masses; leaving it free, however, for each country fortified with the knowledge and experience of others, to work out its own internal affairs in its own way. This plan required only a small nominal per capita tax. In the report submitted by delegates Gompers, Tobin and Hynes, we note that the system of voting has been changed from two votes for each country represented to one vote for 250,000 members or less to each national trade union center. We note further that a majority vote will adopt any motion submitted: that the per capita tax is increased to one-half cent per member per annum, which would bring our financial obligations up to about \$20,000 per year for fixed charges. This does not include expenses of sending delegates, or other expenses which the International Federation of Trade Unions is privileged to incur; it increases the representation from a minimum of two delegates to a maximum of ten delegates from each country represented.

In connection with this entire subject we recommend the reading of the letter of Mr. Appleton, President, International Federation of Trade Unions, and the proclamation to which his communication refers.

It will be noted that in the circular issued by the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions over the protest of President Appleton, among other things, says: "Down with the reaction. Up with Socialism." And again, take particular note that the manifesto called for a May Day Demonstration—a general strike to achieve the overthrow of constituted government and the establishment of a socialist form of government. The issuance of the foregoing circular was in direct violation of all rules of procedure. It in substance was a demand for a May Day strike of the workers of the world to establish socialism by the use of our economic power—the strike. We recommend that the question of our continued affiliation with any International Federation of Trade Unions be referred to the Executive Council, and we suggest for its consideration the following:

- a. Industrial activities on the economic field of endeavor.
- b. Self-determination on all political matters.
- c. The abolition of all authority of the bureau and the management committee, except instructions issued by the regular convention of the International Federation of Trade Unions.
- d. The abolition of the Bulletin and the substitution of a quarterly Newsletter limited to the actual matters of interest to and concerning trade union activity, and that this Newsletter to be edited by the president and sent only to the executive officers of affiliated trade union centers who may print it in their official journals or otherwise as may suit their own desires and convenience.
- e. Voting, except on roll call, to be limited to an equal number of votes based upon the country having the least number of delegates, i. e., if America has two delegates no other country shall cast more than two votes.
- f. No decisions to be regarded as conclusive unless the same has been adopted by unanimous vote.
- g. Per capita tax to be reduced to a point that will permit the Federation to function on lines consistent with the foregoing principles.
- h. The Executive Council to use its foremost endeavors to secure a compliance with these principles, and to hold itself in readiness at all times to lend full strength and influence of the American Trade Union Movement to reestablish the International Federation of Trade Unions Movement.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Your committee has read the report of our delegates to the International Federation of Trade Unions held at Amsterdam, Holland, 1919, and we concur in their action and heartily commend them for the courageous, dignified manner in which they upheld the honor of our country and the soundness of our trade union movement and its policies, and recommend their report to your careful consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Federation of Trade Union Meeting in Washington, D. C., October-November 1919

Under the caption "International Federation of Trade Union Meeting in Washington, D. C., October-November 1919" your committee desire to say that we have practically covered the subject matter in our report under the caption of the International Federation of Trade Unions. However, in addition we will say in this connection that we fully endorse the action of the Executive Council in reference to affiliation, and its demand that the per capita tax be reduced and that affiliation be contingent upon the action taken by the convention on the committee's report under the caption of "International Federation of Trade Unions—Amsterdam Meeting."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Peace Treaty

We agree with the sentiments expressed and the position assumed by the Executive Council on the Peace Treaty, and especially where it says: "The covenant of the League of Nations, written into the Treaty of Peace, must meet with the unqualified approval and support of the American working people. It is not a perfect document and perfection is not claimed for it. It does, however, mark the nearest approach to perfection that ever has been reached in the international affairs of mankind. It provides the best machinery yet devised for the prevention of war." Again the Executive Council says: "We are convinced that the decision reached by the Executive Council a year ago and confirmed by the convention, needs no revision in the light of what has happened since." At the Atlantic City Convention the Committee on Interna-

tional Relations had this to say in connection with the Treaty of Peace "No human being in possession of his moral senses can deny the adoption of a measure that will tend to prevent the indescribable horrors of another world war. Civilization must turn to a point where international disputes will be settled in the calm light of reason, rather than by the repetition of the horrors we have just witnessed."

