

Text of the United Front Youth Pact in Belgium

Editorial Note
Below is the text of the united front pact in Belgium between the Socialist, Stalinist and our own youth organization.

1. The overwhelming preponderance of the Socialist youth organization, which is six or seven times the size of the other two organizations, determines many of the features of the pact.
2. The changing times have forced the Stalinists into a united front with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" and to sign their names to a pact calling for the right of asylum especially for comrade Trotsky.

Brussels, August 18, 1934.
1. The National Committee of the Young Socialist Guard, the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Youth and the National Leadership of the Leninist Youth (Trotskyists) declare their agreement to devote the greatest possible efforts towards the aim of achieving workers unity on the basis of revolutionary action.

2. Having come to agreement on this principle the three organizations decide to sign a pact of common action on the following bases:
a) Common action of solidarity for all the victims of international capitalist reaction, without distinction of tendencies: for the liberation of Thaelmann and Paula Wallich, symbols of the anti-fascist struggle in Germany and Austria; for the right of asylum in all capitalist countries for all the victims of international capitalist reaction, and above all, for Trotsky.

b) Struggle against repression in Belgium, for the freedom of the imprisoned militants, such as Boby, Beelen, and all workers persecuted for their participation in strikes.

3—Against all steps tending towards dictatorial measures taken in 1933, against the unemployed youth.

4—Against all decrees that may have their origin in these dictatorial measures.

5—Against all projects directed towards eventual prohibition of organizations such as the Young Socialist Guard, the Communist Youth, and the Trotskyist Youth.

6—Against the dissolution of Labor Defense organizations.

For the active defense of all liberties and reforms that have been won by the working class.
d) Struggle against war, in concert with common action within the army.

e) Active organization of the defense of the Socialist Soviet Republics, without thereby meaning the elimination of the freedom of criticism, independent of the common action, with regard to the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. This reservation is made by the Young Socialist Guard and the Trotskyist Youth.

3. This campaign will be carried out by means of monster common demonstrations followed by meetings in a series of important localities, to be indicated in the appendix to this pact.

If in the course of the joint action, the members of one or another organization, clash with fascist opponents, the militants of the other organizations will be under obligation to lend them the most decided assistance.

4. The three organizations consider it logical and elementary to solemnly promise to establish a truce in their quarrels and cease reciprocal attacks in the course of the common action.

Each organization promises not to attempt any maneuver for the purpose of winning away adherents from one another.

It is understood that for the duration of the pact the organizations shall refrain from all insults, even outside of the joint action.

However, outside of the joint action itself, each organization reserves its complete independence for the carrying on of its doctrinal propaganda.

5. The mentioned organizations promise to condemn any weakness and passivity which may appear within their own organization in any way touching on the joint action.

A coordinating committee is established consisting of two delegates from the Communist Youth, two from the Trotskyist Youth and four from the Socialist Young Guards, for the purpose of working out joint plans and the character of the joint demonstrations. This committee will take charge of all conflicts which may arise between the contracting organizations.

In order to carry out any given action, unanimity within the committee is necessary.

The last speaker on the list in the meetings will always be a Socialist Young Guard.

—Young Socialist Guard
—Young Communist League
—Leninist Youth League

The Meaning of the Textile Strike

The powerful textile strike is stirring the ranks of labor everywhere and is bringing to its highest point the second strike wave since the inception of the New Deal. Turbulent from the start, militant in all of its aspects, this strike has rallied hundreds of thousands of new union recruits, involving gradually all branches of the industry on a national scale in the effort to put an end to the abominable slave conditions under which the textile workers toil and to establish the union as their recognized spokesman and defender.

Little effort is made by the owners of the industry to dispute the completeness of the strike or the completeness of the union action. The facts are there. The verification is contained in the solid workers' ranks.

The textile workers have made good their vote to tie-up every mill. Mass action is finding a new and splendid expression, and with military precision the "flying squadrons" are heading the battles.

Strike Will Awaken Workers
It is the greatest struggle of recent times, both from the point of view of numbers involved, large scale actions and the sacrifices it has already claimed. One of its outstanding features is the way in which it has penetrated deeply into the ranks of the new proletarian recruits in the industrial south.

Unquestionably this strike will go a long way towards the further awakening of the American workers and begin to instill into their minds the feeling of a class.

Posed as a strong motive force in this strike stands the economic background of the textile workers. Wages in many mills range below a ten dollars weekly rate. Added to this is the abominable stretch-out system by which the combination of machinery improvements and intensified speed-up saps the physical strength of the workers beyond human endurance.

