

A DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNT

**THE
ADVANCE
OF THE
UNITED
FRONT**

INTRODUCTION BY ALEX BITTELMAN

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Introduction

By ALEX BITTELMAN

IT IS our purpose to review in this pamphlet our united front struggles since March, 1933. We do this in order to gain a fuller understanding of what has happened and of the tasks confronting us at present.

But, it may be asked, why only since March, 1933? The reason should be obvious. The coming of Hitler-fascism into power, and the subsequent growth of fascization all over the imperialist world, have brought about "big changes in the working class and in the labor movement" (O. Piatnitsky, "Problems of the International Trade Union Movement", *The Communist International*, Vol. XI, No. 22, Nov. 20, 1934, p. 758). Comrade Piatnitsky finds a double process taking place "after the temporary defeat of the German working class in January, 1933, and the breakdown of German Social-Democracy, and in particular after the February events in 1934 in Austria" (*Ibid.*, p. 758.)

What is the nature of this double process? "... not only was there disillusionment at the reformist policy and in some places desertion from the Social-Democratic Party, but the more class conscious section of the workers in the reformist unions also displayed a growing desire for the united front, for organizational unity and, in certain places a desire for joining the Communists." (*Ibid.*, p. 759.) This double process is taking place everywhere in the imperialist and colonial world, but is developing unevenly, taking on especially rapid tempos in countries where the general crisis of capitalism is deepest, such as Germany, Austria, etc. Moreover, "these changes in the working class and in the labor movement are taking place in circumstances of profound economic crisis, when the crisis of capitalism is sharpening" (*Ibid.*, p. 759). It is this fact which gives the present urge of the masses towards unity of action its peculiar characteristics

in distinction from the similar mass urge in 1918-1920. In what way?

In 1918-1920, the social-democratic and trade union leaders, while ruthlessly suppressing the revolutionary movement (Germany, Austria, etc.), were still able to hold out before the workers the promise of various reforms in which the masses felt interested. This enabled Social-Democracy to maneuver in order to check the mass urge towards the united front. At the present time the reformist leaders are in no such position to maneuver. They can offer the workers nothing because the chief policy of the bourgeoisie everywhere is to get out of the crisis at the expense of the workers. And in this the reformist leaders support the bourgeoisie. Naturally, in a country like the United States, where the maneuvering powers of the capitalists are still considerable and are larger than those of the capitalists of other countries, the reformist leaders here have also larger maneuvering possibilities than have their German or Austrian brethren. But in the U.S. also these maneuvering possibilities—the offer of reforms—are constantly narrowing down, due to the deepening crisis and sharpening class struggle. The consequence is that the reformist leaders find it ever more difficult to check the mass urge of the American workers (and other toilers) towards the united front for which the Communist Party is fighting.

The Communists have always advocated and fought for the united front, the unity of action of all workers, regardless of political affiliation, against the common enemy. The very rise of the Communist International, and of Communist Sections all over the world, was directed towards the unification of the working class split by imperialism and Social-Democracy. What has been happening since March, 1933, was that the workers in the reformist organizations and the unorganized have also begun to see the vital need of the united front. And it is this that created the necessity for the Communist Parties to make special efforts to bring about such united fronts. The united front has become more possible, more realizable.

It was in response to these changes in the situation that the Communist International issued (March, 1933) the now famous appeal

to the workers of all countries for the organization of the united front. In this appeal the Executive Committee of the Communist International recommended to the Communist Parties of the various countries "to approach the Central Committees of the Social-Democratic Parties belonging to the Labor and Socialist International with proposals regarding joint actions against Fascism and against the capitalist offensive". This appeal of the Communist International was published in the *Daily Worker* on March 18, 1933, accompanied by a statement of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., saying that it "fully agrees with the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for achieving the unity of the workers in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascism". It further stated that "the Political Bureau of the Party will, during the next few days, make public concrete proposals for the realization of such united action of all workers" and that "these proposals will be made specifically to the Socialist Party, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the American Federation of Labor". These proposals were made public in a statement by the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., published in the *Daily Worker*, March 30, 1933.

