in other centers. The administration proposed that the issue be left for settlement in each market according to conditions and the desires of the membership in each place.

The left-wing was, of course, the militant champion of week-work. It battled solidly for this measure, which is one of burning interest to the rank and file. The right-wing, which finds its principal strength in New York, felt that it dared champion piece work, even though they are known generally to favor it, for if the right-wing had, against its convictions but yielding to the pressure of the New administration's protest. But most of the right-wing did not vote at all, 01 delegates abstaining, so the administration measure was carried by a vote of 131 to 69.

June 17th Versus July 4th

Participation in political action in this election year was a large number of resolutions calling upon the convention to endorse the June 17th, St. Paul, Farmer-Labor Party gathering, to send delegates, and advise local unions to be also represented. The administration on this issue took a typical centrist, middle-of-the-road position; it proposed to send delegates to the 17th and 4th at Cleveland, pledged to work for the formation of a class farmer-labor party that would unite all the independent political forces of labor. Discussion on this issue was sharp but short; the question had been maneuvered to the end of a session, so that the delegates were impatient to adjourn. Participation in both conventions was won by a vote of 2 to 1, which indicated the usual division of 2 to 1. Both reports before the convention, however, ended the A. C. W. of A. to participation in a farmer-labor party and to fight for its formation, so that the decision was thus far unanimous.

Proportional Representation

The fourth item of special significance was the question of proportional representation on joint boards. At present many joint boards have equal number of delegates from each union, regardless of the basis of such democratic control which is the special heart's-desire of the right-wing. The left-wing proposed a referendum to the membership, establishing a rule of proportional representation in every market, with the recommendation of the convention that it be adopted. On this issue the administration was really neutral—at least in speech and vote, wherever its sympathies may have been. The left-wing added 23 votes to its solid 89, and, with the rest of the center group not voting, carried its proposition over the right-wing, by a vote of 112 to 71. It was the only clear-cut left-wing issue that won a definite victory in the convention and the only immediate achievement of a definite nature.

Relation of Forces in the A. C. W. of A.

Analysis of the votes cast on the four issues mentioned, will show that the numerical relation of forces of center group, left, and right-wings is expressed approximately as 121, 89, and 71. Of these groups the center is the broadest, but is less definite and clear-cut than either of the others, and owes its strength largely to the skillful piloting of Sydney Hillman, who dominates it completely. The right-wing is small, growing smaller, and has a very narrow base, relying largely upon the survival of craft spirit among the New York cutters who occupy a central position in the industry. The left-wing has assumed larger volume than the right, and in addition has a broad base in the organization, including all language groups and all the full length of the industry. It will be readily apparent that the left, as organized and led by the Trade Union Education National League and the Workers Party, has by its agitational and militant program, won the support of the most vital needs of the needle workers, by its clarification of its position and program, grasped the attention of the entire industry. It has prepared the ground for a solid growth of power and influence. At the same time it has assumed a responsible and sober attitude toward organizational matters that augurs well for its ability to hold and consolidate its growing influence. It was significant that one of the most effective speeches for standardizing dues payments, bringing up the dues of many centers to the standard of Chicago, $2.00 per month, was made by a left-wing militant, in the face of a demagogic appeal to the interests of the poor rank and file by the right-wing. Its clear-cut and militant program is growing definiteness of organizational connections, its responsible attitude toward the union generally, and the rapidly-growing volume of the rank and file work of the union are the great attainments of the left-wing in the A. C. W. of A. during the past two years, and they were registered at this convention so that all the world could see. This is the most important achievement in the clothing industry, not alone from the point of view of revolutionary progress, but also for the healthy growth and development of the A. C. W. of A. and the everyday struggle for better conditions.

In the arid desert of the American labor movement, where conventions as a rule are more reactionary than chambers of commerce or unions clubs, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America brings a refreshing breeze of proletarian spirit. True enough, it has some of the poison of class collaboration in its administration, but the left-wing, though often sadly indecisive and yielding under pressure from the right-wing, and only by the constant prodding of all the militant elements among the rank and file can it be kept steadily going forward. But, after all the necessary criticism has been made (and the sharpest criticism may be most friendly act, when its good faith is recognized), the Amalgamated has again shown that it deserves its reputation as the leading labor union of America. May the left-wing militants combine more strongly, develop their program more clearly, participate more actively in the left of their union, that the present healthy condition may be made the starting point for more radical, lasting, and profound achievements in the clothing industry.

Madmen Control the I. L. G. W. U.

The seventeenth convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, meeting in Boston, May 5th to 17th, marked the 25th year of that organization's history. It might have been a great event in the forward march of the union, where the victories and defeats of the past should be reviewed, the structure and policies of the union remodeled and brought up to date to achieve more solidarity, more effective fighting spirit, and a whole organization renewed in its enthusiasm and hopefulness. Not so with this convention.