The action on the report of the Executive Council and on the report of the Committee on International Relations as amended by the convention, which included an indorsement of the Irish Republic, was adopted by a vote of 29,909, to 420. We, speaking in the name of labor, the tolling masses, hold we cannot recede from the position taken at the Atlantic City Convention in 1919 without endorsing the policy of greed, hatred and brutal war as the rule that guides in the settlement of relations between nations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McKillop, Boiler Makers, opposed the committee's report and the recommendation of the Executive Council.

Delegate Lefkowitz, Teachers, opposed the report of the committee and the report of the Executive Council. He discussed the League of Nations at some length and pointed out what he considered its many faults.

Delegate Perkins, Chairman of the Committee, in an eloquent speech, defended the report of the committee and the report of the Executive Council. He replied in detail to the statements made by previous speakers.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, stated that he favored the report of the committee, and accepted Chairman Perkins' explanation of the intention and meaning of the reports. He referred also to the position he had taken in the Atlantic City convention in regard to the Covenant of the League of Nations, stating that at that time he had little faith in it as a means of preventing war.

Delegate Mullen, (P. J.), Boston, opposed the reports of the committee and of the Executive Council. Most of his discussion dealt with the failure of the League to open the way for Irish independence.

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, defended the report of the com-

mittee and called attention to the fact that in the Atlantic City convention held in June, 1919, the League of Nations was endorsed by an overwhelming vote. He explained the protection given to small nations under the League, and contended that the purpose of securing Irish freedom was in no wise endangered by it.

Delegate Conway, Seamen, stated that his organization had not changed its position announced in the last convention, that of opposition to the League.

Delegate Grange, Seamen, opposed the recommendation of the Committee.

Treasurer Tobin presided while President Gompers discussed the question. The President spoke in favor of the report of the committee and the report of the Executive Council. He stated that if any other course were taken it would be a reversal of the almost unanimous declaration and decision of the American Federation of Labor when the entire subject was under discussion and at a time when practically the entire delegation was present.

Vice-President Green discussed the question, and in supporting the report of the committee and the report of the Executive Council he replied in detail to every statement of the speakers who opposed the reports.

Brief statements were made by Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers; Delegate O'Hara, Hatters; Delegate Duncan (J. A.) and Chairman Perkins.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was adopted by viva voce vote.

Delegate McKillop, Boiler Makers: I desired to be recorded as voting "No."

Delegate Clarke requested a roll call, but as the request was supported by only twenty-five delegates the roll was not called.

Secretary Woll: That concludes the report of our committee.

The report of the committee is signed

GEO. W. PERKINS, Chairman
 JAMES DUNCAN
 MAX HAYES
 MARTIN LAWLOR
 JAMES WILSON
 JOHN P. FREY
 JAMES O'CONNELL
 B. A. LARGER
 T. V. O'CONNOR
 DANIEL J. TOBIN
 GEORGE L. BERRY
 JOHN H. WALKER

C. L. BAINE
 W. D. MAHON
 MATTHEW WOLL
 JOHN GOLDEN
 JAMES LORD
 W. J. BOWEN
 J. J. HYNES
 SAMUEL GOMPERS

Committee on International Labor Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE BODIES

Delegate Lawson, reported as follows for the committee:

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate J. B. Blair, Albany-Decatur Central Labor Union of Albany, Ala., U. S. A.:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Montreal, Canada, June, 1920, goes on record as favoring the widest and fullest publicity as regards the production of prices of all commodities offered for sale.

