The End of the Cloakmakers

an expression of the fact that they are beginning, not the case. recover from the disorganization, indifference d defeat and aspiring to reconstitute their organition and reestablish the union conditions which ere wrested from them. Due to the combined rength of the bosses and the Right wing leaders id the state and city authorities who intervened tively, and thanks to the great errors of the Left ing leadership, this new movement of the workers as diverted for the time being into class collaborion channels and failed of its object.

The strike called by the International Ladies arment Workers Union was brought to a shameful inclusion by the Right wing union leaders. With ie exception of the "closed shop," not a single one the important demands announced at the beginement between the union and the bosses' associaon. The socialist pillars of the union, Schlesingerne present strike and settlement."

Here are the results of the first skirmish in tail end. ie new period of rise of the Right wing leadership the ladies garment industry:

age raise.

dvisable!

FACTS ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT

ees are established for wiping it out of the industry.

There is no positive assurance of the institution f the 40-hour week (5-day week) in the industry.

ranted to the bosses in the new agreement. What is ond Congress of the R. I. L. U. even worse than this is the right granted to the boses by the union to discharge any worker - except or reasons of "union activity" -- subject to appeal o the "impartial" commission. The Right is trumpetng this point as a victory for the workers, when in eality it is aimed directly at the workers, and at the nilitant, class conscious workers in particular. "Union activity" under the regime of the Schlesingers, is the workers have learned to know, is limited to activity against the opponents of the bureaucracy. The discharge right is aimed at those workers in the shop who fight for the rights and interests of the loakmakers, who dare to tell the boss where to get off at, and above all, at those workers who dare to express any criticism of the leading clique of the union and its misdeeds. The discharge right signifies joint control by the bosses and the union bureaucrats over the job of the workers who can henceforth open his mouth, only at the risk of having to look for work elsewhere. It is the old game played by Lewis and the operators against the militant miner, by Hillman and Co. against the Left wing tailor, and by Schlesinger, Sigman and Co. when they were at the helm in the past. Many have been the workers who were left broadless or driven out of the industry after such a "victory" as this.

To cap the betrayal of the workers by Schlessinger is the unconcealed spirit of class collaboration that characterized the course of the strike and that is now fastened on to the backs of the cloakmakers through the settlement. The entry of the Lieutenant-Governor Lehmann and Mayor Walker, two of the best wheel-horses of Tammany Hall, into the strike as "arbiters" of the dispute was gleefully hailed by these "socialist" leaders who have long ago dumped the class struggle from their train as excess baggage. The workers were asked to offer up thanks to these Tammany Hall standpatters as the saviors and patrons of the oppressed. Furthermore, the settlement calls for the establishment of a permanent "impartial arbitration" commission to which all disputes will be refered. The "impartial" chairman who will sacrifice himself to this work at the miserable salary of \$25,000 a year is Mr. Raymond Ingersoll, another Tammany hack.

ORGANIZING THE BOSSES

Worst of all, the union obligates itself to force all independent bosses to join the bosses' associations. That is, the union of the workers is supposed to become the agent, the organizer for the unions of the bosses. The workers are to become the instruments for forging a solid, united front of the bosses so that they may the better be able to break the unity of the workers. Schlesinger in the role of a procurer for the manufacturers' Industrial Council - that is a living portrait of the "socialist" trade union leader in his prime.

There is not the faintest excuse for this treachery to the workers. At least 20,000 workers - the decisive majority - responded to the call of the Right wing union. A few thousand others went down in reply to the call of the Left wing Industrial Union. The Right wing was in the position to hold out for the demands of the workers, to gain a far better the Forward the W. C. and the trade union bureausettlement than they did - if they had been inter

The New York cloakmakers' strike was primari- industry will convince the veriest child that this is

Why was the Right wing able to carry through their betrayal with such comparative ease? The explanation is not entirely with the answer that they were in a shameless united front with the machinery of the capitalist state (Tammany Hall, from Albany to the City Hall) and the cloak bosses. That was undoubtedly a powerful factor. But the other factor that contributed mightily to the success of the Right wing fakers was the enormous errors of the Left wing. These errors must be condemned precisely because they played into the hands of the Right wing and strengthened the latter.

