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when these contradictions cry against these apologists of capitalism in voices that are anything but melodious. Anarchy is "overcome!" Crises are "disappearing!" It is only the dreamers who are in the position to display these truly miserable dreams. International finance is at the present time more disintegrated than it has ever been before. Absolutely everyone investigator states this. Everyone is talking of "The decay of world industry," "the ruin of British textile industry," etc., etc., while Hilferding is writing that anarchy has been overcome.

As a matter of fact, in reality the anarchy of production has not been overcome, but on the other hand has become intensified. The European war itself has changed from a disintegrated anarchy into an anarcho-syndicalism, and is slowly but surely intensifying these contradictions. It has changed from an anarchy into an anarcho-syndicalism that is only necessary to consider realities just a little to dispel the crass ignorance of the "thinkers." The world crisis that took place not so long ago and that was so devastating in its effects, should have "knocked dialektic" into the skulls of even the Social-Democratic "thinkers"; but, presumably, these skulls are so thickly crammed with obsequiousness that nothing else can penetrate them.

Hilferding the Ultra-Impartialist.

However, it would be an injustice to R. Hilferding to as- sume that he does not understand on which side his bread is buttered. Probably he just feigns blindness and deafness; he is only the "Herren" and most of the European tourists as they pass through the Berlin thoroughfares. Well, even this is in the order of things, however it would be an injustice to R. Hilferding to as- sume that he does not understand on which side his bread is buttered. Probably he just feigns blindness and deafness; he is only the "Herren" and most of the European tourists as they pass through the Berlin thoroughfares. Well, even this is in the order of things.

Mr. Hilferding has cleverly simulated when he begs for alms from rich American capitalists, but our "thinker" boldly destroys this "antiquated" view. First of all, he crawls servilely along to the necessary artificial majorities and machine control of the union, fails in his attempt to bring these artificial majorities into being, and yet "the American" capital is victorious. For he is even prepared to reconcile himself to the political and "spiritual supremacy of the Anglo-Saxons." Further, his revealing speech reveals to us the real Social-Democratic paradise.

Until now, Marxism has asserted that wars were indis- solubly connected with class antagonisms, but our "thinker" boldly destroys this "antiquated" view. First of all, he crawls servilely along to the necessary artificial majorities and machine control of the union, fails in his attempt to bring these artificial majorities into being, and yet "the American" capital is victorious. For he is even prepared to reconcile himself to the political and "spiritual supremacy of the Anglo-Saxons." Further, his revealing speech reveals to us the real Social-Democratic paradise.

The interests of Anglo-Saxons, and especially those of British capitalists, tend more to consolidation and organization of the fruits of victory already won, rather than to the extension of their territories. This purpose is being achieved. The gangsters have been amputated from the union treasury. They are now capable of changing the map of the world in one sweep, if there were no other contradictions, if there were no East (the movement in China), if there were no opposition from the working class, if there were no America. It is possible that America even wishes to accept this program as the basis for the administration—of B. Gold and others, of the terrorist tactics of the officials, of the League of Nations against separate sovereignties, that he contemptuously refers to in two words—of the left-wing leaders expelled from the unions, with the membership as they see fit. Feeling secure with the cloak of liberalism that was formerly Hillman's stock in trade, displaced all those who hoped for any kind of real "progressive action. Altogether it was not an encouraging picture, and the pessimists in our movement were agreeing with the reactionaries, in their judgment that the left wing had remained "unfortunately" defeated.

Basie of the Left-Wing Program.

The left wing, under the leadership of the Trade Union Educational League, refused to accept this defeat. It declared that the left-wing program would rally the members and overcome the machine-made victory of "officialito- nary officials, because: (1) conditions in the industry, the contracting system, etc., can only be remedied by a fighting union. Mr. Hilferding says that the employers will mean betrayal of the workers, and thereby deal- ing with the "Anglo-Saxons" as a basis: to him Anglo-Saxonization makes clear the small revolution that has occurred in the Furriers' Union.

