

WORKERS' STRIKE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Silk Workers Hold Firm in Big Strike

3,000 IN KNIT GOODS STRIKE

New York City.

After ten days of intensive organization work, conducted by progressive rank and file members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a settlement has been effected in the New York knit-goods trade involving the I.L.G.W.U., the United Textile Workers and the Metropolitan Association of the employers. More than 3,000 strikers from forty-five mills had been out.

Accepting and using the starvation textile code, the U.T.W. officials had been "organizing" the knit-goods workers with the cooperation of the bosses, coercing and intimidating the workers. The workers were told to pay one dollar to the gangster "organizers" of the U.T.W. and receive their books—no struggle for better conditions, no strike. The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the T.U.U.L. organization, had been making concession after concession to the employers in an attempt to maintain their dual union. In contrast, however, the I.L.G.W.U. has maintained a clear-cut, militant position, fighting the gangsterism of the U.T.W. and the sabotaging concessions of the Industrial Union. It won many mills from
(Continued on last page)

A. F. S. W. Leads Splendid Struggle

by Minnie Lurye

Paterson, N. J. A most inspiring and heartening example to the entire working class are the 60,000 silk workers on strike for over a month under the leadership of the American Federation of Silk Workers. In face of the most difficult conditions, the strikers stand firm in their determination to carry on their fight until their demands for recognition of the union, the 30-hour week, the \$36 minimum wage and the two-loom system are granted.

Attempts of the National Labor Board and the manufacturers to send the strikers back to work have failed dismally. The NRA representatives, together with McMahon, head of the United Textile Workers, and other weak-kneed officials, agreed to accept a five-week "truce" and send the workers back. As a sop, they offered the workers a very slight increase in wages. Not a word about union recognition, the most important demand! And not a word about a decrease in hours or the demand of the workers for the two-loom system as against the life-sapping six-loom system under which they are forced to work now!

The NRA "Truce" Is Rejected! A tribute to the militancy and courage of the strikers was their unanimous rejection of this offer. Their answer to the bosses was a decisive one: mass picket lines, spreading the strike to New England and to silk centers in Penn-

sylvania, a consolidation of the national strike committee to include representatives of all silk centers and continue the fight!

The bosses made desperate efforts to get the workers back to work. Letters and post cards were sent to the strikers in Paterson, urging them to resume their jobs. Some bosses even made personal visits to the homes of strikers. The bosses strategy to reopen a few mills, and thus try to start a stampede of the strikers back to work, failed completely.

The five-week truce offer was an attempt to get the workers back into the mills, stock up on material and, by the time the code hearings on silk would open, to have sufficient silk on hand so that, even if the workers did go on strike, it would no longer be a serious threat to the manufacturers. It is obvious that the plan of the NRA and the bosses was to smash the strike and then cram down the throat of the workers the \$13 cotton code. This scheme only helped to expose the real meaning of the NRA. The strikers have raised the question very vigorously: The NRA "promises" to put us back to work—why then don't they grant our demand for a 30-hour week? The NRA "promises" to increase the purchasing power of the workers, and then has the audacity to offer us \$13 a week. The answer of the

national strike committee and every silk worker is to continue the strike. This despite the extreme poverty and intolerable conditions in which the strikers find themselves. Evictions are taking place daily. Strikers come to the union office complaining that their gas and electricity have been shut off. The union treasury is empty and the first efforts are now being made to organize a relief apparatus. Yet, despite these serious obstacles, the national strike committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers has decided to continue the fight.

* * *

The Throwsters And Dyers

A substantial section of the strike are the 3,000 throwsters, a most militant group, on strike for the first time. A picket line wouldn't be complete without the throwsters, singing and cheering for their newly organized union. Attempts are being made to get 30,000 throwsters out in the Anthracite.

The dye workers also answered the general strike call (under the leadership of the United Textile Workers) and are carrying on a hard fight. Several attempts have been made to send them back to work on "compromise" settlements but the strikers have rejected these proposals and stand firm in their determination to win their demand for a 30-hour week and the \$30-week minimum. McMahon is doing
(Continued on page 5)

1,500 HEAR LOVESTONE

New York City.

Over 1,500 people jammed Irving Plaza Hall on Saturday evening, September 16, in the largest meeting ever arranged by the Communist Opposition in this city, to hear Jay Lovestone speak on Germany and the recent developments in the labor movement of Europe. Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Dress-makers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., was chairman. The spirit and vigor of the meeting were splendid.

Lovestone had just returned from a three-month trip to Europe in the course of which he covered England, France, Spain and Germany. "The Communist movement in Germany is not dead," the speaker declared, "and those who maintain this either do not know what they are talking about or else they are substituting wishing for thinking." The C.P.G. still has about 20,000 members and the German Communist Opposition about 8,000, while the forces of the Social-democrats reach about 25,000 mostly of the youth.

A vigorous defense was made of the fundamental Communist position against the new attacks of the Trotskyites and left reformists who maintain that the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International have "betrayed"
(Continued on Page 7)

Unemployed Face Starvation This Winter, Report Warns

New York City.

Despite all the recent ballyhoo about recovery conducted under the auspices of the Blue Eagle, "there has never been a more serious unemployment relief problem confronting the city than exists today," according to the statement issued on September 24 by the Welfare Council of New York City, representing the city's major relief agencies.

In this declaration, which took the form of a letter to Mayor O'Brien and members of the Board of Estimate, the Welfare Council recommended that public expenditures for relief be increased from the present (supposed) level of \$6,500,000 to at least \$10,000,000 a month. It pointed out that more than half of this amount would come from state and Federal funds, so that actual city expenditures would be less than \$5,000,000.

Estimating the number of jobless in the city as about 1,000,000 with little prospect of any real reduction the coming Winter, the Welfare Council warned that "unless more nearly adequate funds can be made available, the suffering of our people is likely to be more intense and widespread than at any time during the past four years of depression and unemployment." It criticized very sharply the custom of deferring relief appropriations until late in the current month as causing cruel uncertainty for the jobless. Largely discount-

ing the fantastic claims of NRA enthusiasts, the Welfare Council declared: "It would be tragic, indeed, to be unduly optimistic about the immediate prospect of industrial recovery and to rely upon hopes and expectations when the lives and well-being of over 1,000,000 people are at stake. There has been some sign of industrial improvement . . . but this improvement will not affect the relief problem in New York City for the coming Winter." To illustrate the "complete and utter inadequacy of relief" and the growing misery of the jobless, the Welfare Council quotes figures to prove that evictions for non-payment of rent were three times as numerous in the city in August 1933 than what they had been in August 1932.

The average of \$23 a month now given to some 100,000 families as home relief is "barely enough to keep body and soul together," declares the Welfare Council, "leaving little, if anything, for rent, gas, electric light or fuel, clothing, medical supplies or carfare." It points to the fact that the same quantity of food that could be purchased last March for 96c now costs \$1.10, "with a further rise in prices anticipated."

In its recommendations the Welfare Council urges that the monthly relief grant per family be increased to at least \$40 and that 20,000 new families, now on the

rolls or on the application lists, be granted relief. It also calls upon the city to take over the work relief and food distribution activities of the Gibson Committee and the Red Cross which will be suspended on September 29. It finally advises the replacement of the degrading food-ticket system by cash relief.

* * *

The authoritative factual report of the Welfare Council should shock even the most NRA-intoxicated people into a state of sober realism. With rising prices and shrinking relief and with employment showing only the very slightest improvement, the unemployed of this city are facing a terrible Winter. Unless the jobless succeed in building up and uniting their organizations and in putting up a militant fight for their very existence, nothing that has happened in the last four years will compare with the awful misery of the coming Winter.