ERRORS OF THE LEFT WING

In the first place, the Left wing - and we speak ing of the strike has been achieved in the final set- specifically of the Communist Party which acted through the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union - displayed eminent confusion; where it did have ubinsky, Ninfo and Co., have not shown improve- a policy it was the wrong one. The Left wing showed ent over their treacherous record of the past, and no initiative in the struggle. Its position was that if ne situation is pretty bad when even the yellow New the Right wing called a strike then the Left wing ork Forward is constrained to admit (July 17, would transform it into a real strike. By this act 929): "It would be wrong to maintain that the alone they automatically gave the Right wing the oakmekers got everything they were entitled to in first word; they surrendered the head of the movement to the Right and left themeselves the role of

The Left wing did not issue the slogan of unity in the struggle, and it was under this slogan that There is no provision made in the agreement the Left wing gained its big strength among the needle or an increase in wages for the workers, despite trades workers, reaching its height in 1926-27. Inreir present straitened conditions, and the assur- stead of the slogan and practise of unity, the only nce of the leaders that the strike would result in a demand of the Left was an appeal to the workers to make it a real strike - by walking down from the There is no provision made in the agreement shops and coming to the Left wing halls. The workor the establishment of the unemployment insurance ers did not understand this "brilliant" maneuver, und, a burning need for the workers. Like the wage this "novel" way of uniting the workers to struggle icrease, the prospect for it is dangled before the against the bosses in a strike. The result was, despite yes of the workers for some future time when the all the self-deception and exaggeration of the official rbitration commission will deem it necessary and Party press, that the bulk of the workers went to the Right wing halls and not to the Left.

What the Left wing should have done was to "organize concerted actions of all workers' organ-There is no definite and unmistakable abolition izations" and "take into consideration that in counf the malevolent piece-work system, and no guaran- tries in which there are several trade union headquarters, every action of the workers, particularly 'romises on paper serve as guarantees only for the in the event of the general strike, is threatened with great danger, if the trade unions will not fight jointly;" that "the revolutionary trade union officials should taken upon themselves the initiative to create The infamous "reorganization" right is still the united front," as is correctly stated by the sec-

have been made even to the Right wing leaders, yes, wing workers. - M. S.

even to the Schlesingers and Dubinskys provided that the Left wing would simultaneously carry on a persistent agitation for such unity below, in the ranks of the workers themselves. The Left wing had a splendid opportunity to agitate for and form joint strike or action committees in the shops, composed of workers belonging to both unions and those standing outside of either. There were numerus other weapons at the command of the Left for the organization of the unity of the workers, but they chose none of them.

Instead of placing the stigma of division where it belongs, on the Right wing leaders, instead of showing the workers clearly where the responsibility lies for the split in the workers' ranks, the course followed by the Left wing enabled the Right wing to escape from under and to burden the Left with the responsibility for divided action. The test of the correctness of the policy lies with the results: the Right is today stronger and the Left weaker than either of them has been for the last 3 or 4 years.

PREPARE FOR THE FUTURE

This ominous fact, the result of the irresponsible ultra-"Left" course of our American Stalinists, is common knowledge among the workers in "the market." Unless it is taken into serious consideration by the Party and Left wing union leaders, and their tactics changed accordingly, the Left wing will be in a still worse position. The starting point for such a change is a recognition of the unpleasant truth that so far as the cloakmakers are concerned, the Right wing now has the upper hand. The Left wing must proceed to win back those workers who now follow the Right either because of conviction or job compulsion. Despite every effort of the Right to isolate the Left wing, the latter must find ways of establishing the closest contact with the workers in the shops. It must be recognized that in many cases Left wing workers will have to submit to the necessity of joining the Right wing union in order to be able to work side by side with the less advanced workers and mobilize them in the shop and in the Right wing union for a renewed struggle for unity and against the class collaborationist Right wing and their policy of be-