Compared to this kind of a wage rate, statistics by the U. S. government inform us laconically that the "average housekeeper is now paying 23 1/2 per cent more to the grocer and butcher than she paid in April of last year." It is no wonder that labor is stirring everywhere. There will be more and greater struggles in the near future.

Union Organization Is Issue

However, above all others is posed the question of union organization. That is the main issue. The first strike wave at the inception of the New Deal struck with a sudden force and in many respects the employers and the reactionary trade union officials alike were taken aback. To the equal surprise in both of these camps the workers took the collective bargaining promise seriously and streamed into the union ranks. Once inside they began to insist on fulfillment of the promise and, as it appeared, the surprise found the employers not yet fully prepared to resist.

Now matters are different insofar as the employers are concerned. They are now not only prepared for the stiffest resistance to further union advance, but they are determined to make a head-on fight. That fact has been particularly well illustrated in the strikes

of Toledo, San Francisco and Minneapolis.

Company unions are instituted by sheer coercion. Federal and state authorities are working with police and military force. Red baiting campaigns are followed up with the organization of special vigilantes. These are the first conditions met by practically every strike today. But the employers have only begun their attacks. A much more intensified campaign to head off the growth of unionism can be expected. For them it is a matter of restoring profits at the expense of the workers. Naturally they are also out to bring all possible pressure to bear upon their agents within labor's ranks and they are beginning to force their hands.

Officials Under Pressure

These reactionary trade union officials are still in a dilemma, feeling the pressure from below of the forward moving ranks, fearing that unless the trade unions can measure up to what all the new recruits expect from them new leadership will arise inside the unions or new unions will emerge. On the other side there is the pressure from the employers and their government. Which side they will heed has already been made abundantly clear. The decision of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to start a campaign against the "reds" in the unions only foreshadows the new forms of combination of employers and the reactionary trade union officials under these new conditions. Every militant worker will be labelled "red" in justification for the crushing of strike movements. The textile workers will not at all be immune from such attacks.

The United Textile Workers Union is itself a picture of the recent trade union evolution. Formerly there were several unions in the industry, and not so very long ago it could be said that they were all equally impotent and discredited. All of them were not much more than shells of organizations.

N.T.W.—A Name of the Past

In 1929 the National Textile Workers Union, which now has nothing but its name left, led the turbulent strike in Gastonia. That was the time when the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain featured its famous editorial addressed to the A. F. of L. convention calling its leaders swivel chair artists who were sitting comfortable in their luxurious offices while it was left to the Communists to do the job in the south. It was a command to the A. F. of L. to get busy and organize the workers lest other, and the most feared forces, would do it. In this instance, however, as in so many others, the Stalinists, waving the banner of Communism, proved themselves equally incapable of the task.

But the A. F. of L. did not get busy. Even the opportunity and stimulus given by the NRA collective bargaining clause failed to galvanize it into action. Yet the workers by the hundreds of thousands fell into the lap of its unions where they had to be accepted on the penalty of other, more aggressive and more militant forces doing the job. Today we witness the anomaly which is not uncommon for many of the A. F. of L.

unions, that the formerly so decrepit U.T.W. has actually united within its ranks the majority of the workers of the industry in the country. It would be preposterous indeed should the employers wheel into motion also in this instance their celebrated proposal for an election amongst these workers as to choice of who and which organization is to represent them. The union represents the masses of the workers in the industry. Living, dynamic proof of that is given in this strike. For the American working class as a whole this one example—and we repeat, it is not uncommon among the A. F. of L. unions—signifies enormous progress.

Mass Unions Beginning

While the American working class is as yet far from being really organized it is clear where the beginnings of mass unions are today. The workers are joining the American Federation of Labor. Its new recruits can be expected to continue to give a good account of themselves, not merely in the strikes they engage in, in the fights for the establishment of mass unions, but also insofar as the future policy and direction of the unions are concerned. They will have something to say about the campaign against the "reds" and take a hand in the defense of the unions against all attacks.

The issue of the defense of the unions and the building and extension of the unions is now paramount. The struggle for its realization reaches ever higher levels. During this short span, through the first and the second strike wave, after the beginning of the New Deal the history of union organization is written in blood. Every strike has been turbulent, but it must also be said that every strike has brought forward constantly more magnificent examples of working class solidarity and militancy. Every strike has brought forward new proofs of working class vitality and of ingenuity in devising ways and methods of meeting the violent onslaughts by the forces of the employers and their government. They will in time also bring forward proof of the working class ability to circumvent the scheming and cunning of the reactionary bureaucrats.