A New Series

by

JAY LOVESTONE

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Strike Wave Sweeps Country, As Workers Build Unions

A gigantic wave of strikes is sweeping the country. In sensational contrast to the apathetic and stagnant atmosphere in the labor movement only a year ago, everything is feverish activity and militant struggle today.

The first official government figures available are for July 1933, which, it must be remembered, was a relatively "quiet" month compared to August and September. In the month of July 1932, there were 66 strikes reported; in July 1933, 165. In the month of July 1932, 20,890 strikers were involved in struggles beginning in that month; in July 1933, 109,752. In July 1932, 740,785 man-days were lost because of strikes; in July 1933, 2,143,085.

The growth of strikes is astonishing. As April 1933, there were only 72 strikes in the month, less than the year before (April 1932: 89). The big jump came in May and has been continuing thereafter.

The strike wave has affected practically every industry of any importance in the country. In New York City alone, the third week of September saw more than 120,000 workers on strike all at once, according to official figures, including 15,000 painters, 15,000 white-goods workers, nearly 10,000 knit-goods workers, nearly 10,000 dyers, 3,000 doll and toy workers, etc. In the needle trades, one strike has followed another after

the brilliant victory of the dress-makers and the I.L.G.W.U. has gained tens of thousands of new members.

The three main centers of strike struggle today are: the bituminous mining industry, the auto industry and the metal trades associated with it and the silk textile industry. In Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, fully 100,000 soft-coal miners are out on strike for union recognition. The strike is even beginning to affect the steel mills along the Ohio River. Automobile workers all over the country, particularly those in the Ford plants, are out demanding wage increases and union recognition. About 9,000 tool and die makers are on strike in the Detroit, Flint and Pontiac areas under the leadership of the Mechanic Educational Society, an independent group. In Chester, Pa., the strike in the Ford plant has been spreading and, under its influence, 1,200 men of the Ford plant at Edgewater, N. J., have come out. The wave of struggle among the auto workers has reached as far as San Francisco.

Meanwhile 60,000 silk workers are still out on strike after over a month of militant struggle.

These are great days for the labor movement and they are days that will test the clarity, vitality and tactical ability of all tendencies within it.

Letter to a C. P. Functionary

On "Social-Fascism" And The Trade Unions

by Bertram D. Wolfe

The following letter was sent by Bertram D. Wolfe to a Communist Party functionary doing responsible and important work in answer to a letter of his.

For obvious reasons the name of the comrade and several sentences had to be omitted from Wolfe's answer as printed here. We reprint the letter because it answers questions of interest to all Communists and sympathizers.—Editor.

June 23, 1933.

Dear Comrade:

Thanks for your letter raising points of criticism, doubt and disagreement. A few remarks on the points you raise:

1. Social-fascism
The phrase, "social-fascism" was invented in order to lump Socialist support of capitalism together with Fascist support of capitalism thus justifying the rejection of a united labor front against Fascism. It did incalculable harm to the relations between the Communist and Socialist parties, between Communist and Socialist workers. It prevented the party from differentiating between Social-democracy and Fascism. Differentiation is the beginning of all understanding. It is dangerously wrong character as an accurate formulation (it may have felt good as a term of abuse) has been frightfully demonstrated in Germany.

2. Trade unions
You recognize that the trade union line of the party has been marked by sectarianism for the past three years. It began to go wrong prior to three years ago. The first blunders were made by us, when we were in the leadership of the party. Under the pressure of the new "left" line as imposed upon us by Losovsky, we split the United Mine Workers and formed the National Miners Union. We should have fought that. We didn't for two reasons: (1) We didn't yet have the guts to fight for correct tactics at all costs and (2) we had not yet clearly formulated our conceptions. After or during the expulsion period, this false line was raised into a system, here and internationally. It proved most disastrous in Germany, for there the party was responsible for the fate of millions. The party withdrew from and destroyed its influence in the German unions, built paper "red unions," "work-ed" in the old unions to undermine them and split them, with the result that, when the crisis came and the party called for a general strike (July 20, 1932; January 30, 1933), the party's influence in the German unions had been reduced to zero, NOT A SINGLE UNION—NOT A SINGLE FACTORY—WENT OUT ON STRIKE TO BLOCK THE RISE OF FASCISM TO POWER! You can't call a general strike from outside the mass unions.

From the above, it should be obvious that the sectarianism of the American party in its trade union work is not due to the incompetence of a few functionaries, or the failure of our group to accept the wrong line and carry it out more "intelligently." The more intelligently it is carried out, the more disastrous is a wrong line. The line came from the present leadership of the Communist International, was carried out on a world scale and produced disaster everywhere.

3. How to correct the party's line.
You imply that we "forced the C.I. to throw us out rather than accept a decision on tactics." Further, that we "stay outside and ridicule," while the fight should be waged inside to correct the party's line.

I cannot too strongly emphasize that we are not outside by choice and that we do not ridicule the party but seek to correct its line for its own sake, for the sake of Communism. The fight to correct the party's line must be made, for the present line prevents the growth of the party. It must be made inside. BUT IT IS SO IN-

PORTANT TO THE PARTY THAT IT CANNOT STOP EVEN UNDER THREAT OF EXPULSION. "Once a member of the party is convinced of the absolute incorrectness and harm of a certain doctrine, he is duty bound to take a stand against it AT ALL COSTS." So wrote Lenin. And "all costs" includes expulsion and abuse.

It was not easy for us to come to that conclusion. Far from forcing expulsion, we at first offered to accept the false line to avoid expulsion and to wait for a new discussion period and the experience with that line to convince the party. The present leadership dared not permit a discussion of the line will not bear examination. Therefore, they could not wait with expulsion and felt obliged to substitute fantastic personal slanders for examination of our views. Slander has become a substitute for discussion of principles.

I do not ask you and other party members and functionaries who agree with us, or partially agree with us, to step out. Far from it! I ask you to stay in and fight for the health and correct line of the party. If your fight gains volume and you are not expelled, then we will soon be readmitted as well. That would be the best and least painful way, for you, for us, for the party. But bitter experience has taught us that the harder way is forced upon us. Get your own experience. Only fight loyally and honestly on the basis of principle. Even censure is no crime. But a sham fight which is abandoned in the middle or never gets really under way out of fear of personal consequences—loss of functionary post, loss of party card, slander and abuse—such a sham fight would be a crime against the interests of the party and the working class.

(Concluded in the next issue)

THE FIFTH RIVERA MURAL AT THE NEW WORKERS SCHOOL



The Real Meaning of NRA Unionism

Some Larger Aspects of the "New Deal"

by Will Herberg

In the formidable array of immediate problems arising out of the NRA, we must not lose sight of its larger aspects. Perhaps the most fundamental and far-reaching of these questions is what might be called the basic NRA conception of unionism, of its nature and structure and of its true role in present-day society.

