

between the traitorous "socialist" government of Germany and the German capitalists. Kurt O. Sorge, President of the Association of German Industry, agreed to accept the Dawes Report only if the Ebert government would do seven things: 1) Destroy the political power of the trade unions. 2) Stop negotiations with the unions. 3) Repeal the eight-hour law. 4) Prohibit the United Front of the unions against capitalist assaults. 5) Allow arbitration in wage disputes only where employers desired it. 6) All nationalized industry to be turned over for private ownership. 7) High tariff on commodities used in Germany.

Of course the treacherous German social-democracy agreed, and the Dawes Report has its most prominent result in the attempt of the German capitalists to impose the ten-hour day upon the coal miners, with 900,000 miners on strike, a strike which ended in a compromise, in the betrayal of the workers by the leaders of the socialist unions controlled by the Amsterdam International.

The Dawes Report clearly provides for taking the reparations out of the blood of German labor. "Wage increases are not to be expected in Germany today," says Dawes. And he advises cutting off all aid previously given the unemployed and a wholesale discharge of railway workers. But, when it comes to the alternate proposition of making German capital contribute something by a heavier tax rate, Dawes says, "It is a matter for Germany to decide." As for living standards, "The amount of the minimum is not exactly determinable, seems to vary between different countries, between different periods in the same country" etc., leaving the advice that the living standard of the German workers may be cut to coolie standard to the inference of the German ex-

plorers. The decision of Dawes is not that "Germany shall pay" but that "German labor shall pay."

To force a surplus out of the German workers enough to support not only German capitalist parasites but to export the sums named in the Dawes Report, beginning with a billion gold marks the first year and increasing yearly, without precipitating a proletarian revolution, is a problem of the German government.

But a proletarian revolution in Germany is the only hope, not alone of the enslaved German workers, but of the English, French and American workers as well. For these huge reparations cannot be paid, even though German labor submits to the most abject slavery, in money. These huge reparations must be paid in goods. But at present the whole of Western Europe and America cannot find a market for its full productive capacity. This state of affairs, moreover, is not temporary, but fairly permanent. What will be the effect, then, to the workers of England and America, of the dumping of reparation commodities, produced by German slave labor, upon the world market?

Such a "solution" is the best capitalism has to offer. It will mean the terrible power of Morgan's "Open Shop" Drive will spread from America to Germany, from Germany to England and France and back to America again. It will mean competition with slavery or unemployment such as never has been known—all accompanied with a world wide attack on labor unions under the Fascist "Open Shopper", General Dawes. And the only remedy, the only cure, is international solidarity of unions under the banner of the R. I. L. U. and the inevitable proletarian revolution in Germany.

## Bill Dunne's Speech at Portland

In response to the hundreds of calls for this speech in a more permanent form, the Trade Union Educational League has published it as a pamphlet. It is the most effective kind of educational work to distribute this widely among union men. Every live-wire will want to read it and pass it on. It should receive the widest circulation thruout the country.

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**THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE**

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## Ferment in the Needle Trades

By A. Simon

THIS summer has seen three movements going on in the clothing industry of New York City, involving thousands of workers and their families. After years of struggle and sacrifice to establish union conditions, the needle trades workers have, during the past years, seen union control gradually lessened, the sweat-shop system becoming ever more strongly entrenched, and with it long periods of unemployment, unsanitary conditions, and cut-throat competition among the workers.

This condition of affairs could not continue. As a result of the left wing organization under the leadership of the Trade Union Educational League, a movement started in the respective trades to make expiration of the agreements the occasion of a real struggle to gain back the losses suffered.

The most important of the three movements now in progress from the point of view of a real struggle, is the strike of the Capmakers. Due to the continuous propaganda of the T. U. E. L. in the Capmakers' Union, some of the most important problems were forced to the front in the negotiations with employers. These problems are: 1) A guarantee of 42 weeks work during the year, with security from the employers to serve as unemployment insurance should the employers fail to supply the number of weeks of work stipulated in the agreement. 2) Every shop is to employ a full set of workers of every craft, so as to eliminate the little companies and family shops employing one or two skilled workers with the rest of the work being done by the employer and his family.

An agreement has been concluded with the large manufacturers. In it the union has won significant concessions. Namely, for the first time in the industry the employers are forced to recognize their responsibility in maintaining the workers of the industry at the expense of the employers during periods of unemployment. This is an accomplishment of the T. U. E. L.