The author of this resolution appeared before the Committee and explained that the purpose of the resolution was to secure the enactment of a law in the various states compelling publicity as to the actual cost of manufactured articles. With this intent, your Committee is in full accord and would recommend that all state federations of labor be requested to advocate and urge the passage of such legislation. Your Committee desires to call attention to the fact that this subject was presented to the Republican National Convention by the Committee representing the Federation and is contained in their report submitted to this Convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 53—By delegates Jas. P. Noonan, of I. B. E. W.; Martin T. Joyce, of I. B. E. W.; C. L. Love, of I. B. E. W.; B. A. Cauley, of Metal Trades, Erie, Pa.; A. V. Gould, of Federal Local No. 15255; Fred. D. Ferguson, of San Pedro and Wilmington C. L. C.; H. L. McDougall, of Federal Local No 14451; John M. Harrigan, of Schenectady Trades Assembly; Wm. A. Dermont, of Hartford, C. L. U.; Edw. J. Evans, of Lake County Central Union; John Noble, of Kingston; John F. Teevan, of No. 3, New York City; Joseph Lawler, of No. 3, New York City; A. Bastien, of No. 561, Montreal, Canada; W. J. Colley, of No. 568, Montreal, Canada; Oliver Myers, of No. 245, Toledo, O.; W. E. Wolcott, of Office Employees No. 15251;

C. A. Adams, of the Central Labor Union, San Barbara, Cal.; M. J. Boyle, Electrical Workers No. 134, Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, In the near past many employers of labor are on record as adopting the so-called "American Plan" of organization thereby creating individual units of workers in each particular plant and, in many cases, a number of organizations in the same plant, each separate, distinct, free and independent of all the other workers in that industry, without any connection, federated or otherwise, with the workers in like industries outside of their particular plant; and

WHEREAS, The Bell Telephone Company in particular, is one of the largest employers of labor, has within the past year spent vast sums of money and great effort in organizing their employees along the lines laid down by the advocates who in all cases are the employers, known as the "American Plan"; and

WHEREAS, These associations, wherever installed, have, without exception, proven to be fostered under and controlled by the employing interests, and as such cannot possibly serve the best interests of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This evil is spreading continuously and will be adopted by all large employers, if the employers now attempting to force it on their employes, are successful in their efforts to foist on the workers this spurious form of organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled does hereby voice its disapproval and protest against the plan of organization known as the Association plan of the American plan; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated organizations be requested to give their support in every manner possible to any of the organizations affiliated with it on which the employers are forcing, or attempting to force, the American plan; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor stand directed to lend their full assistance to any organization in its efforts to resist the attempts of employers to disrupt the Trades Union movement by the introduction of this mis-named "American plan."

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Bonus for Public Employes

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, this committee reported as follows:

Your committee appreciates the temporary relief rendered public employes by the granting of this bonus, but is opposed to this system, and desires to express the hope that the wages of public employes will be increased to an amount which will

make unnecessary the granting of a bonus.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Manipulation of Price.

Upon the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the effort put forth to secure this kind of legislation and recommends continued effort along this line.

Convict Labor

Upon the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee approves of the effort put forth to eradicate the evils of convict labor, and urges all State Federations of Labor to render every assistance possible in securing an adequate Federal Convict Labor Law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Lawson: This completes the report of the committee which is signed:

SIMON P. O'BRIEN, Chairman
 GEORGE LAWSON, Secretary
 J. P. GUERIN
 H. W. BROWN
 MICHAEL MAHONEY
 JOHN T. MUGAVIN
 G. A. NOLTE
 JAMES A. TAYLOR
 STEPHEN C. HOGAN
 GARRETT F. BURNS
 E. W. A. O'DELL
 J. C. LEWIS
 EDWARD BARTON
 CARL BERGSTROM

Committee on State Organization.