On August 31, 1933, Dudley Cates, NRA Assistant Administrator for Industry, resigned. The various secondary reasons brought forward by him are hardly of interest at the moment, but his main contention comes right to the heart of things. This outspoken and avowed champion of trust capital declared ("New York Times" September 1, 1933):

"The NRA is intended to establish foundations for mutually satisfactory relations between employers and employees in the public interest through collective bargaining. But the only existing mechanism for collective bargaining... are the trades unions comprised in the American Federation of Labor and the so-called company unions. An effort to harmonize existing attitudes of open-shop employers on the one hand and federation leaders on the other on the conventional doctrine of unionization is futile. The field of negotiations between groups of employers and groups of employees is substantially narrowed. The conventional type of trades unions and employer associations, both essentially provocative, are inconsistent with the spirit of the act. The underlying purpose of the N.R.A. is to create a balanced economy in the United States. The industry, therefore, should be the unit in establishing the field of adequate bargaining... action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision... This means a vertical union in each industry, free of domination or control, either by employers or outside labor leaders... The significance cannot be missed. It consists of the following main propositions: (1) It is the purpose of the N.R.A. to create a planned

(capitalistic) economy for the United States. (2) The "conventional type of trade union" is "provocative", i.e., it is a class fighting organization against the employer and "mutually satisfactory relations between employers and employees." (4) Therefore, the existing trade union movement organized within the A. F. of L. must be replaced by (5) a system of "vertical unions", each embracing the workers of its industry and dealing with the organized employees of that industry under government supervision but completely and irrevocably dissociated from the workers of other industries (i.e., from the workers as a class) and from "outside" labor leaders.

Lorwin's Theory Of "Quasi-Public Unionism"

Thus speaks Mr. Cates, mouth-piece of the most conscious sections of monopoly capital. In the "Current History" of September 1933, Lewis Lorwin, who has had some and labor sympathies, presents a "scientific" theorization of exactly the same viewpoint. "The trade union of the old type," Dr. Lorwin emphasizes, "is one of the institutions which are passing." The "free" trade union, i.e., the independent class union, we are told, belongs to the period of laissez-faire industrialism, a phenomenon of rugged individualism, so to speak. Today "there is less patience on the part of the community (read: the hard-pressed capitalist class) with industrial strike and weapon to the right to strike," and we come to the crux of the situation—"it (the 'free' trade union) is a possible factor of economic and social conflict which the community wants to limit. Founded on the principle of protecting the interests of special groups of workers

first, and foremost, it cannot very easily rise to a national and social point of view." Hence the "free, trade union... has but little chance of survival." The "economic destinies" of the workers being placed "in the hands of political authorities and state agencies," certain functions are to be replaced by the NRA. "First, such tasks as prevention of waste of materials, improving processes... Second, promoting the larger economic and social welfare of the workers, in relation to housing, education, recreation... And, third, the interpretation of rules of work and the adjudication of disagreements." "It is the recognition of these facts," Mr. Lorwin concludes, "that lies at the root of the transformation of the old trade unionism of yesterday into the new quasi-public unionism of tomorrow." Today we may see the quasi-public unionism in operation in various forms and stages of development in Italy, Germany... What distinguishes this new unionism from the old is the public recognition it has as part of the economic and administrative system of the country... This quasi-public unionism is accompanied by important changes in structure. As a rule the workers are reorganized in large industrial organizations... The unions must go into partnership with the government to achieve the basic purpose of giving the workers protection under the New Deal.

Now it would be foolish to deny the appearance of some aspects of this new unionism in the traditional craft unionism of the A. F. of L. is admittedly bankrupt in the face of the situation thrown up by the NRA, as are also its narrow "practical" spirit and its rejection of laissez-faire politics. But these are merely side issues; the main burden of the Cates-Lorwin attack upon the

A. F. of L. unions arises from the fundamental character of these organizations, in spite of conservative policies and leadership, as independent class organizations, essentially constituted for struggle against the employers. And it is in this light that the question must be placed.

Fascist "Unions" For America

Put badly, what Mr. Cates would like the NRA to install, and what Dr. Lorwin discovers as the natural consequence of social forces, is a system of Fascist corporative "unions" such as exists in Germany and Italy today. This is obvious on the face of the matter.

But, it may be argued, this is only Mr. Cates's private objective and Dr. Lorwin's private vagary. After all, did not Mr. Cates resign from the NRA because his views were not accepted?

But this is a grave error! On the day after Cates's resignation, General Johnson made the following extremely significant declaration: "Mr. Cates's statement... discloses a theme which many of us here endorse—that, with an industry organized vertically, the logical labor organization is vertical, also with overhead control of labor as responsible to government... I rely on the logic of circumstances to demonstrate this view... Plainly enough, Mr. Cates is not alone in his opinion; it is the dominating conception of the NRA."

Why then did the NRA reject its practical execution and thus precipitate the resignation of Mr. Cates? This brings us to the very hub of the matter and incidentally also illustrates the fundamental error of Dr. Lorwin's theorizing—"The difficulty of passing from theory to practice," explains General Johnson, "is that the law says of labor organizations that they shall be of the workers own choosing..." In plain words, to realize the Fascist "corporative union" as-

pirations of the NRA would mean a head-on collision with the existing unions and with masses of unorganized workers as well and is, at present, out of the question. As a "practical man," General Johnson is able to approve and share the theories of Mr. Cates and Dr. Lorwin and, at the same time fully appreciate the untime-ness of their immediate application. He prefers to rely upon the "logic of circumstances..."

The fact of the matter is that the "free" trade union is characteristic not of "laissez-faire industrialism" (i.e., of the so-called "classical" stage of capitalist development), as Dr. Lorwin contends, but of capitalism in its bourgeois-democratic (parliamentary) stage in general. It gives way before the Fascist corporative "union" only when parliamentary democracy itself gives way before Fascism. But note: the "free" trade unions are not "transformed" into the Fascist "unions," as Dr. Lorwin pretends. The experience of Germany and Italy shows us that genuine unionism must first be destroyed if the way is to be opened for the "quasi-public unionism." Dr. Lorwin describes General Johnson realizes this quite well, even if some alleged "Marxists" do not. Between the most conservative "free" union and any variety of a Fascist "union" yawns the greatest gulf imaginable—a gulf separating what is at bottom a working class organization from an outright bourgeois organization. In this gulf cannot be bridged in spite of the ambitious plans of certain labor officials. The "quasi-public unionism" of Dr. Lorwin and the "vertical unionism" free of control... of outside labor leadership of Mr. Cates have their natural place in the Fascist corporative state and can have no real existence anywhere else. But also illustrates the fundamental error of Dr. Lorwin's theorizing—"The difficulty of passing from theory to practice," explains General Johnson, "is that the law says of labor organizations that they shall be of the workers own choosing..." In plain words, to realize the Fascist "corporative union" as-

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Recovery

The "recovery" rallyboo in the press is beginning to exhaust itself. At the same time, figures are becoming available to indicate what, in general, have really been the effects of the NRA hitherto. It would be instructive, indeed, to glance at the present situation very briefly.

1. In spite of all the pep headlines in the newspapers, it is a cold fact that business and industrial activity has been consistently declining since the middle of July. A brief examination of the un- usually reliable "New York Times" business index, published in that paper every Sunday, shows us that the lowest point in the current depression was reached towards the middle of March 1933 when the index stood at about 60. Then came a period of rapid rise to the middle of July (four months) when the index stood at just short of 100—a gain of 40 points. And then the catastrophic decline, from the middle of July right to the present in the middle of September. In these two months the decline has already eaten up more than half of the big March-July gain; today (September 16) the index stands at 78.4.

To appreciate the significance of this index, it should be remembered that it takes in as components properly weighted such series as cotton forwardings, freight-car loadings, steel mill activity, electric power production, auto production and lumber production.