It is true that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was the first of the needle trades unions to have raised the issue of unemployment insurance in Chicago. The difference between its plan and that of the Capmakers, however, is that the former relates more to the particular shops and is jointly administered, while the plan of the Capmakers calls for a

three percent contribution from the employers to make up the fund controlled exclusively by the union. The second demand of the Capmakers also was granted after considerable pressure. And again it was an accomplishment of the left wing led by the T. U. E. L.

### T. U. E. L. Against the Sweat-Shop

The strike as it now stands is directed principally against the small bosses, many of whom will be forced out of the industry if the fight is prolonged. They constitute about 50 percent of the trade, and their elimination will benefit the workers. The final importance of these gains, especially the second one aimed at abolishing the sweat-shop, will depend largely on the determination of the leaders of the Capmakers' Union in continuing the fight—and this, in turn, depends upon the persistence of the left wing pressing the membership and the union on to the struggle. Any compromise with the small bosses would rob the Capmakers of the concession given by the large manufacturers. The left wing must vigilantly oppose any concession to the little sweat-shop bosses. Such surrender will imperil the whole industry.

The strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was more of a defensive struggle than one aimed at new concessions. The men's clothing workers have gone through a serious crisis during the past year. The leaders of the A. C. W. have pursued a tactic that could but weaken and interfere with proper union control. They failed to take the rank and file into their confidence, a serious error which naturally begets mistrust among the membership. The demoralized condition of the trade encouraged the employers to force serious reduction of wages upon the workers. In such a situation a taint of union bureaucracy is most harmful.

It was imperative for the Amalgamated to call this strike to reorganize its forces and halt the epidemic spread of wage reduction. But the T. U. E. L. pointed out that to accomplish this task it was also necessary to put forth—besides the slogans of "No reductions", new demands to raise the enthusiasm of the workers, to draw into strike activity these militants of the T. U. E. L., who today have the confidence of the great mass of workers.

The agreement the A. C. W. concluded with the manufacturers thus far is by no means satisfactory to the militants of the Trade

Union Educational League, since it is not in line with their original demands. Nevertheless, it registers some gains, such as unemployment insurance funds and minimum wage, etc. But the extent these will be of value to the workers will depend on the strength and determination of the union administration, the officials' willingness and ability to exercise proper union control, which was lacking before the strike. While the T. U. E. L. renews its original demand, it also insists that nothing gained in the present struggle be lost.

#### The Betrayal of the Cloakmakers

Since the reactionary program of the "socialist" officials of the I. L. G. W. U. began, of expelling the left wing, especially the members of the Trade Union Educational League, the Sigman gang felt it necessary to counteract the great revolt of the rank and file which spread all over the country. So they lifted the ten demands originally formulated by the Trade Union Educational League and with great ceremony made them into a sort of program known as the "Ten Commandments." But this did not mean, of course, that they wanted these demands granted or intended to fight for them, and before the strike the T. U. E. L. warned the membership that the officials would not fight for these demands.

Under the present leadership things have been going from bad to worse. Thousands and thousands of cloakmakers have been unemployed for many months. The so-called "social shop" has spread like wild-fire. Working standards have become a thing of the past while the only thing visible of the I. L. G. W. has been the iron hand of the *Forward* gang choking every progressive and critical voice.

The time arrived on June 1, when the agreement with the bosses expired. For 4 months the officials carried on conferences with the employers behind closed doors. Finally the members were called upon to cast their ballots, and by referendum they voted 31,000 to 500 in favor of a strike for the "ten commandments," originally the demands of the T. U. E. L.

During this period negotiations were still going on, and the leaders at every conference on their own initiative kept cutting down the demands, without consulting the membership. The T. U. E. L. prophecy that the Sigman gang would not fight for these demands proved true. On the other hand the boss kept refusing even the modified demands. The bosses knew these "leaders"; they knew that they made "deals" before with these officials of the union—with the workers always the losers. The

bosses understood that the diplomacy carried on at present by the leaders was really not for the demands at all, but was merely grand stand play.

So it happened that instead of calling a strike, the officials called for arbitration from the Tammany governor of New York! The governor called all factions together and after some deliberations the employers asked for mediation instead of arbitration. Again the yellow socialist Sigman gang surrendered without even referring it to the membership.

Again came a grand stand play by the officials before the commission to mediate. The officials made pleas that carried nothing for the workers since they had already surrendered the original demands in the previous conference. Again came the closed-door diplomacy and the decision against each and every demand of the workers by the governor's Commission. The only thing left in the decision was phrases and phrases. Before the results of the Commission were given out the Sigman gang met and decided at once to accept the recommendations as a great "victory". But the employers were not so hasty, and knowing the kind of "leaders" they dealt with, they refused to agree even to these ridiculous recommendations.