This statement said: "The need for working class unity was never before more urgent than at the present time. Only through a solid fighting unity of the masses can the living standards of the toilers be maintained, can the attempts to lower these standards be defeated, and the mass resistance to fascism and the increasing war danger be developed". It was at the time when the New Deal was coming into existence and at the lowest point of the economic crisis. The Communist Party, proceeding from its Leninist analysis of the New Deal as a sharper turn of the American bourgeoisie towards fascization and war, in contradistinction to the Socialist Party analysis of the New Deal as "a step to socialism" (Thomas), in the statement of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., proposed a program of united front struggle to meet the oncoming capitalist offensive.

Specifically the Communist Party proposed to the Socialist Party (and to the A. F. of L. and to the Muste group) to join in a united

front to fight jointly for the following demands of the American masses:

"1. Against Roosevelt's hunger and war program; against forced labor, against wage cuts; for increased wages to meet rising prices; for adequate relief to the unemployed without discrimination against Negroes or foreign-born; for shorter hours without reduction in pay; and for relief for the small farmers.

"2. For federal unemployment insurance; against the proposed unemployed 'reserve' bills.

"3. For the workers' rights, for the release of Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, and all political prisoners; against police terror, against deportations, and against injunctions in labor disputes.

"4. Against fascist terror and anti-Semitism in Germany; for the release of Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascist fighters; for material support to the revolutionary movement of Germany.

"5. For the immediate withdrawal of the Japanese forces from China, for the defense of the Chinese people, for the stopping of munition shipments to Japan; against the imperialist war policy of Wall Street, particularly now in the Far East and in Latin America.

"6. For the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States; against imperialist attacks on the Soviet Union."

It will be recalled that the united front appeal of the Communist International, and the subsequent proposals of our Party to the Socialist Party (March 30), had made a deep impression upon large numbers of Socialist workers and others. The urge of the workers in the reformist organizations towards a united front with the Communist Party had received a powerful impetus. Moreover, some of the more conscious and advanced Socialist workers began to come into the Communist Party (California, etc.). But the leadership, on the other hand, started a series of maneuvers. While the National Executive Committee kept silent on the matter, the *New Leader* (issues of March 11 and 18) was giving the "line", but not without hesitation and uncertainty. On March 11, the *New Leader* wanted to hope (!) that the Comintern proposal was "genuine" and that "it will lead to fruitful cooperation", between the two Internationals; on the question of united action between the Communist and Socialist Parties in the United States—not a word. But this question could not be evaded for long for the primary reason that the Com-

munist Party was going ahead with its appeals to the masses from below, calling for united action on such issues as unemployment insurance and relief, the fight for the release of Tom Mooney, etc.—issues that found sympathetic response among the Socialist rank and file.

Hence we find, in the *New Leader* of March 18, a resolution of the New York Executive Committee of the S.P. which undertakes to block immediate united front actions in the United States. This was the resolution of the Right wing (the New York group), and in it one thing stands out definitely: *instead of* a united front with the Communist Party, Waldman & Co., propose a “united front” with the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. The resolution calls it “a real united front with the organized American workers”. As for the Second International, the resolution does not even promise to wait for or be bound by its decisions. It attacks the “insincerity” of the Communists and orders “all comrades, branches and affiliated organizations, to refrain from joining any so-called ‘United Front’ conferences with Communists”. But under the growing pressure from below, the City Executive Committee of the S.P. of New York (the Right wing which still dominated the N.E.C.) feels compelled to execute a little “strategic retreat”. It adopts a resolution (March 22) saying: “The City Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, having before it a letter sent to Socialist Party *branches* by the Communist Party for a united front, calls the attention of the party members to the fact that a real united front is possible *only on an international and national basis*” (*New Leader*, March 25. Our emphasis). The maneuver is transparent. Having failed to check the urge for the united front on the part of the S.P. rank and file, stimulated by the activities of the Communists from below, the Waldman group felt compelled to “promise” a united front “on an international and national basis”. This they could easily afford, for the reason that they still controlled the N.E.C., and could block the thing there; and internationally they could “promise” many things without exposing themselves too directly.