2. The monthly survey of the Federal Reserve Board indicates that in July business and industrial activity had to gain only 7% to reach the 1924-25 "normal" but employment had to gain 46% and payrolls about 134%. In the month of August factory employment in New York City stood at 43.4, a rise of eight and a half points over the same month last year, but pay-

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The Heroic Struggle of German Communist Opposition Told in Letter from Berlin

by Hans Beka

We are very glad to publish below a report on the situation in Germany written by Comrade Beka, one of the leaders of the Communist Opposition in Berlin.—Editor.

Berlin, Germany.

The Fascist counter-revolution, having settled accounts with the remaining non-Nazi bourgeois parties after it had destroyed the "proud structure" of the German labor movement, has now initiated a campaign against the working class far beyond anything known in the past. The centralized Fascist police apparatus is now thoroughly organized and throughout the country carefully prepared raids, conducted by the secret police with the help of the Storm-Troopers, are continually taking place. On the streets, in homes, in factories and cars, everywhere the workers are exposed to the savagery of the Storm-Troops. Thousands of workers are being driven into the concentration camps and hundreds are reported shot "in flight" or at having "committed suicide" in prison. Where the men have succeeded in escaping the persecutions of the Nazis, women and children are arrested as hostages or else they are condemned to starvation thru the withdrawal of all relief.

To a certain extent, the new wave of terror is directed against sections of the Nazi themselves. For German Fascism is now passing thru its first crisis. Hitler has

decreed the "end of the revolution." It is becoming perfectly clear to many of those who really believed the social demagogy of Hitler that they have been deceived and that Fascism is not going to realize its petty bourgeois "socialist" program but is rather intent on defending and strengthening the power and profit of monopoly capital. These people are beginning to rebel and are finding themselves in the concentration camps too.

It is in the midst of this wave

"The Communist Party Opposition began to form groups of five over a year ago. They are a very small group but are much less doctrinaire without being less audacious than the Communist Party of Germany. Their losses have been slight. They have their own agents in the Brown-Shirts, while the Brown-Shirts have none in the C.P.O. But they are desperately poor and are able to produce hardly any printed matter. Their typewritten or hectographed leaflets are carefully read, workmen often paying more for them than the fixed price."

"Manchester Guardian Weekly," September 8, 1933.

of terror that the struggle of the revolutionary working class against Fascism is taking place. The conditions of struggle have changed fundamentally even as compared with previous periods of illegality. Mere membership in a non-Nazi political organization, especially if it is revolutionary, and the spread of illegal literature are punished with heavy sentences in jail, perhaps even with death. Yet the resistance to the Fascist dictatorship is being organized.

Retreat Of The Working Class Before Fascism

The retreat of the working class, as a whole, has not yet come to an end, even tho the reassembly of the revolutionary cadres has made considerable progress. All proletarian organizations have been either destroyed or "coordinated." Proletarian class unions no longer exist and in the cooperatives are to be found Nazi commissioners.

Fascism has destroyed the organizational foundations of reformism. As an organization the Social-democracy is well-nigh destroyed. Of the party of a million only some fragments remain which are attempting to establish a new illegal existence on the basis of a centrist ideology. They are mostly younger elements, members of the Socialist Working Youth and of the Young Socialists, who fight under the slogan: "For the fight under the slogan: "For the

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Three Codes

From various aspects, the three most important codes so far adopted are certainly the steel, soft-coal and auto agreements. These are among the basic heavy industries of the country, together they employ about a million and a quarter workers; the problems and issues involved in them are in a real sense typical of the problems and issues arising out of the NRA as a whole. A brief examination of these three codes would, therefore, have more than representative character of the NRA at work.

1. The Maximum Work-Week And Reemployment.

An essential pillar of the NRA theory is the reduction of the work-week to the point of bringing about large-scale reemployment. How has this worked out? The steel code provides for an average 40-hour week over a three-month period with maximum per employee of 48 hours and 6 days a week. As William Green pointed out at the hearings, the 40-hour week involves no reemployment at all, for in June of this year steel workers worked on the average about 38 hours a week! "Indeed, if the full 40 hours were to be utilized for each employee, it may be that this standard would actually increase unemployment in the industry since the best figures now available indicate that the employees of the industry are today working an average of less than forty hours a week" ("American Federationist", September, 1933). The demand of the A. F. of L. for the 30-hour maximum work-week was obviously valid on the face of it but the NRA paid not the least attention. The automobile code provides a maximum work-week of 35 hours on the average. In June of this year, auto workers averaged 40.4 hours per week. Thus a maximum (Continued on Page 7)

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by Jim Cork

TOWARDS THE UNDERSTANDING OF KARL MARX, by Sidney Hook. The John Day Company, New York, 1933.

Sidney Hook's book "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx" comes as the culmination of five years of writing on his part on Marx and Marxism. Much water has flowed under the bridge since he first started writing, and it is not surprising that his ideas on the subject have developed and changed. Certainly, his views as presented here are different in important respects from those enunciated in 1928 in his first articles in "The Journal of Philosophy" and "The Modern Quarterly". It is not quite true to say, as Hook does, that his early articles "contain material whose phrasing has given rise to serious misinterpretation". It was more than just phrasing. Be that as it may, he raises certain moot questions quite sharply, making discussion and clarification of them necessary. With the present drift amongst intellectuals and the consequent interest in Marxist ideas, this is especially essential. Marxism has always to discuss and rediscuss, to educate those coming closer to the movement and, yes, to re-educate those already in the movement. And the issues must be faced honestly by the pundits to the official party.

"science"; (4) his incorrect estimation of the relation of natural science and general social and cultural values; (5) his obvious leanings towards Dewey's instrumentalism as a corrective to Marxism; and (6) his errors in economics (which constitutes the weakest part of the book). I proceed to a short discussion of these moot questions.

Hook says at the beginning (page 9) : "For it is not an armchair philosophy of retrospection, but a philosophy of social action; more specifically, a theory of social revolution." To place revolutionary transformation at the heart of Marxism is absolutely correct.

Hook declares further however (page 5) : "If Marx's thought possesses unity, it is to be found not in his specific conclusions but in his method of analysis directed by the revolutionary purposes and needs of the international working class. The method, to be sure, is to be checked in the light of his conclusions; but the latter are derivative, not central. They are tentative and contingent. They may be impugned without necessarily calling the method into question, especially when the new rest is won by a fresh application of the method."

This "decentralization", as it were, of Marx's thought is incorrect. The relation between Marxism as method and certain specific

conclusions is dismissed in too cavalier a fashion. Of course, Marxism is not simply an economic or political or strategical system. But neither is it method *only*. It is both and they are combined in integral and organic fashion. As a method, it is a way of approaching and understanding nature and society and of changing them. As a system, it is the accumulated and tested results of the application of the method to the various fields of experience. The method is realized in the system. The system is unified in the method. Trotsky was absolutely correct in his short polemic with Hook ("The Nation", July 5, 1933) when he said:

"Marxism is not a dogma; but it is not only a method; it is also a doctrine. The materialist dialectic is a method. Marx, however, not only formulated this method but applied it in two domains, by creating the theory of capitalist economy (science) and the theory of the historical process (the 'philosophy of history'—more exactly, a science). It is true Hook further says the following (page 6) :

"To distinguish between Marx's method and his results is not to separate the two any more than to distinguish between the essence of scientific method and the scientific findings of any particular day—

which are sure to be faulty and incomplete—is to deny any organic connection between them."