New Period Opening

Without doubt we have entered a period in this country of awakening of new working class strata. That is the period when the militants forge ahead to lead the movements, to put their slogans and ideas to the test in the fire of struggle. Out of every experience it is possible to record lessons which can mean positive gains for the struggles to come.

The American working class may thus be able to learn and to assimilate in abridged form the revolutionary lessons that elsewhere stretched over a protracted period of time. The strikes of today all carry their important preliminary lessons. The Minneapolis strike, especially in view of its victory won despite almost superhuman obstacles, can serve as a great teacher in this present stage. Tactics and strategy of strikes should therefore be given a particularly attentive study by the militants. —ARNE SWABECK.

Bill Green Gets Radical; The Old Game-New Cards

With 20,000,000 people of the working classes poverty stricken, wards of the government and labor on the march in textiles and elsewhere, William Green is constrained to be radical in his Labor Day utterances.

"Shall we," declares Mr. Green, "plan for future production of abundance for all, or shall we try to curb mass production into scarcity channels with luxury for the few and poverty for the many?"

Put a pin there! as Daniel De Leon was wont to say. Capitalist waste or Socialist planning. But that's not the way the Baptist president looks at the problem.

The facts he recognizes. The present system is outmoded. It was built for the handicraft and

not the machine age. This results in a few millionaires and millions of paupers. Every year sees an increase in this inequality. Output per worker increased 4 percent every year, prosperity or depression, and yet incomes to parasites increased 66 percent while incomes to producers (workers) but 5 percent. During the acute years of the crisis (1929-1932) workers' income dropped 58 percent and bosses' increment only 29 percent.

Frog Him Who Hath Not Shall Be Taken

In simple English: the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. The harder the worker slaves, the more profits he makes for the boss. The nearer he gets to the poor house and Potters Field, remember what they told you in school: work hard, don't drink, gamble or play and someday you'll be rich as Rockefeller. Tell that to the marines!

In 1929 everyone but a handful thought that things were swell—hunky-dory. Today anywhere you go you'll find people saying, something's wrong and something has to be done about it. But what? A nut plan like Sinclair's which combines the New Deal with a watered-out Socialism? Or Bill Green's proposal, which is no proposal at all? Green is a weather vane, sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left, but sticking to the capitalist system all the time. It's treating him pretty well.

The solution is simple says Green. All you have to do is "to increase the amount of national income going into wages and small salaries so as to maintain a balance between production and consumption that will use products and services for a higher standard of living; and legal and economic institutions that recognize and protect the interests of producing workers equally with the owners of these products and other property."

There's a Catch to It

Sounds good, doesn't it? But there's a joker in the deck. Labor and capital cannot live together peacefully or be protected equally. Judging by the way the bosses club and murder workers to keep them from getting a ten cents increase in wages it seems they wouldn't be very much in agreement with this plan. Every penny the boss makes comes out of the workers' hide. Every wage increase comes out of the bosses' profits. When new machinery is installed less skill is required, less labor power is used and therefore lower wages are paid.

Now, Green wants economic institutions to protect "producers" and "property owners". What he really means is: Throw the slaves another crumb because they're becoming too dissatisfied. The partnership of labor and capital won't work this time, Mr. Green. The workers are in a fighting mood and so are the bosses. Look out! or you'll be swept aside in the rush together with your friends, the parasites.

Textile Strike Sweeps Nation

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Upstate New York has fallen before the march of the workers. New Jersey and Connecticut are overwhelmingly won. Massachusetts textile industry is already in the hands of the strikers. Lawrence, once the center of militant union activity, is bound to follow.

The bloodiest battlefield is the South, where the manufacturers resort naturally to murder in defense of their divine right to coolie labor, stretch-outs and preferential wage scales.

U. P. dispatches report that in Greenville, S.C., scabs are carrying firearms to their looms "despite statutes prohibiting such practice. Authorities looked the other way." The same dispatch states that militia companies were "instructed to shoot to kill."

It was the armed scabs who shot and killed the six unarmed strikers at Homea Path, and seriously wounded scores, while the authorities "looked the other way."

The boss-owned militia and police accounted for the other fatalities, with more cold-blooded shooting down of workers everywhere threatened.

South Takes the Lead

Yet it is in the bloody South that the workers have been most militant, defying the militia and the police, and forcing nearly three-fourths of all the mills to close. Virginia, whose 20,000 textile workers are unorganized, has stationed armed patrols at the North Carolina borderline in anticipation of the "raids" of the Flying Picket Squads that have been sweeping the South.