Norman Thomas, who was repeatedly declaring himself in favor of the united front *in words*, was adopting the position of the Right

wing *in deeds*. Simultaneously with the above resolution, Thomas publishes a small item on the united front (*New Leader*, March 25) saying: "The best way to get a united front is through negotiations between the Internationals of the workers". Compare this with what the same Thomas wrote a little while earlier: "I should favor making some try at it (the united front) in America *without waiting for the loosely knit Second International to act*" ("The Choice Before Us". Our emphasis). However, the pressure from below continues to grow, and this finds a certain reflection, very much distorted and incomplete, at the City Convention of the S.P. (N.Y.) held on April 1. A strong minority challenges the anti-united front resolution of the City Executive, but, unfortunately, this minority finds no better leadership than J. B. Matthews, and its effectiveness, therefore, is considerably diminished. Nevertheless it suffices to make the Right wing "promise" a national and international united front—but not in New York; and it also suffices to make Thomas write a little longer item on the united front, expressing himself generally in favor of negotiations between the two parties as well as between various locals of the two parties—Communist and Socialist. Incidentally, Norman Thomas was then still in the *minority* in the N.E.C., fighting for a majority, and preparing for this fight at the forthcoming Detroit Convention of the S.P.

And what did Thomas write on April 15? He said: "In the meantime experiments on the united front for particular objects should be carefully considered by Socialist local and state organizations, and the results of such experiments reported to the Party. I for one favor the immediate creation of a sub-committee of the National Executive Committee to meet a similar Committee of the Communists to explore possibilities for common action". (*New Leader*.) This is how Thomas tipped his hat to the Leftward moving rank and file. But, at the same time, he finds it necessary to reassure also the Right wing. He therefore continued: "I repeat that the basis of common action is good faith and although our Communist friends [!] have made some improvement in their attitude lately, neither the form of their invitation nor their accompanying action give one all the assurances [!] that ought to be desired and good

faith." (*Ibid.*) Thomas says here in effect to the Right wing: now, don't become frightened at my seemingly favorable attitude to the united front. Look how many loopholes I have left for us to crawl out from under in case of need. But Thomas goes even further. He says: "Meanwhile from a purely practical point of view we must not forget that the problems of a united front against Fascism tactically involve at least as much our relations with workers [!] *to the right of us* as to the Communists to the left of us. The times call for all the wisdom we have." (*Ibid.* Our emphasis.) In saying this, which is tantamount to partial endorsement of the Right wing position of "instead of a united front with the Communists, a combination with the reactionary A. F. of L. bureaucracy", Thomas has half capitulated to Waldman & Co. Nevertheless, Thomas did make a certain move favorable to the united front. At the April, 1933, meeting of the N.E.C. of the S.P. he voted for a motion (proposed by Krzycki) "providing for a committee to meet a committee of the Communist Party to discuss united action". (*New Leader*, April 22, 1933.) The motion was defeated by a vote of 6 to 5.

However, the reasons given by Thomas in favor of the motion were very curious. We quote from the *New Leader*: "Comrade Thomas wrote that he 'could not too strongly urge the adoption of this proposal'. He declared his belief that the party may be harmed if '*we can be made to appear to be blocking any kind of united action*', but he was skeptical whether 'the Communists will undertake united action on honorable terms'. *For the sake of our own members and especially the younger people* 'it must be made obvious that it is they (Communists) who sabotage the united front, not we who disdainfully reject it'." (*Ibid.* Our emphasis.) Talking about the united front being a maneuver, and about "good faith", etc—is there anything more clearly in the nature of a maneuver than the above argumentation of Thomas "in favor" of the united front?

The significance of all this intensified maneuvering lies in this: it shows the growing effectiveness of the Communist Party's struggle basically for the united front *from below* carried on *simultaneously* with the proposals for a united front also from above. In fact,

there would be very little hope of ever securing a united front from above if there were not a growing movement in the reformist organizations from below. The united front in France between the Socialist and Communist Parties resulted precisely from a successful fight by the Communists for the united front from below. The truth of this is demonstrated graphically, almost statistically, by the maneuvers of Thomas himself. See: May First, 1933, was organized by the Communist Party on a relatively broad united front platform, with special appeals to the Socialist Party and its organizations to join in this united front. This was largely successful in many places, notably in New York, several places in Connecticut, etc. Thomas sees this urge from below and hastens to write the following: "This makes me renew my proposal that our National Executive Committee should appoint a sub-committee to deal with the Communists on the whole matter. *We cannot afford to be out-manuevered and made to appear in the role of those who reject offers of a united front.*" (*New Leader*, May 6, 1933. Our emphasis.) This is how the united front from below helps to bring about the united front from above which the N.E.C. of the S.P. now controlled by Thomas, still continues to evade.