But in my estimation the analogy, tho' seemingly persuasive, is not quite strict enough. Certain Marxist conclusions, resulting from the application of Marxist method to social development, haven't the same character of tentative contingency as certain scientific hypotheses which are held temporarily and discarded with the advance of scientific knowledge. Take the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for instance, a hypothesis resulting from the application of the Marxist method to society. This is not merely a temporary and contingent conclusion, that may or may not be retained. Nor could it be, in my estimation, impugned without calling the method itself into question.

Hook continues further (page 6) :

"But here the similarity between 'science' and 'Marxism' ends. This does not mean that Marxism is not a 'scientific' method, that is, adequate and efficient to secure its goals. The distinction sought flows from the recognition that the natural sciences and the 'social sciences' are concerned with two irreducibly different subject-matters. This difference in subject-matter compels the further recognition that values

Youth Labor In The United States

SOME RECENT TRENDS IN YOUTH LABOR

by Saul Held

The press of the nation resounds with the ballad of the abolition of child labor in the textile industry and proclaims the end for all child labor in the immediate future. The President, in commenting on the child labor provision of

What conclusions can we draw from the above figures? First, it is incontestable that, as far as the youth in the age-group of 10 to 17

Age-group	1930	1920	1910
10-13	235,328	378,063	895,976
14	157,660	257,549	475,498
15	274,130	425,201	620,751
16	587,817	778,957	
17	891,024	933,691	
18-19	2,542,213	2,246,203	
20-24	7,147,053	5,930,467	

(In the census of 1910 the age-group following 15 was for 16-20 inclusive and totaled 5,463,223. The next age-group was from 21 to 44 inclusive and this is useless for our study and therefore eliminated from the above table.)

the textile code, boasted that this "ancient atrocity" went out in a day. Has the coining of children's blood into capital become mere record of history—or, is it becoming so? Today, more than ever before, is it of vital importance that we establish on the basis of fact, just what the trends in youth labor have been during the vast several decades. Altogether we have been treated by radical and conservative alike (disregarding the motives) to the most flagrant guessing on this matter in the last decade. For example: in one of the leading reports of the Young Communist League in 1928, we find the following: "Youth labor and child labor are being drawn into industry at a faster rate". Statements of this kind have emanated from radical circles for years without the slightest effort, in most cases, to prove on the basis of available evidence the truth of this contention. At the present time the vital evidence is available (1930 Census); and we shall examine the evidence and the trends. No realistic policy for the radical youth movement is possible without such an analysis. Our first task is to discover what age-groups of youth labor have increased and decreased.

is concerned, there has been a considerable decrease (767,547). A more detailed examination of the occupation figures reveals the following facts: The decline in the number of children (from 10 to 15 years of age), employed in non-agricultural occupations from 1920 to 1930, was 53%. The number of employed boys and girls of 16 to 17 years of age declined less; nearly a million and a half were employed in 1930.

Secondly, the increases are to be found in the 18-19 and 20-24 age-groups. What is the explanation for this trend toward increases in the older ranks of youth labor? In the past decade the working class

in the United States enjoyed a measure of prosperity unparalleled in the history of capitalism and, secondly, the technical revolution in industry tended to increase that age-group of youth, older, harder, and better able to cope with the terrific speed-up which this rationalization entailed. It is not accident that we have witnessed in the past ten years a tremendous increase of attendance in elementary and secondary schools. The workers contributed to this increase to a great degree because the higher standards of living enabled them to send their children to school instead of the labor market. Contemplate, too, the recognition of the declining importance of child labor in industry which found echo in the platform of the Taylor Society, which includes the statement: "The efficiency of production is inconsistent with the employment of children under 16, who should, therefore, be eliminated from industry."

The third outstanding conclusion to be drawn from the above table is the fact that the total decrease of youth laborers in the 10 to 17 age-groups between 1920 to 1930 was more than compensated for in the total increase for the 18 to 24 age-groups. The total decrease in the first group was 767,547, while the total increase in the second group was 1,512,596! Youth labor as a whole has increased.

Once before in these pages we had occasion to quote from that illuminating study by Lynds, "Midtown", in which the trend emphasized above was commented upon. Here then is the evidence for one state which the recent figures prove to be the case for the nation:

"For the state (one of the Middle Western states—S. H.) as a whole which has undergone a heavy industrial development since 1890, the percentage of increase between 1890 and 1920 in the male population of 15 to 24 age-group engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries was roughly seventeen times greater than the percentage of increase in the total male population of this age. . . ." (Our emphasis).

What is irrefutable, therefore, is

—class values—are essentially involved in every attempt to develop a methodology and program of social action. The distinction, therefore, means that, in so far as Marxism is a method of thought and action designed to achieve a class goal, it is something more than science, or less; for science as such, also it may be used in behalf of class purposes has no class character.

This raises three questions, all of an interrelated character: (1) The relation between class bias and objective truth, i.e., scientific description; (2) the possibility of considering the social "sciences", as science, in view of the class bias inherent in them; (3) the relation between class society in its dynamic development and natural science, i.e., the question of the class character of natural science.

First, the question of class bias and the possibility of realizing objective truth. In my estimation Hook's position here is not only quite close to the position of Calvin's old "cultural compulsives" theory and doesn't escape the same errors as were there obvious, but it has elements of internal contradiction as well. It flows chiefly from Hook's failure to take a dialectic view here. Hook says (page 105) :

"The choice made by different classes is revealed in the theories they accept. These social theories may contain a considerable amount of objective truth but from the point of view of one class the truths discovered by the other may be irrelevant. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that any social theory—the test of whose truth would involve a change in the existing property-relations or balance of class forces—will be denounced as a dangerous untruth by the class in power. That is why no true social experiment is possible in class society. As distinct from the experiment in the physical sciences, the criteria by which its success is judged will vary with the economic interests of the class which passes judgment."

There is here certainly an insufficient distinction between the class bias of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie. Equal validity cannot be claimed for both. That "classes denounce as dangerous untruths" opposed theories, does not invalidate the claims of both to objective validity. History has a direction. In the movement of history the proletariat is a progressive class. The social theories (guides to action) of the proletariat are based upon a clear realization of the objective relationships obtaining in a class society. The success of the plan of action is proof enough of the objectivity of analysis. There is here an objective test for truth in spite of the adverse judgment of the class with opposed economic interests. From the viewpoint of proletarian (and dictatorship of the proletariat) and control (taking political power), the analogy to experiment in the physical sciences is fairly strict all along the line, notwithstanding the "subjective" class bias. As a matter of fact, the class bias, insuring successful action based upon a correct objective analysis, is really a factor in the operation of the social causation.

Class Bias And Truth. In his article on "Marxism and the History of Science" ("Revolutionary Age", November 21, 1931), Will Herberg has well said: "But not every class bias has a truth-distorting effect. On the contrary, it seems to me that a certain class bias is even necessary under present conditions for the attainment of truth in social science. The truth-distorting effect of a class bias is not something inherent in it (Continued on Page 8)

the fact that for many years there has been a marked trend toward the elimination of child labor (10 to 15) from industry, and concurrently an increase in youth labor in the older ranks, due to the very demands of the productive machine itself and the prevalence of a comparatively high standard of living. (Next article: IS CHILD LABOR DOOMED?)

Shoe Workers Face Amalgamation

Unity the Great Need of the Hour!

by Shoe Worker

Boston, Mass. After several years of almost complete disorganization, with working conditions heretofore unheard of even among the much exploited workers in the boot and shoe industry, there is now taking place a widespread movement for the unionization of the workers in that industry, especially in New England. This movement, which started in the spring of this year, has already resulted in the organization of some 50,000 shoe workers into several unions. These unions are the National Shoe Workers Association with 17,000 members, the Shoe Workers Protective Union with about 30,000 and the Independent Union of Salem with about 2,000 members. It is now necessary to evaluate the events of the past several months and to draw some important lessons from these events.