Into this tense situation has now arrived President Roosevelt's milk and water inquiry board, which has authority to investigate and advise, but not to arbitrate. Governor John G. Winant of New Hampshire, chairman of the board, is one of the 129 millionaires in his native state, and has himself called out strike-breaking troops in labor troubles there. The two other members, Raymond Ingersoll, Borough President of Brooklyn, and Marion Smith, attorney of Atlanta, Ga., are nonentities.

Nothing is expected to result from this board of inquiry, and nothing will result. When the workers reach the top peak of their power, when the textile industry is crippled, arms, legs and body, then and only then will this or some other board be authorized to act, to cheat the workers out of gains that their power has wrested from the bosses.

Green and Woll Bide Their Time

Then, too, the American Federation of Labor heads, Messrs. Green and Woll, may be expected to appear upon a scene they have conspicuously avoided up till now. Hitherto they have been content to issue statements from afar, attacking left wing influence in the textile unions, frowning upon suggestions of strike support from other A. F. of L. unions to the striking textile workers.

These "leaders", weak in battle, strong in "negotiations" (read betrayal) will then offer their services as peace-makers, after the battle has been won without their aid.

Fortunately, the workers in the textile industry show every sign of fighting to the finish. The strike has revealed to them their own strength, and they will not be easily cheated out of victory.

Meanwhile, the American Federation of Silk Workers, the weaving section of the industry, has joined in the nationwide textile strike. Latest developments are that 15,000 silk dyers in the Paterson, N. J. area are to join the strike, insuring its success in that area, which is the center of the silk industry.

Strike leaders also expect 100,000 hosiery workers to join the strike. The executive board of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers is in session on the question as this goes to press.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has already voted to strike October 1, unless the employers agree to President Roosevelt's "sop order" reducing the work hours from 40 to 36 hours a week.

The I.L.G.W.U. has also voted financial support of the textile strike to the extent of \$100,000, it was unofficially reported.

The First Thousand Years Are Hardest

Some months ago, Hitler, forsaking for the moment his role as political leader, and donning the mantle of the prophet, predicted that National Socialism would rule Germany for the next thousand years.

Immediately things began to happen. Certain of his restless followers took alarm at the prospect and instituted a revolt that was drowned in blood. And the opposition, having almost certain exposure and the consequent prison camp torture, registered 4,000,000 votes against Hitler as President.

Daily Hitler's tenure in office grows less secure. The opposition mounts and grows bolder. German industrialists pant after war, but dare not drink—the water, they well know, is poisoned. Their economic crisis deepens, German workers are driven further to hunger and desperation, Austria is lost for the time being, and the Saar shows strange reluctance to tie up with the Nazi millennium.

Hitler clings desperately to the tiger's tail, and dares not let go for a moment. Whirled and buffeted, he cries out again, even as he spins dizzily:

"There will not be another revolution in Germany for a thousand years."

But now he is neither political leader nor prophet. He has reverted to his earlier role of comedian. For Hitler stands today exposed before the world as a stooge with a trick mousethatche. Gone is the last ounce of bluster, the threats to finance capital, the promise of national socialism.

"The promise of National Socialism has been fulfilled," he says obediently; this moutebank, who, with the cruelty that comes from the most abject cowardice condemned to slaughter his nearest, his dearest followers, so that at least his own life might be spared. For Hitler lives today by the sufferance of the German industrialists, who may tomorrow abandon him to the enraptured people, in order that they, in turn, might be spared. Let them but draw off the Reichswehr and Hitler's own cheated following would rend him limb from limb.

"National Socialism will endure for 1,000 years." It must already seem like a thousand years to the German people. In this sense, perhaps, Hitler's prophecy may indeed be fulfilled.

Major Angas Here With Big "Boom"

(Continued from Page 1)

their investments and their loans to industry.

Is that what is ailing the country, and causing the mass unemployment and the mass misery and poverty? Oh no! The American banks have been in marvelously liquid condition for months; they have had their coffers stuffed with gold. They did not extend loans, because there was no demand for commodities, and there was no demand for commodities because the mass of workers and farmers could not afford to buy.

That will work out all right, Major Angas assures us in effect. The PWA will take care of that; bankers will be induced to lend, business will increase, securities will rise. This will make "people feel richer on paper (Let the Major try feeding his family on paper!)—and therefore more willing to spend their surplus bank balances."

"Richer"—How? Whom? The language here is a bit impressive, but the question arises, just what is the Major talking about? People will "feel richer" and so will spend more? What "people" is the Major talking about; the workers? How will the workers grow richer when food prices are rising and all other necessary commodities are rising, and the miserable wages that have been guaranteed them by "law" are chinked under by the steel barons and the cotton kings: when they are constantly being displaced by machines and "efficiency methods"?