A milestone in the united front developments in the United States were the February, 1934, events in Austria. The Communist Party of the United States can proudly point to the fact that it boldly came forward with the slogan of the united front to embrace and organize the powerful wave of class solidarity of the American workers in support of their Austrian brothers, in support of their armed struggle against the advance of fascism. Nor was the Communist Party slow in pointing out to the American workers, especially those in the reformist organizations, the treacherous role of Austro-Marxism (the then "Left" of the Second International) and its complete bankruptcy. But the Socialist Party, as a party, *did not respond* to the united front offers of the Communist Party, not even at the time when it meant defending the lives of Austrian Socialist workers, fighting hand in hand with the Communists, from the vengeance of the Dollfuss government. The Socialist Party permitted its Right wing to dictate the policy of the party with the

result that, instead of uniting with the Communists, the New York organization combined with Matthew Woll, the blackest of the black (and with LaGuardia) to fight—fascism; in reality to fight the Communists and the truly Left elements in the Socialist Party itself. It was a deliberate provocation by the panic-stricken Right wing to check the powerful mass urge for the united front, even at the cost of bloodshed. And in this, unfortunately, the Right wing has *partly* succeeded; but, fortunately, *only for a very short time*. But what did Thomas do? As usual, a mild word of reproach for Woll and the Right wing provocateurs but sharp censure for the Communists and more “skepticism” on the possibility of the united front. And this was exactly what Waldman & Co. needed of Thomas at the time. Yet, despite the provocative tactics of the Right, which was preparing a regular crusade against the Communists following the Madison Square Garden meeting (a crusade which collapsed as quickly as it rose); and despite the waverings of Thomas; and also despite the “retreat” from the united front of J. B. Matthews, a leader of the “more Left” R.P.C.; the mass urge for the united front began to reassert itself with even greater force and more consciousness. And this was the reason why the overwhelming majority of the delegates at the Detroit Convention of the S.P. (May, 1934) were against the Right wing. It was on the wave of this urge for the united front and for action against fascization and war in the Socialist Party ranks that Thomas secured his majority in the N.E.C. Decisive in the reassertion of this mass urge for the united front among all workers were their experiences with the New Deal, which confirmed fully the Communist Party position as against that of the Socialist Party and William Green; decisive for this urge for united action, which found a very incomplete and distorted reflection in the Detroit majority, were the unfolding class battles of the American workers against the New Deal and the active role of the Communist Party in these struggles. Remember Toledo, Minnesota, Montana, etc.

It was under these circumstances that the Central Committee of the Communist Party addressed its Open Letter “To the Members of the Socialist Party and the Delegates at its National Convention”

in Detroit. This was an offer of united front actions between the two parties, for a set of demands which wide masses of workers had endorsed and were fighting for on the picket lines, in unemployed demonstrations, in their unions, etc. Among the proposals were: (1) For wage increases "to overcome the declining standard of living brought about by the Roosevelt 'New Deal'", for the shortening of the work week, against company unionism, for strike struggles to win the above demands, for a joint struggle in the unions against the treacherous policies of Green & Co. (2) For the enactment of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598). (3) For the Farmers Emergency Relief Bill. (4) For the Bill for Negro Rights and to Suppress Lynching. (5) For a united struggle against war and fascism "along the lines of the program of the American League Against War and Fascism". (6) "For the broadest possible united action in localities, in the factories and trade unions on every question affecting the workers and toiling masses, to win better working conditions, relief for the unemployed, etc., and to build and unify the existing mass organizations of the working class." (*Daily Worker*, May 26, 1934.)

The Detroit Convention did not reject this offer; it couldn't be done in the face of the united front urge from below. Besides, it is safe to assume that a considerable number of delegates were themselves sincerely in favor of the united front. But they let themselves be overpowered and outmaneuvered by Thomas and some of the weak-kneed leaders of the R.P.C., who themselves were terrorized by the Right wing and frightened at their own victory. Result: the Communist Party offer was referred to the incoming N.E.C. for action. It is quite likely that many of the sincere adherents of the united front among the delegates in Detroit let themselves be persuaded that the N.E.C., in which Thomas had a majority, would certainly act favorably on the Communist proposals. Now, however, they know better. Nearly six months have passed but the Thomas' N.E.C. has not yet come around to act favorably on the united front with the Communist Party. At the same time, the movement for the united front has been making steady headway among the ranks and local organizations of the Socialist Party.