Situation In The Boot And Shoe Industry

The manufacture of shoes in this country is confined to a relatively small area. Of over 313 million pairs of shoes produced in the United States in 1932, about 260 million were produced in seven states. More than half of the total is produced in the states of Massachusetts and New York. Furthermore, whereas until recently the production of shoes was overwhelmingly a small-scale work, today concentrated rationalization and trustification have made enormous advances.

Just as in the early part of this century the United Shoe Machinery Company established a monopoly of vital shoe machinery by swallowing numerous companies manufacturing such machinery, so today the same tactics are being followed by giants in shoe manufacturing and distribution. As exemplified by what we take the International Shoe Corporation, the Millville Shoe Corporation and others. The small shop is gradually disappearing, swallowed up by giant combines. The International Shoe Corporation gets out about 20% of the total shoes produced in the United States but, if one were to add to that the production of all of its subsidiaries and affiliates, the figure would come close to about 40% of the total. The effect of this development on shoe workers is obvious. Without going into an analysis of long statistical tables, suffice it to say that figures show great increases in production, decreases in the number of workers employed and still greater decreases in wages.

Until recently the shoe workers were completely unorganized. Less than 10% belonged to any union and none of the existing unions had any sort of shop control. It was under these conditions that a wave of strikes swept the New England states and the unions mentioned above were organized. But no sooner were the strikes settled and the workers back in the shops that they were confronted with the inevitable illness of many unions in one field—namely, competition between unions, removals of shops to other towns and intrigues between bosses and the bureaucrats of one union against those of another union. The manufacturers, of course, took full advantage of such a situation and it became a case of "awarding the contract to the lowest bidder." This competition between unions and the rapid concentration and trustification of the shoe industry made it impossible to establish union conditions in any of the shops. It became obvious that the workers of a purely local character could no longer fully serve the interests of the shoe workers. So almost simultaneously with this revival of trade unionism among the shoe workers, there developed also a movement for amalgamation of all existing shoe unions into one national body.

The need for organization of the unorganized and uniform prices and working conditions was the keynote of this movement. The amalgamation movement began with the establishment of the Planning Board. At first this

Planning Board consisted of delegates from various locals of the National Association but it was not long before locals of the Protective and Independent Union of Salem also joined the movement. It is strictly a rank and file movement, frowned upon by the officialdom of all organizations and its establishment was necessary because of the opposition of the union officials to amalgamation. In its early days, the work of the Planning Board was so effective that vast numbers of shoe workers were roused to a fighting pitch for one union, thus practically nullifying the opposition of the leaders of the various unions.

The convention of the National Association held in June proved to be a stepping-stone in this movement by declaring itself unreservedly for amalgamation. It put its declaration on a concrete basis by electing a committee of five with definite authority to negotiate with similar committees from other unions for amalgamation. Thus we had, on one hand, a powerful agitator body in the Planning Board and, on the other, an official committee with authority to negotiate. Unfortunately, however, the work and influence of the Planning Board received a setback for some weeks when there developed two distinct points of view as to its exact status and functions. The

members of the T.U.U.L. insisted that the Planning Board convert itself into an official body and take the initiative to call a national conference which was to prepare for a convention to bring about amalgamation. Opposed to this point of view were those progressives who supported the establishment of the official provisional committee. They insisted that the Planning Board remain an agitator body and work concurrently with the provisional committee. During the period of indecision and vacillation as to its exact status and functions, the influence of the Planning Board was perceptibly weakened. Finally, however, the T.U.U.L. forces were defeated and the Planning Board took a firm emphatic position in a resolution on its functions and its relations with the provisional committee.

Thereupon the Planning Board not only regained its lost position but its activities and influence were considerably enhanced. It is now generally recognized that, had the point of view of the T.U.U.L. members prevailed, it would have meant the destruction of the amalgamation movement. With such a program the Planning Board, instead of being a powerful force for amalgamation, would have become still unions shortly.

another union, competing with those already in the field.

Convention Of The Protective Following the convention of the National, the independent wings of Salem endorsed the amalgamation resolution and elected a committee with the same powers as that of the National. It was now up to the Protective to take a similar action so that actual negotiations might begin. After several postponements, during which the officials carried on a campaign against the Planning Board, the convention of the Protective finally met in Boston during the first week in August. At this convention, the officials cleverly made use of the sectarian splitting proposals of the T.U.U.L. members of the Planning Board and attempted to saddle their provisional committee with a set of proposals brought in by John T. Nolan, General President of the Protective. These proposals consisted of a plan to merge all the other unions into the Protective! This maneuver was finally defeated and the convention elected a committee with power to negotiate with the committee of the other unions. It is expected that an agreement will be submitted to the membership of the participating unions shortly.

Brocton And The Boot And Shoe Workers Union

The one large shoe center in Massachusetts that was not affected by the 1933 strike wave was Brocton, the sole remaining stronghold of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union (the A. F. of L. union). The oldest shoe union in this country, the Boot and Shoe has become almost a racket with strike-breaking and open scabbing against its own members. The members in the locals have been deprived of all their rights and the locals ruled by "commissions-at-large" appointed by the general officials. These "commissions-at-large" were introduced in order to "place the Brocton manufacturers who desired to make low-priced footwear in a competitive position" (President John J. Mara) when it became obvious that the workers were no longer able to tolerate the inhuman conditions in the shops.

With this additional yoke on their necks and under the impetus of the widespread movement for unionization and amalgamation in the other New England shoe centers, the workers of Brocton revolted and determined to overthrow the Boot and Shoe Union. They organized what is now known in the Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen, refusing to have anything to do with the Boot and Shoe. The first step was to refuse to pay dues to the Boot and Shoe, fighting for the right of the workers to be represented by an organization of their own choosing. It is obvious to every one that an indispensable prerequisite for the establishment of union conditions in the Brocton shops is the elimination of the Boot and Shoe. Fully realizing this fact, the manufacturers insist on maintaining the Boot and Shoe and have locked the workers out of their shops. The lockout is of vast importance, not only because it will destroy the last stronghold of the Boot and Shoe but also because, almost at the outset, the members of the Brotherhood declared their intention of taking part in the amalgamation movement and of breaking down, one and all, the Chinese wall so carefully built up by the Boot and Shoe around Brocton.

For Trade Union Unity And Militancy

THE GENERAL SILK STRIKE IN PATERSON

by Minnie Lurye

(Continued from Page 1) everything he can to get the strikers back and in this work he has the support of the manufacturers and the representatives of the N.R.A. But the strikers have shown McMahon that the union and the strikers are not his personal property to do with as he pleases. The union is their union. They are building it and making it strong or daily. No weak-kneed official can decide for them. The decision of the strikers is: "We strike until our union is reorganized and our conditions are improved." McMahon has since refused to issue credentials to representatives of the union for the purpose of raising relief.