The cloak strike movement was only a hesitant beginning, a sign and a promise of deeper struggles to come for the actual realization of the aims which the workers failed to accomplish under the Right wing. The growth of the militancy of the workers and the strengthening of their spirit can be safely relied upon. The question of tactics and leadership will have a decisive bearing on the results of these coming struggles. The present failure is not a permanent one. With the help of correct tactics and resolute leadership on the part of the Left wing the advance of the Rights can be pushed back and the present The Left wing, as soon as there was a prospect situation turned into a mere episode. Only by becomof a strike by the Right wing, should have made ing an undetachable segment of the needle trades proposals for joint action to guarantee the solidarity masses will the Left wing make progress and finally of the workers' front against the bosses, guarding defeat the Right. The militant tradition of the workat the same time its own independence and its right ers and the unsavory record of the Right are a guaof criticism and agitation. Proposals for unity could rantee of the victory. The word lies with the Left

War in the Indep'nt Workmen's Circle

of the Independent Workmen's Circle at Chicago.

The Independent Workmen's Cirkle is a radical and fraternal organization which has been in existence for the last 23 years. It has always been in opposition to the Workmen's Circle because the Forward clique always had the control over the latter and would force it to adopt its methods. The best part of the I. W. C. was that members of any political party could join it and preach openly their ideas. The left wing had a free field for propaganda there.

The Workmen's Circle suppressed the left wing movement because that was the order of the Forward and the S. P. With the impractical work of the Communists in the Workmen's Circle they were absolutely defeated. Now the same impractical methods are used in the I. W. C. Before the convention the W. P. tried to organize a few small branches of left wingers with the aim to "capture" the convention of the I. W. C. With a majority of nine votes they adopted resolutions that would be good only for a party convention and not for a non-partisan fraternal organization whose membership is composed of left wingers, nationalists, small business men and workers who don't belong or sympathize with any political party.

As soon as these resolutions were accepted at the Convention a revolt began in the I. W. C. The first revolt started in Beson and a meeting of more than three hundred people was held Wednesday, June 26, in the American House with Mr. Oripow as chairman. The chairman began his speech with the following words: "Last Monday's Freiheit editorial and today's editorial of the Freiheit attacked me as a right winger and an enemy of the working class. I shall state since I was 16 years old I became a worker and I am working in a shoe factory today. I gave away my activity for the working class and I am doing so at the present. I was never a right winger. I always was a sympathizer with the left wing movement. When the Freiheit made the first appeal since its publication to the I. W. C. I made a motion to the National Executive to support the Freiheit with \$300. That will show that the slander of the Freiheit is not true."

A few telegrams and letters were read to the mass meeting declaring their support. Especially it should be mentioned that a telegram of the second largest branch in the organization, Number 15, which is also considered to be a left wing branch, pledged its support to the new revolt for a free platform and nonpartisan organization.

"We were never afraid to fight against the trio: Te left wingers in the Jewish movement for have donated \$300 to

In the last days of May was held the convention atttacked Soviet Russia and the American Communits as spies and provocators --- L. S.) For the last few years we have done everything for the left wing movement. Now the Communist Party came to Chicago after the wonderful work we have done for the left wing movement, after we have accepted the left wing workrs, where they were expelled from the W. C. as individual members and as branches in our organization. Now the Communist Party came to Chicago and made a pogrom and tried to discredit our active members as counter revolutionists, enemies of Soviet Russia. We were helping to build the new needle trade union. We are organizing an I. W. C. "Village" in Russia."

> When the chairman tried to introduce the next speaker, Mr. Wilcon (the first chairman of the I. W. C.), "comrade" Marx, manager of the Freiheit, who is a member a few months in the I. W. C. and was one of the steering committee, stood and with a few of his sympathizers made so much noise that it was brought to a fist fight. Thus the meeting was broken up and adjourned.

> The steering committee had prepared in advance a hall downstairs. The Freiheit manager shouted, "all the left wingers should go downstairs in the hall." But only a few followed him. The left wingers who were in the hall did not agree with the hooligan methods of the steering committee. By these methods the Party is being discredited among the sincere sympathizers in the left wing and the right wing reactionaries gain ground in the Jewish labor movement.

> > L. Schlosberg, Ex-National Executive Committee, Independent Workmen's Circle.

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