The Communist Party had no intention of letting the matter rest quietly in the archives of the N.E.C. of the S.P. Our Party, through the *Daily Worker* and otherwise, proceeded to agitate and fight for immediate united front actions with various locals and branches of the S.P., but, for a while, not systematically and stubbornly enough. Our Party membership and local organizations were not quick enough to realize that it is the branches and locals of the Socialist Party, especially those of working class composition, that we must try to win for immediate common actions on a local scale: C.P. unit and S.P. branch; C.P. section and S.P. local; Communists and Socialists in the trade unions, in the various unemployed movements, etc. This is what will produce the united front from above, just as it is already producing, on a small scale as yet, the united front from below. It should also be said, by way of self-criticism, that the lack of a *more direct* approach of our Party to the genuinely Left delegates at the Detroit Convention of the S.P. couldn't but give the impression of a certain aloofness from and insufficiently intimate interest in the outcome of the Detroit Convention on our part. Certainly, we do not want to give any such impressions. The further spread and deepening of the genuine Leftward movement in the S.P. expressed chiefly in its proletarian members, is of vital importance to the united front with the Socialist Party, and for this we must work more systematically and energetically than heretofore.

In preparation for August First (International Anti-War Day), the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Earl Browder, addressed himself with "A Serious Word to the Socialist Party" for joint actions. (*Daily Worker*, July 14, 1934.) It produced no official reply from the Socialist Party N.E.C. controlled by Thomas since the Detroit Convention, but it stimulated further the efforts of the S.P. rank and file to achieve such a united front. On August 17, Comrade Browder reminded Thomas again of the failure of the N.E.C. of the S.P. to act on the C.P. letter referred to the N.E.C. by the Detroit Convention and proposed an immediate preliminary discussion of the C.P. offer. This time Norman Thomas replied, saying: "I expect to take up the entire matter at the meeting of the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party over Labor Day". (*Daily*

Worker, August 25, 1934.) Thomas evades a direct answer to the proposal for preliminary discussion. At the same time, he puts forth the idea that the united front "cannot be achieved if your Party still regards it as primarily a weapon to destroy the Socialist Party or for leadership". (*Ibid.*) Comrade Browder replies to this at length, showing that "The Communist Party regards united action as primarily a weapon to protect the immediate needs of the workers and other toiling elements of the population, to defeat the attacks of the capitalists upon their living standards and civil rights, and to prepare the masses through their experiences in the struggle for the tasks involved in moving forward to greater aims. The Communist Party's attitude toward other parties and groups is determined by their contribution toward achieving these aims". (*Daily Worker*, August 25, 1934.) Comrade Browder concludes by saying: "We repeat our offer of direct conversations to this end." (*Ibid.*) This repeated offer was not accepted by the N.E.C. of the S. P.

Through the months of July and August, 1934, all of the District organizations of the Communist Party were systematically approaching the respective S.P. organizations and their branches for united front struggles on specific issues, reflected and stimulated by the *Daily Worker*. This was followed by similar activities on the part of many sections and units of the C.P. in all parts of the country. The strike wave was mounting. Soon came the maritime strike on the Pacific Coast and the General Strike of San Francisco. The Communist Party proved its leadership in these historic struggles; it proved itself the organizer of the unity of action of the masses, of the united front. The rising terror and capitalist offensive stimulated further the mass urge for united action. All these developments could not but strengthen the determination of the S.P. membership, of many of its branches and locals, to take up at once the Communist offer of united front and to begin to organize common actions. These developments begin to show themselves in New Orleans, in Southern Illinois, in various parts of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. S.P. organizations begin to endorse the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, just as Socialist workers in the unions begin to work for the endorsement of this Bill by their

unions. The demand for S.P. affiliation to the American League Against War and Fascism is growing in the S.P., with numerous S.P. members and groups proceeding to affiliate without waiting for the N.E.C. decision. This was the situation confronting the N.E.C. of the S.P. at its Labor Day meeting.