Of course, the revolution is not complete as yet. It is still going on. The new administration, while solid as a rock against the gangsterdom of Kaufman, is not entirely homo- geneous, nor is it as yet a left-wing administration, although it is in the process of making the final step. The elections to the T. U. E. L. group found it necessary to point out, in a leaflet to the membership, that the program of the anti-Kauf- man block, "the T. U. E. L. does not abandon its own program, and it will continue to propagate this program, fight for it, and try to win over all of those who are not yet convinced. When the majority of the anti-Kaufman bloc is convinced of the correctness of the T. U. E. L. program, and accepts this program as the basis for the administration—of a left-wing leadership, then the T. U. E. L. program is completed. This is now the task of the Furriers' Union left- wing group.

What was the purpose of the anti-Kaufman bloc, and is this purpose being achieved by the recent victories? The purpose was to break the hold of the Kaufman ma- chine, which, by gangsterism, terrorism, and violence, has made the union a cess-pool of graft and betrayal of the work- ers, and thereby breaking this machine, to open up the way to the leadership of a left-wing administration.

This purpose is being achieved. The gangsters have been amputated from the union treasury. They are now
either entering the service of the employers to be used against the union, or are waiting for orders from Kaufman if that worthy is able to secure enough money to launch them into open warfare to regain the union offices from the new administration. Graft on the part of former lieutenants of Kaufman has been so thoroughly exposed that even the right-wing elements are trying to grab off some of the credit by joining in the condemnation of their dishonest servants. The reactionaries are assured that the union is reorganizing on the basis of mass participation of the membership in the committees which enforce the union rules, recruit new members, and carry on the strikes. Although a result of the anti-Kaufman block election victory, the Furriers' Union in New York is entering upon a new phase of its life.

Recovering Reaction in the Women's Garment Workers. It was a grievous wound that was inflicted upon the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union when the Bigman machine hatched the expulsion policy in 1923 against the left wing. It was a mockery and betrayal of labor-union Democracy. It was a blow aimed at the whole union, which was caused by the convention, with a manufactured majority, to endorse the expulsions and re-write the constitution of the union to place all power in the hands of the machine. The I. L. G. W. U. is to be many years in fully recovering from the ill-effects of the blow. It has demoralized the union and seriously weakened it. Lower wages, loss of shop control, and violation of agreements by the bosses, as a result.

As we pointed out then, however, the reactionary officials could hurt the union, but they could not destroy the left wing. And since the Boston convention this left wing has grown in numbers, power, and clarity of program. Today, one year after it was outlawed, it has gained the leadership of three great locals in New York—Locals 2, 9, 22, representing the mass of the workers in this market.

That very thing which caused the bosses to retreat before the left wing—i.e., their desire, not to fight, but to collaborate with the employers—was at the same time a guarantee that the left wing would grow and flourish in spite of all persecution.

Typical of this method of class collaboration by Sigman & Co. is the submission of the demands of the union to the so-called Governor's Czumiliation. At Boston, Sigman had been forced, as a screen to cover the expulsion policy, to adopt many of the demands of the bosses formulated by the left wing. This made necessary some new instrument to block these demands and at the same time avoid a fight. The Governor's Commission is such an instrument. Sigman could say that he stood for these demands, but they must be won before the convention, and the Commission defeated the workers, not Sigman.

The base hypocrisy, the black betrayal, contained in this policy was indeed brought to light recently in a brief recently submitted to the Governor by the employers. A letter written by Morris Hillquit, attorney for the Sigman administration before the Governor's Commission, when he said that a phrase in his former statement constituted a threat that the powers of earth can make the garment workers accept the principles of piece work, had been mere oratory, not to be taken seriously, for the fact is that the powers of the Commission over any and all matters affecting the life of the workers.

Such cowardly denial of even the intention to think about the possibility of fighting for the demands of the workers reflects the entire policy since the Boston convention one year ago. But the membership, instead of accepting placidly their betrayal of the officials, accepted instead, the leadership and program of the left wing, so recently excommunicated from the union with ball, book, and candle, by Sigman. With the amalgamation of three locals into the new Local 5, comprising over 16,000 members, the left wing, which had long fought for this measure also, began to crystallize its power, sweeping the elections of the local overwhelmingly. This was followed by strong victories in Local 5 and Local 22. These three locals are the largest, best organized, and generally the most powerful in the I. L. G. W. U., constituting the backbone of the organization.