Is the Major perhaps thinking of the bankers, the industrialists, the wealthy widows and orphans who clip coupons? These "people" are spending all they will ever spend, and the more money they gain, the more will be reinvested into industry, and a further profit out of the American workers will be demanded.

No! The World-Telegram has missed its mark this time. The American workers are beginning to realize that if their necks are still sore from looking around the corner, they will die of starvation and disease if they wait for the "American Boom".

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT
Bound volumes of the Militant for the year 1933 can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10 St., New York City at the phenomenally low price of \$1.50 per copy.

An Interview with the Managing Editor of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers' Strike Bulletin

In an interview given to the Militant on his arrival in New York City, Herbert Solow, journalist, and managing editor of the Minneapolis Organizer, daily strike bulletin of Local 574, characterized the outcome of the drivers' strike as "a signal victory which should serve as an inspiration to every union in the country."

"Still nursing the wounds of the May strike," said Solow, "the union was forced into another struggle in July to fight for its very existence. The bosses were out to smash 574 as the first step in a general union busting drive. Their attitude on the questions of arbitration and the right of the union to represent inside workers was calculated to force a strike in which they hoped to destroy the foremost union of the city."

Says Union Won on Main Issues

The strike editor stated that the union, by getting a settlement which sets a minimum wage with arbitration possible only in an upward direction, and which recognizes the right of the union to represent market inside workers, won on the issues on which the strike was forced.

"This is not the full extent of the victory, however," said Solow. "In the middle of the strike the bosses extended their offensive. They swore on a stack of bibles that they would never settle with the union on any terms as long as its leadership included Trotskyists. They also vowed never to rehire anybody charged with violence—and that meant a couple of hundred of the best union men."

"On both these issues, for the advertising of which the employers spent thousands of dollars in their press and for radio time, the bosses have taken a thorough beating." Asked for a forecast of the outcome of the elections, Solow stated that "the union has nothing to worry about". He derided reports in the boss press that the first elec-

Sinclair Finds His Mentor in F.D.R.

Sinclair had a parley with Roosevelt and discovered there isn't a new trick in the deck. "I found that after talking with Mr. Roosevelt, that I didn't have as many original ideas as I thought I had."

So don't waste your time pondering over E.P.I.C. It's just the California version of the Raw Deal, a little sugar-coated, but its made of the same rotten stuff inside.

Like any ordinary valet, Sinclair went ga-ga when that coming politician, Jim Farley patted him on the back. "Call me Jim." "Jim" cut the wages of the Postal employees but he gave Sinclair a glad hand so he says, "I like him very much".

Roosevelt can break strikes, keep wages at the minimum and profits at the maximum but for Sinclair who declares "I am a Democrat, and not a Socialist" that is a sign that Roosevelt can run the country and Sinclair can "sleep like a baby".

Any man that can sleep like a baby while policies are being pursued that lead to the murder of striking workers and starvation for millions won't be very helpful to the working class whatever his schemes may be.

All we know about the conversation between Roosevelt and Sinclair is what Sinclair tells us in his interview. He says he came to the President to solicit aid for his "self-help", barter plan; to get funds from Hopkins to institute a primitive system in California.

Behind closed doors, the vegetarian-patriot-mental-healing quack must have told the grinning messiah that he would do anything to get national support so he can "run" California like Roosevelt is "running" the country. "Run" it to the dogs as far as the workers are concerned.

WAR AND FOURTH INTERN'L In Russian

A Russian edition of this pamphlet will soon be off the press and available for all who speak the language. Watch the Militant for further announcements on this extraordinary pamphlet.

Flying Squads

(Continued from Page 1)

sub-machine guns. A First Class Weapon
It pressed into service the automobile. How simple, and yet how effective. Concentration of forces at the right place at the right time, mobility and surprise—these important strategic elements are now made available to the workers in the class struggle for the first time.

No longer need workers present a heroic but stolid, inert and helpless mass in front of shop or factory, to be trampled by machine gun fire, or dispersed by thugs. The use of automobile picket squads has transformed all that. There is no longer one front but a thousand fronts for the bosses to guard. Hired thugs no longer suffice; hence, the increased use of State militia; and even these will prove—have proved—inadequate.

INDIAN SUMMER FESTIVAL & DANCE

SATURDAY, OCT. 20, at 8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA (Victoria Hall)
15th St. & Irving Place
Music : : Dancing
Refreshments : Entertainment
Admission 35c
Sponsors: International Workers School, 144 2nd Ave., N.Y.C.

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