The Scabbery Of The T.U.U.L. Union

Using the reactionary role of McMahon as an excuse for their shameful activities, the National Textile Workers Union (the Communist Party union) has been working overtime to disrupt the ranks of the American Federation of Silk Workers (affiliated with the A. F. of L.). Of course they have failed in their efforts. The bosses and the boss press have been featuring the activities of the National because their disruptive work and their attempts to split the union mean the defeat of the strike. That is precisely what the bosses want. At the time when thousands upon thousands of silk workers poured out of the mills in answer to the strike call of the American Federation of Silk Workers and displayed a militancy and a desire to struggle never yet equalled, the National Textile Workers Union, deserted by the workers, issued a statement to the press in which they stated that the workers would not fight for the demands put forward by the A. F. S. W. (recognition of the union, \$36 per week, the 30-hour week, the two-loom system) and proposed instead \$25 per week, the 40-hour week and the four-loom system!!! Is this not open strike-breaking? Recently in the dress strike, in a desperate bid to the manufacturers to settle with their union, the National came forward with a similar proposal: 80c an hour for men and 50c an hour for women!!! Where is the equality the National talks so glibly about? The U.T.W. is

demanding \$1 an hour and 80c an hour for different kinds of work. The U.T.W. does not raise the issue of different pay for men and women. This statement of the National is again nothing but a strike-breaking offer!

If we were to judge the strike by the reports in the "Daily Worker", one might actually believe that the National had a union and was playing an important part in the strike. One has but to go into Paterson, the strongest sector of the nation-wide silk strike, to find that they have practically nothing. They themselves no longer speak of "leading" the broad silk strikers. They claim only the leadership of the dyers. It is essential that the workers everywhere understand what the situation is: The U.T.W. was making active preparations for the dyers strike. The strike had been set for Monday, September 11. Dozens of shops had already been registered with the union. The National had control of but one shop, the Weidmann. On Thursday, September 7, three days before the strike date had been set, the National got the Weidmann out on strike and used them as pickets for the other shops. The dyers, who had never been on strike and were waiting impatiently for the strike call, marched out of the shops and were taken down to the strike hall of the National.

Another example of the manoeuvring of the National was their attempt to get a number of independent organizations formed during the strike to send delegates to a conference to form a dual textile center. Fortunately, they failed. In Paterson the United Wappers League rejected the appeal of Ann Burlak to send representatives to that conference. The Allentown Independent workers have asked for a place on the strike committee of the A.F.S.W. So now the National is sending Ann Burlak to New England in an attempt to get a new base. The National has been using the most reactionary tactics of quietly striking to set up small independent unions on a craft basis. Wherever the A.F.S.W. has organized unorganized workers they have worked for the formation of industrial unions.

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(Continued on Page 8)

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THE TEST OF LIFE

THE attitude of Communists to the labor movement is the decisive test of the quality of their Marxism; it indicates whether their theory is merely a sterile dogma or really a manual of revolutionary action. It is no accident, therefore, that at the very heart of the controversies that have raged in recent years between the Communist Opposition and the official Communist Party and, to a lesser extent, between the former and the Trotskyites, was the question of the American Federation of Labor, its character, its future and the attitude of the Communists to it. It is fortunate that the issues were drawn so sharply for now the events of the last few months can give a decisive answer.

1. That the A. F. of L. was headed for collapse, that it would virtually disappear as a factor in the labor movement, was one of the most unchangeable dogmas of the "third-period" faith. Comrade Zack uncompromisingly insisted that the conservative unions would rapidly vanish off the face of the earth, while Comrade Foster magnanimously admitted the possibility that the A. F. of L. would be maintained as a "skeleton organization" by the employers in order to head off the mass stampede into the "revolutionary unions"! And the Trotskyites chimed in in their own peculiar way.

The Communist Opposition defended the diametrically opposed view. In the "Revolutionary Age" of May 14, 1932 (reprinted in pamphlet form as "The American Labor Movement"), Jay Lovestone formulated our viewpoint in precise manner as follows: "There could be nothing more fatal to the American labor movement in general and to the revolutionary movement in particular than the illusion that the A. F. of L. can no longer grow and has no future. It is silly to look at the existing American trade union movement with its 3,000,000 members as stationary, unchangeable. . . . The outlook is clearly for an ingress into the trade unions, for sharpened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions as well as millions of sorely-pressed unorganized. In the course of these struggles the unorganized are likely to pour into the unions and finally they will serve as the decisive force, the leaven germinating a new spirit of struggle, militancy and power in these organizations."

Is any argument needed to establish whose viewpoint has been confirmed by the events?

2. That the A. F. of L. unions were really "company unions", boss-controlled organizations, and therefore could under no circumstances lead struggles of the workers, was the second great tenet in the "third period" decalogue. Against this view the Communist Opposition has carried on an unremitting struggle, insisting that the unions, even the most conservative, were genuine workers organizations, that they could and would lead important strike actions and that they could be made into really effective instruments of the defense of the workers. We now have the facts before us: the victorious strike of the New York dressmakers, the splendid fight of the Western Pennsylvania miners in the U.M.W.A., the struggle of the Paterson silk workers, and many more. What do the facts say?

3. The third great sacrosanct dogma, flowing directly from the other two was that it was utterly futile, indeed dangerously opportunist, to fight within the conservative trade unions for leadership on the basis of winning the organizations for militant policies. Here too the recent experiences of the trade union movement have given an unequivocal answer.

The profound change in the temper of the American labor movement within the last few months, from apathetic stagnation to feverish if not always effective activity, has evoked a characteristic reaction from the three main sections of American Communism. Lost in their hopeless sectarian blindness, the spokesmen of the official C. P. simply ignore the facts and persevere in their suicidal course of trying to build up their own dual "Red unions." They seem incapable either of forgetting or of learning anything! Of the Trotskyites no words need be wasted. Unable to develop any viewpoint of their own on any question on which Trotsky has not given pontifical utterance, they cling to the coat-tails of the official party, railing and scolding. They look upon the upsurge of the labor movement with uneasy suspicion and regard the spread of A. F. of L. influence and organization as a fact but a most unfortunate one. They are ready to "suspend", temporarily and partially, their customary dual unionism and perforce make some "little" concession to sanity—but only for a little while! What a pitiful spectacle!

Only the Communist Opposition is able to orientate itself in the present situation with realism and effectiveness. The upsurge of the labor movement and the rapid ingress into the A. F. of L. which we have long forecast, we now welcome as one of the most promising signs in many years; we hail it as an exceptionally splendid opportunity for labor to drive ahead and for the Communists to demonstrate and establish their leadership. In the midst of these great events as in so many others, the Communist Opposition will again demonstrate its genuinely Marxist ability to "work with the labor movement in all its stages, without thereby giving up our independence in principles and organization."

'Tragedy of Lynching'

by Clarence Jenkins

New York City

On September 8, 1933, J. Spear addressed the Scottsboro Boys Defense Club on the subject "The Tragedy of Lynching in America." In a very clear and scholarly fashion, the lecturer outlined the types of lynchings inside and outside of the Black Belt of the South, as well as the deplorable economic conditions and the lack of educational facilities among the Southern Negro masses.

Inside the Black Belt, where the Negro forms an indispensable source of labor and constitutes the major portion of the population, lynching is used as a weapon of intimidation to discourage any uprising and keep the Negro in servile subjection. The slogan inside of the Black Belt is: "A nigger must be lynched now and then to keep him in his place!"

Outside of the Black Belt, the Negro is a labor competitor of the poor white and is used by the ruling class of the South as labor tool against the latter whose economic conditions are expressed in the vicious manner in which Negroes are lynched by the poor whites.

In the Black Belt lynchings are executed with swiftness, precision and without any unnecessary display of horror. Outside this belt, lynchings afford a "Roman holiday" for the mobs and serve as a source of entertainment to enliven their drab existence and express their superiority.