This left-wing strength is not the result of a wave of vacuous sentiment. It comes from the realization that it is only the left wing which leads the daily fight for the real interests of the workers on the job. An interesting illustration of this fact, and of the stupidity of the old officials, is seen in the controversy over the question of the demand for guarantee of employment. The reactionaries put forward their demand for 32 weeks in the year guaranteed. The left wing demanded a guarantee of 36 weeks. Whereupon the reactionaries (see Justice, May 8th) denounced the left wing as out to "steal the bread" of the membership. The average for the market was 32 weeks, and that longer average would throw a section of the workers out of a job altogether. But when the left wing pointed out the fact that the 22 weeks average was based upon the 44-hour week, while one of the principal demands at present is the 40-hour week, the membership saw clearly that the reactionaries either had their tongue in their cheeks, when, they supported the demand for the 40-hour week, or else they were demanding a guarantee of employment which would be 10 per cent below the average employment per year in the market when the 48-hour week would be gained.

There is much promise of future progress in the I. L. G. W. U. at the present time, as a result of the established fighting spirit of the membership, the good organization of the left-wing forces, and the growing clarity of its program. A real mass movement is under way. Many dangers are still ahead, chief among which is a tendency toward timidity among some of the leading elements, a lack of faith of the power of the strong left-wing program to rally the masses, and a consequent inclination to concentrate too much on minor issues to the neglect of the broad revolutionary fighting issues of the entire trade. Any yielding to these tendencies, any compromising with the right wing, would be especially disastrous now, when the membership is aroused and ready to fight. The principal task of the left wing had to be to clarify this situation to its own program, to push its fighting program against the employers, to control and eventually eliminate the contracting system, to withdraw the union from the Governor's Commission and enter into direct negotiations with the employers with preparations for a general strike, to energetically defend the program within the union, and to draw the line between itself and the old officials. No one can see that the follow Bigman & Co. means surrender and defeat, while the leadership of the left wing means struggle and progress.

Crystallizing the Left in the Capmakers. In the convention of the Capmakers' Union, held in New York early in May, the left wing appeared in greater strength than had been expected even by ourselves. And although but a small proportion of the convention, these delegates were a center of that gathering, by their energetic fight for demands that raised the issues in which the membership saw their own vital interests, their living standards.

Trade issues were, however, not the only ones raised in this convention, and it is of the greatest importance that a revolutionary political program was adopted, for international trade union unity and support of the Anglo-Russian Unity Commission, was adopted by the convention. The reactionaries were afraid to fight against this resolution, because of the tremendous popularity of the issue among the needle trades workers. President Zaritsky put himself on record as against this resolution, as a result of the pressure of the membership when they began to find their earnings decreased, was found to be an actual reduction of more than the original demand of 32 weeks in the year. This slight difference, was performed in New York and other markets. The employers got their reduced costs of production at the expense of the workers, but the workers were told that the union had refused to accept any wage reductions. It was a raw piece of business that aroused the hitherto somewhat quiescent sentiment for unity.

In the elections that occurred in the spring of this year in Chicago, the left wing candidates and announced a program against the right wing, the labor policies of the Hillman machine. And here another of the Sigman methods of warfare against the left wing was adopted in the A. C. W. After intrigue and subtle, but effective, pressure by the left-wing delegates, for international trade union unity and support of the Anglo-Russian Unity Commission, was adopted by the convention. The reactionaries were afraid to fight against this resolution, because of the tremendous popularity of the issue among the needle trades workers. President Zaritsky put himself on record as against this resolution, as a result of the pressure of the membership when they began to find their earnings decreased, was found to be an actual reduction of more than the original demand of 32 weeks in the year. This slight difference, was performed in New York and other markets. The employers got their reduced costs of production at the expense of the workers, but the workers were told that the union had refused to accept any wage reductions. It was a raw piece of business that aroused the hitherto somewhat quiescent sentiment for unity.

It is in New York, however, that the big struggle against the policy of the union and its officials, with the leadership of Local 5 has been the focal point. And in New York the masses of the membership have been so thoroughly aroused against these policies, and against the warfare of the right wing, that for months the reactionaries have suppressed demonstrations against their mistake.