#### The Mountain Brought Forth a Mouse

So the great "strike for the ten demands" has been led into a blind alley. As the T. U. E. L. claimed, no strike was intended. But with the refusal of the bosses to grant even this practical defeat to the union, the workers were called out of the shops on "stoppage." A stoppage, a strike, to enforce a virtual defeat for the workers! A fine goal, indeed! It is nothing but staged camouflage to make possible the collection of dues, since the old treasury has been bled white by the gang which knows how to ruin a union but not how to build one. There has been no strike, there will be none and the ten demands are farther than ever from realization.

In the meantime conditions of the Cloakmakers are becoming worse daily. But the betrayal has opened their eyes. Many who were blind are now seeing the character of the traitors who expelled the only fighters in the union—the militants of the T. U. E. L. Many more ever day realize that the union never will function for them until the expulsion policy is wiped out, the traitors turned out of office, and militant left wingers put in charge of leading the struggle.

The revolt is spreading rapidly, and the

militants in the union must endeavor to deepen the resentment against the betrayers of the membership. Already the angry membership responded to the call of the T. U. E. L. in a mass demonstration in front of Sigman's office. The traitor is also a coward, and in fear and trembling called the police to protect his yel-

low hide against the justified indignation of the rank and file. Such "leaders" must go. The workers now in the I. L. G. W. have a problem to solve and there is no one but themselves to solve it. They must see that the Sigman-Forward gang goes and that new and revolutionary leaders take control.

## Journeyman Tailors Face Clear Issue

By John Dorsey

**D**URING August and September the members of the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America will decide whether their union is to forge ahead upon a militant progressive program which will build the union and benefit the tailors, or continue to lose members and weaken the union just as a new "open shop" drive is about to begin, by continuing the present programless reactionary policy. The question of progress against reaction is symbolized by the contest for General Secretary-Treasurer between Max J. Sillinsky, the Cleveland progressive, and the reactionary Tom Sweeney who is now in office and wants to stay.

Sweeney is an example of the incompetent leech which hangs onto the body of organized labor. For ten years he has held down both the office and the tailors, inefficient and unpopular, but maintaining himself by unscrupulous use of a machine. He was assistant to the former secretary, Brace, and when Brace resigned Sweeney took advantage of his position as assistant, and maneuvered himself into office. He has stuck in office ever since.

Sillinsky, on the other hand, has a record, not only of lip service but of action and definite policy, to mark him as a real progressive. His program, upon which he runs against Sweeney, definitely declares for amalgamation, a labor party, protection of the foreign born and recognition of Russia, besides the necessary demands of the trade. That Sillinsky's deeds substantiate his program may be seen from the fact that in the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L., he was one of the very few who voted against the unseating of Wm. F. Dunne. At the same convention Sweeney proved to be a reactionary follower of Gompers and voted with the Gompers machine to put Dunne out.

This is a sufficient measure of what the two men stand for, but in the everyday fights of the workers we see again that Sweeney is incompetent and indifferent to the needs of the

workers, while Sillinsky's record is one of militant struggle against the bosses.

The building up of the union is one of Sillinsky's leading points, and the Cleveland tailors under his leadership were among the first in the country to enforce the week-work system upon the bosses. Then a year later, in 1920, the bosses tried to begin piece-work again and locked out the Cleveland tailors for refusing it. In a short but militant strike in which Sillinsky stayed on the firing line in spite of being badly beaten up by sluggers, and the tailors won.

After ten years of mismanagement, the J. T. U. of A. could not stand much more of the Sweeney administration. Rank and file clubs were formed and demanded that Sillinsky run for General Secretary-Treasurer. He was nominated by 35 of the largest locals, and in the election just ended he received 1959 votes as against 2456 for Sweeney. However, as there were two other candidates, Soderburg and Carlquist, the vote was split so that no one got a majority. Hence, according to the union constitution, a final election must be held between the two highest candidates—in this case the fight is clarified between the known reactionary, Sweeney, and the equally known progressive, Sillinsky. The left wing expects much of Soderburg's strength to fall to Sillinsky in the coming final election, since Soderburg, known as a progressive, was eliminated. Besides this, the Trade Union Educational League has endorsed the candidacy of Sillinsky and actively assisted in his campaign.

Militants in the Journeyman Tailors' Union must everywhere watch the coming election, attend the meetings of the union and raise the issue of progress against reaction. The rank and file clubs must be vigilant, not only in the immediate duty of checkmating crooked voting and electing Sillinsky, but to remain as permanent groups to keep the union and its membership always in the front of the class struggle, nationally and internationally.