The plight of the poor whites and Negroes can be traced directly to the system of exploitation and fiendish hate perpetuated by the white ruling class who profit from the ruthless exploitation of both groups.

The lecturer exposed the futility of attempting to eradicate lynching thru simply legal channels and other ineffective methods that have been proposed. He also correctly emphasized the folly of believing that lynching would ultimately die a natural death, because the number of lynchings diminish at certain periods. In a very clear and convincing manner, the lecturer illustrated that lynching can only be eradicated by the destruction of this whole damnable and vicious system of society, whose foundation is based on human exploitation and misery.

After the question period, the audience expressed its profound appreciation for the splendid lecture given by Comrade Spear, highly complimented him for the manner in which he had outlined his topic and pledged to assist the Scottsboro Boys Club in eradicating all forms of exploitation and discrimination.

THE MARXISM OF SIDNEY HOOK

(Continued from Page 4)

but depends entirely upon its direction." This, I think, is correct. Hook's position is not that. He says (page 8):

"To overlook this distinction and to speak of Marxism as an 'objective science, is therefore, to emasculate its class character."

On the contrary, the very class approach of Marxism is a guarantee of its objectivity.

He says further (page 106): "Marx's materialistic approach to problems of social development was always oriented with reference to his class allegiance and class revolutionary goal. That did not make his conclusions less objective but it made them partial in their bearings and implications."

These words are more than slightly ambiguous. If "partial in their bearings and implications" means less objective, the passage is clearly self-contradictory. If, as seems more likely, it means partial because of class bias, it is clearly contradictory to Hook's general position since it maintains that objectivity and class bias are not mutually incompatible. Hook can't both have his cake and eat it too!

Still more curious is the fact that the passage Hook adduces from Lenin in support of his contention of the difference between a "purely objective" analysis and a materialist-dialectical analysis,

contains the following (page 107):

"The objectivist speaks of the necessity of a determinate historical process, while the materialist makes an exact investigation of the given socio-economic complex and the antagonistic relations which it produces. The objectivist, who tries to show the necessity of a determinate series of facts, continually runs the risk of degenerating to an apologist of these facts; the materialist lays bare class oppositions upon which he proceeds to take a stand. The objectivist speaks of 'irrefragable historical tendencies'; the materialist speaks of the class which 'dominates' the given economic order and therewith calls forth determinate forms of opposition on the part of the other classes. *The materialist is therefore more consistent than the objectivist and manifests a deeper, completer objectivism.*" (Emphasis mine.—J. C.)

The class bias of the proletariat does not stand in antagonism to objective truth in a class society. On the contrary, it makes, in Lenin's words, for a "deeper, completer objectivism." Lenin's position is not Hook's. If there were any further doubt of that, compare Hook's:

"The new philosophy will triumph not because it represents objective truth but because it fulfills the needs of human beings and the social conditions which generate these needs." ("The Modern Quarterly," Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 54.)

On the other hand, in his polemic with Trotsky, Hook is ready to admit more. He says in his answer to Trotsky's letter ("The Nation", July 5, 1933):

"All of Marx's objectively true descriptions of society are relevant to his revolutionary purposes. . . . In conclusion: Marxism is a scientific method of achieving a classless society. *Its doctrines, insofar as they are verified by experience, are as objective as the propositions of any science.*"

It seems to me that this argument by quotation has established the following:

1. That there are many elements of self-contradiction in Hook's position.
2. That Hook's original contention was that class bias makes objective truth impossible.
3. That, in this book, Hook's position is not Marx's or Lenin's.
4. That, in his most recent writings, Hook has quite considerably altered his view on this head.

(Concluded in the next issue)

1 All quotations are from "Towards an Understanding of Karl Marx", unless otherwise indicated.

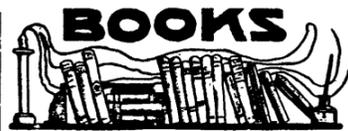
2 A clear distinction must be made between this conception and the instrumentalist attitude towards truth.

KNIT-GOODS WORKERS ON STRIKE IN NEW YORK

(Continued from Page 1)

both unions. The workers, convinced by enthusiastic strikers of the International, came over in a body to it.

The agreement grants recognition of the U.T.W. and the I.L.G.W.U. by the Association. Both unions are to organize with the same scale and working jointly until October 9, the date of expiration of the agreement. By then the A.F. of L. convention will have decided on jurisdiction in the knit-goods field. The code hearings also to open on that date and a definite scale will be presented by the International. The agreement includes the 37½ hour week and wages rises of 20% to \$35 and 10% for those from \$35 and up. This was the best possible agreement that could have been gotten under the circumstances since the season ends in two weeks. At the ratification mass meeting, Cummins, an organizer for the U.T.W., in his speech mentioned: "There is room for only one union in the knit-goods field." "And that is the International," shouted the mass of strikers as one. And they cheered for about ten minutes. With such a response and such militant enthusiasm upon the part of the strikers, it is evident that the International will win the leadership of the knit-goods workers. The need of the hour is for a fighting union with militant policies.



The book review will be found on page four—"The Marxism of Sidney Hook," by Jim Cork.—Editor.

BIG SILK STRIKE IN PATERSON

(Continued from Page 5)

strike policy of Communists? Certainly not! Communists represent and defend the interests of the working class. It is the aim of Communists to build the organizations of the workers and not to split or destroy them. The Communist Party (Opposition) appeals to the silk workers not to judge Communism by the stupidities of the National. We point rather to the example of the Communists who are members of the Communist Opposition and are actively working and leading the heroic struggle for better conditions.

Eli Keller, secretary of the national strike committee and one of the outstanding leaders of the Paterson silk workers, has tirelessly worked for the success of the strike. Together with his co-workers on the strike committee, he was instrumental in defeating the attempts of McMahon and the NRA officials to send the workers back on the basis of the five-week "truce". Even the National and the "Daily Worker" haven't dared to print a word of slander against Keller as yet. Among the dyers, Jack Rubenstein has been instrumental in directing the fight against "compromise" settlements and in developing the militancy of the strike. The constructive, fearless, militant leadership of the members of the Communist Opposition and the support and activity of every progressive and honest worker on the strike committee, have made this strike a most inspiring example to the entire working class and are responsible for the building up of a mass union of silk workers.

What Is The Outlook For The Strike?

The strikers must keep up the fight! Iron determination and no vacillations on the part of the leaders are essential! Defeat the splitters! Anyone, no matter under what guise, who attempts to split the union or the strike at this time, is helping the bosses. Only if the workers present one solid front can they win. The strike committee must be made up of every craft in the A.F.S.W. Broad-silk throwsters and dyers must be represented on one strike committee and fight for one national agreement. The building up of the American Federation of Silk Workers as a powerful, militant union of silk workers throught the country is the biggest task!

SILK STRIKE COMES TO NEW YORK

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The national silk strike has been spread to Greater New York City during the past week. All the larger silk mills in this city have been tied up by the American Federation of Silk Workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. While picketing the Culver silk mill, in Long Island City, 41 pickets, including thirty two men and nine girls, were arrested "for obstructing traffic." The riot squad came down with machine guns. In spite of this attack, the Culver silk mill was brought down in support of the strike. The next day the biggest mill in this territory, the Mallinson mill in Astoria, was taken down. In this mill, the workers are slaving at four looms for \$13 a week at a terrific speed-up. Daily meetings are being held and the workers are determined to carry on their struggle until a national settlement is secured.