A grievous wound, striking into the very vitals of the I. L. G. W. U., was the outstanding result of the Boston convention, instead of the constructive progress that might have been achieved. Like mad devils of the Orient, the organization, under the control of a set of irresponsible ignoramuses, lacerated its own body, and cut into its most vital organ—the militant rank and file workers who for decades have struggled and struggled to make the I. L. G. W. U. a strong and powerful union. The expulsion of hundreds of the most loyal and active members was approved in Boston.

Blind fanaticism could go no further than the exclusion of such tried union fighters as those who were expelled from the union, victims of the insanity of the Forwards gang in control of these people and known through out the industry, by the rank and file, for their services and sacrifices. Some of the expelled workers made the condition to appeal their expulsion, leaving the dispensation of the stringent expulsion policy launched last year. The fruit of the exclusion of such tried union fighters as those who were expelled from the union, victims of the insanity of the Forwards gang in control of these people and known throughout the industry, by the rank and file, for their services and sacrifices. Some of the expelled workers made the condition to appeal their expulsion, leaving the dispensation of the stringent expulsion policy launched last year. The fruit of the expulsion policy, elected in spite of the terrorization of the membership against them, were unseated from the convention. Even then, the fifty odd delegates who still remained and voted against the insane gang in control, represented more members than those who were in the pockets of Sigan and Co.
This was brought about in more than one way. Expulsions, disfranchisements, and nullifying the ballot, were not good enough. One other effective means used was the systematic organization of a large number of small, new locals, just before the convention, and the flooding of the convention with delegates from them. Thus, from New Jersey alone, from territories which at the A. F. of L. Convention from locals of 25 to 100 members, came 60 delegates, representing less than 1,100 members altogether. At the same time the 16 delegates unseated represented less than 25,000 members. Even if the unseating had not taken place, even if the ballots had not been tampered with, even if the expulsions had not occurred, even if the great locals with the majority of the membership had been allowed to elect the left-wing delegates who really represented them—still the administration gang would have succeeded in disfranchising the majority, retaining their control by this contemptible gerrymander.

And what did they do, these corrupt bureaucrats, when they had the convention in their pockets? Did they demonstrate how much more "practical" they were, how much more connected with the day needs of the workers, than the "impractical" and "idealist" left-wing? No, not at all. Their practicality is exhausted when they secure control of the workers in the garment industry they have nothing practical at all to offer. They are completely bankrupt. For 11 days of the convention they did not deal with one single matter of interest to the broad masses of the workers. They were so busy expelling delegates, and making laws to convert the union into their own private property, that they had no time or energy for anything else. Only in the last two days of the convention was any other business transacted at all, and then in only the most perfunctory and hasty fashion, not a single measure being adopted, and in only the most perfunctory and hasty fashion, not a single measure being adopted.

Left Wing Only Constructive Force

There is not time to prepare an exhaustive analysis of the convention proceedings and results for this issue of The Labor Herald, which goes to press just as the convention is concluding. We will present an analysis in the next issue, which will have complete reports and summary, with the proposals of the needle trades militants as to how this serious and critical situation is to be met and overcome.

The Sixth Convention of the International Fur Worker's Union of the United States and Canada, held in Chicago from May 12th to 17th inclusive, attended by 60 delegates from 18 local unions and five joint boards, was the most reactionary since the A. F. of L. Convention. But as it was not entirely a "labor-fakers'" body as the A. F. of L. Convention was, the only explanation for its shameful behaviour is the fact that the rank and file of the Furriers were represented in the convention by the so-called "socialists," and that the convention was dominated by the left wing which the A. F. of L. Convention blandly adopted a resolution condemning Fascism as the "socialists" to whom the Fur Workers' Union contributed $1,500 last year, so will the "Forward" gang meet its deserts soon or late. Just as the New York "Leader" died expensively of "socialism" in spite of $5,000 donated by the Furriers, so will perish, ultimately, the yellow-socialist-gangster control over the workers in the union. But just now the gang seems to have learned nothing from these lessons of history.

The Kaufman-Cohan-Hillquit gang which rules by force over the Furriers today is a little picture of the German socialist-Fascist dictatorship with its arms down in workers' blood. Just as the workers of Germany are turning in disgust from the "socialists" to the program of the left-wing, fight with all the forces of history on their side. The reactionaries are turning in disgust from the "socialists" to the program of the left-wing. The Kaufman-Cohan-Hillquit gang which rules by force over the Furriers today is a little picture of the German socialist-Fascist dictatorship with its arms down in workers' blood. Just as the workers of Germany are turning in disgust from the "socialists" to the program of the left-wing, fight with all the forces of history on their side.