Secretary Lawson moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

Final Report of Committee on Resolutions

Vice-President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on resolutions offers a motion that the thanks of the convention be conveyed to Honorable William B. Wilson, of Washington, Secretary of Labor, for having sent Commissioner Skeffington, of Boston, as a convenience for issuing passports for the delegates returning to the United States.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 116—By Delegations from National Association of Letter Carriers; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Railway Mail Association; and National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, It is a widely accepted principle that the Government as an employer should on its own account and as an example take the lead in establishing just and practical conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, Under existing conditions there is a notable absence in Government employment of any well defined labor policy or any conceded rights or privileges on which the employe may rely as a basis of action; and

WHEREAS, During recent years there are but few rights presumed to be enjoyed by civil service employes that have not been either openly challenged or painfully restricted by one department regulation after another, and a determined effort has been made to deny the right of effective organization and to suspend the right of petition; and

WHEREAS, The Industrial Conference called by the President after extended investigation and in addressing itself to this subject says: "It is desirable that the utmost liberty of action should be accorded Government employes, wholly consistent however, with the obligations they are under to the state. No objections should be interposed to their associations for mutual protection, the advancement of their interests and the presentation of grievances"; and

WHEREAS, This question is of such importance in its effect upon the welfare of the employes and the service as to merit the serious consideration of political parties and party candidates in the Presidential election, now full upon us; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take such action as they deem practical in bringing the question of Government Employment to the attention of party leaders and Presidential candidates, with a view to emphasizing the urgent need of timely reforms and with the hope of securing some reassuring and definite declaration regarding the rights and privileges of Government employes.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates Julia S. O'Connor, James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, C. L. Love, M. T. Joyce, J. J. McAndrews and Edw. Barton, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; James R. Sweeney, Chelsea Labor Union; H. L. McDougall, Federal Labor Union No 14451; J. M. Horrigan, Schenectady Trades Assembly; and W. E. Wolcott, Federal Labor Union No. 15251:

WHEREAS, Organization work among telephone operators is attended by grave difficulties owing to the oppressive anti-labor policy of the Bell Telephone Company and its associated companies; and

WHEREAS, This policy seeks to perpetuate the present unorganized condition of the telephone industry, and to that end has herded its operating employes into so-called associations, company-initiated, company-controlled and company-financed; and

WHEREAS, These associations are wholly destructive of the opportunity for genuine collective bargaining, are wholly false in economic theory, wholly vicious in tendency, reposing such organized power as they accumulate in the hands of the telephone company to be used against the interests of the operators; and

WHEREAS, These alleged "employer associations" are active agencies for the dissemination of falsehood and innuendo against the legitimate unions of telephone operators where they exist; and

WHEREAS, They seek to secure and hold their membership by persecution, by threats of reprisals, with company voting on company time, on company premises, and at the insistence of company officials: compulsory attendance at meetings presided over by company officials; circulation with signature demanded of papers headed with a declaration of satisfaction with existing wage and work standards—these methods but instance the unhallowed determination of this corporation to maintain its tyrannical and feudalistic labor policy; and

WHEREAS, The telephone companies of the country (with one or two notable exceptions) with the advantage on their side by reason of the youth, the helplessness, the inexperience in organization matters of the operators, have carried on a consistent and largely successful policy of stamping out union organization; and

WHEREAS, The Telephone Operators' Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the organization having jurisdiction, is, by reason of the short period of its existence, wholly unequipped with the resources to carry on an adequate organization campaign against the telephone companies; and

WHEREAS, The unprotected condition of these young women, both as to wages and as to opportunity for the expansion of any measure of industrial democracy challenges the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the fortieth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Montreal, pledge its support to the organization of the telephone operators of the country, and calls upon State Federations, city central bodies, all regular and volunteer organizers to assist in the complete organization of the telephone industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 121—By Resolution Committee:

RESOLVED, That the lady delegates and the wives and daughters of delegates attending this convention, hereby express their sincere appreciation for the many acts of personal kindness and the courtesies which have been shown to them while in the City of Montreal, and for the many bountiful arrangements which were made for their social pleasure and entertainment.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 122—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That this Fortieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor now express its warm appreciation for the presence of the Rev. James E. Fee, Bishop of Montreal; the Hon. G. D. Robertson, Minister of Labor; the Hon. Athanase David, Provincial Secretary, Province of Quebec; the Hon. Mederic Martin, Mayor of Montreal; the Hon. Alphonse Verville, representing the Administrative Commission of the City of Montreal, on the convention's opening day, for the character of the official welcome which they extended to us, and for the expressions of profound interest in our deliberations and the hope expressed that our work would redound to the welfare of Labor and the Nation:

RESOLVED, That we herewith convey to Brother Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, our appreciation for the welcome extended to this, the second convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the Dominion of Canada, and to the Chairman and members of the Local Entertainment Committee, who have proved through the entertainment afforded the delegates, and the constant care given to their welfare and pleasure, that they worthily expressed and carried out the spirit of hospitality shown by the trade unionists of Montreal, since the time it was determined to hold a convention in this city:

RESOLVED, That we express our appreciation to the members of the Musicians' Union who escorted the delegates from the Windsor Hotel to the Convention Hall;

RESOLVED, That we express to the representatives of the press, present during the convention, our acknowledgment of their efforts to supply their papers with accurate information concerning the work done by the convention, and for their apparent efforts to understand the spirit of our movement and its purposes and ideals; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we return to our respective trade union duties with the fixed determination to extend and apply the spirit, the methods and the policies of the American Federation of Labor

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the convention.

Secretary Frey: This completes the report, which is signed by the full committee.

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary,
G. W. PERKINS
GEORGE F. HEDRICK
B. A. LARGER
JOHN A. VOLL
MARTIN LAWLOR
MARTIN F. RYAN
A. A. MYRUP
JOS. W. MORTON
J. A. FRANKLIN
JAS. L. GERNOU
JOHN MOORE
THOMAS L. HUGHES
H. M. COMERFORD.

Secretary Frey: I now move the adoption of the report as a whole as amended. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: This completes the work of the convention. Every resolution presented to this convention, every part of the Report of the Executive Council, has received the attention and consideration of this convention. It may have been laborious and arduous for delegates and visitors to this convention; but in a great gathering such as this convention of the American Federation of Labor, consisting of 578 men and women, meeting as we are, coming from various centers of the United States and of Canada, to have met here and in twelve days considered the variety of subjects of deep import and great possibilities; with men and women intensely interested with the various subjects discussed; it would be unthinkable that feeling would not be aroused. If all this interest and intensity and purpose shall be translated in a determination of all of us to do, if possible, greater service in the common cause of labor, of justice for all the people of our common countries and our contribution to the peace and good will of the world, we shall have met with great results following, and with it all contribute our share to the world's work and for human progress.

During the entire sessions of our convention, notwithstanding the rule that ten minutes should be the limit of addresses, no delegate to this convention who has anything to say—except the chairman—has had his time limited. Every man and every woman who has had a thought to contribute, a view to express upon any subject before the convention, had full opportunity to do so; and it should be a source of great pride to the convention, as it is to me, that it was not necessary at

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

any time to limit anyone in the expression of his views in addressing the convention.

Notwithstanding some of the incidents which have happened, may I express to you my deep appreciation of the courtesy which you have shown me while presiding and at other times, and to assure you that without your assistance success would not have been possible in the determinations which we have reached.

It is my earnest hope, and I feel sure I but faintly express yours, that the coming year may be one of greater progress and success for the cause which we represent. I trust that you may reach your homes in safety and in good health and cheer, and bring the word, despite our shortcomings, despite the things that we may not have been able to do—let us present to the world of labor and to all our people the good things that we have done, the great efforts which

we have made; and urge them on, and on, and, as the days go by to bring the goal of human justice and right and peace nearer, and nearer and nearer; and that in our time we shall have the consciousness that we have tried to do our duty to the very best of our ability.

I thank you for your continuous attendance at the convention until its business has been finally disposed of, and the chair is now ready to hear a motion for adjournment without day.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: I move that this convention adjourn sine die.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 6:45 p.m., Saturday, June 19th, the Fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison

Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

John Cantwell

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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