The struggle began when three workers were removed from their jobs with the consent of Wolf, one of Hillman's lieutenants, in the expectation that, by having this move, the bosses would be persuaded that they could get away with the policy. This was the first step in the campaign, as mistakes as was done in this case by our left-wingers.

The Storm in the Amalgamated. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has long based his leadership upon the "prospects of growth and development," and has never failed to carry through, and the splendid fighting tradition of the men's clothing workers always has acted as a check upon the development of that. But last year, facing a crisis in the industry, which forced a decision whether to carry on a widespread struggle with the employers or to compromise the interests of the workers, Hillman definitely cast in the lot of his administration with the right wing of the American labor movement.

This sharp swing to the right of the A. C. W. officials was accompanied, necessarily, by a war against the left wing, perhaps inevitable, to prevent opposition to this surrender among the members. This war was begun in the Chicago convention, and the composition of the house was carried out in a particularly outrageous manner, by stealth and trickery. The employers demanded a 10 per cent wage reduction. Publicly this was refused and the membership reassured that no reduction would be accepted. But the reduction was actually put into effect, by means of a "reduction" in the practice of the employers, for a slight difference in the conditions of employment. This reduction was accompanied, necessarily, by a war against the left wing. When they began to find their earnings decreased, was found to be an actual reduction of more than the original demand of 32 weeks in the year. This slight difference, was performed in New York and other markets. The employers got their reduced costs of production at the expense of the workers, but the workers were told that the union had refused to accept any wage reductions. It was a raw piece of business that aroused the hitherto somewhat quiescent sentiment for unity.

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a walkout, picketing the shop, and issuing a leaflet calling for the reestablishment of the old Amalgamated policy of struggle to protect the workers of Local 5 from attack.

Then the administration refused to restore union democracy, union meetings are not allowed, and the officials of the left wing are poorly organized and its program is not well known. To such an extent will an official of the International Labor Day because of the resentment against the left wing. It is the policy of the left wing to terrorize the workers of Local 5 into submission. This is the policy of the left wing to terrorize the workers of Local 5 into submission.

A tremendous movement of the needle trade workers to win new victories for the left wing is under way. It is a revolt against the policy of collaboration with the bosses, against surrender without a fight the conditions won in past battles, and a demand for an aggressive fighting union to win new victories for the workers. This movement will succeed, either in forcing the officials to revise their policies, or in establishing an entirely new leadership in the unions—on condition that it is properly organized, that it is disciplined, that its program is clear, that it allows no destructive deviations to creep into its practices. It is the task of the Trade Union Educational League to give the necessary guidance to this movement, as well as of all other bodies to a similar nature, to the end that the entire labor and revolutionary movement in America be strengthened and prepared for the greater battles that are to come. The crisis in the needle industry as a whole, and the necessity for the growing left wing to reformulate its program and to more closely unite its ranks, lend great importance to the National Conference of the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L., which will be held in New York on August 15.

Due to the lack of sharp and continuous struggle in the past, the left wing is poorly organized and its program is not well known. To such an extent will an official of the International Labor Day because of the resentment against the left wing. It is the policy of the left wing to terrorize the workers of Local 5 into submission. This is the policy of the left wing to terrorize the workers of Local 5 into submission.

Where Men Like Shadows Go

I HAVE walked streets where men like shadows go
Up rickety stairs to second story rooms.
And I have gone, too, hiding in gray piles
Of musty rags that they call sheets and watched
Toss themselves and cry like children in their sleep.

I have passed rooms where "queers" have beckoned me
And those of youth who find adventure sweet
And wild hyenas howling
And with your pious faces,
Mock-welcome, Christian hands.

I have seen men who never cared to rise
To Certain "Brothers"

YOU sicken me with lies,
With truthful lies.
And with your pious faces,
And your wide, outspread hands,
Mock-welcome, Christian hands.

While underneath
Is dirt and ugliness,
And rotted hearts.
And wild hyenas howling
In your soul's wasteland.

The men who harvest Kansas' yellow wheat
(They harvest winter's now), old men with stumps
And those of youth who find adventure sweet
But know the time and walk with sentido fear.

I have slept nights where sleep could never be
And those of youth who find adventure sweet
But know the time and walk with sentido fear.

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—Langston Hughes.