At this meeting the Communist Party had a committee, led by Comrade Minor, to make a direct offer to the N.E.C. of the S.P. for united front action. *The offer was not accepted.* But the way it was done is significant. The N.E.C., by a majority vote, approved a letter of reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in which recognition is paid to "the immense value to the labor movement of united action". Clearly, this was a result of the growing pressure from below. The N.E.C., under Thomas, simply couldn't say less and still retain its waning standing among the rank and file as a leadership "favoring" the united front, in distinction from the open enemies of the united front (Oneal, Waldman, etc.). But, having paid their respects to united action as "a principle", the letter of the N.E.C. proceeds to pile up difficulty upon difficulty on the road of the *practical realization* of this united action. Again we are given long dissertations on the need of "good faith". But hasn't Comrade Browder answered this point conclusively (letter to Thomas of August 24, 1934) when he said: "The essence of the problem of good faith and fair play can be found in determining concretely what is necessary to fully carry out a particular action"? Hasn't he shown convincingly that good faith is tested only in united action and that, on its part, "the Communist Party is prepared to demonstrate its good faith in any agreement for a united action by the only method through which good faith can be demonstrated, by *carrying through the agreed upon actions* with all of its energy"? (*Ibid.* Our emphasis.)

But to all this plain talk, understandable to every conscious worker, the N.E.C. evidently remained deaf. Moreover, it proceeded (letter of September 6, 1934) to lay the basis for another barrier to the united front between the two parties. It was done diplomatically, and in the following manner: "No united action on specific issues is possible between Socialists and Communists except on the basis which also gives hopes of ending fratricidal strife within

the trade union movement". (*Ibid.*) The Central Committee of the Communist Party hastened to secure and establish clarity on this point which, on the face of it, permits of two opposite interpretations. The letter of reply of the Communist Party (*Daily Worker*, September 15, 1934) therefore proceeds to say: "If the sentence [above quoted] is understood as a call to end fratricidal strife between Socialist and Communist members and followers in the trade unions for united action on concrete issues, then we can only give our wholehearted endorsement to such an objective. . . . But there is another possible and opposite understanding of the sentence quoted from your letter. This opposite interpretation is that to end fratricidal strife really means to end the struggle conducted by Communists and other revolutionary workers, as well as broad circles of non-party workers, against the policies of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and its constituent international unions." The Communist Party urges the N.E.C. to explain which of the two interpretations is its own, expressing the hope that "the first, not the second, is the correct interpretation". (*Ibid.*)

The decision of the N.E.C. of the S.P., at its September meeting, was to "postpone consideration of further negotiations between our two parties until our next meeting about Dec. 1". This meant a delay of nearly *three months*, at a time of the unfolding of one of the biggest national strikes in the country—the National Textile Strike—when the need for the utmost unity of action was most acute and the demand for it was rising from all sides among the masses. The responsibility for this lies upon the Thomas leadership of the Socialist Party. But the Communist Party position was: if you want to delay national action by the two parties, that is your responsibility; but let us have local actions between the organizations of the two parties. This the N.E.C. at its September meeting could not refuse outright, not in the face of the growing demand for it on the part of the working class membership of the S.P., and in the face of a number of S.P. locals, groups and individual members already co-operating with the Communists in united front struggles. Hence the N.E.C. decision that "we are aware that there are questions arising from time to time, mostly in the field of civil liberties,

in which it is desirable that there shall be effective local action for the defense of workers' rights". (Exchange of letters between S.P. and C.P., *Daily Worker*, September 15, 1934.)

The Communist Party reply to this was to greet such a decision. "The final paragraph in your letter opens up possibilities of local united actions, particularly in defense of workers' rights. We will do everything possible to stimulate such local actions." (*Ibid.*) And this was what the Communist Party actually did, especially in the textile centers where, at the time, the need for such actions was most acute in the face of the fascist terror and methods of civil war let loose by the New Deal against the striking textile workers. But again something happened to obstruct these local actions. And it came from the Thomas leadership of the S.P. In fact, immediately after the September N.E.C. meeting, where such fine sentiments were expressed in favor of united front local actions, Norman Thomas hastened to throw a couple of buckets of cold water upon this same proposition. He wrote, on September 8: "These arrangements emphatically do *not* include the authorization of general united front negotiations between locals and branches of the Socialist Party and Communist committees which may knock at their doors". (*New Leader*, September 8, 1934.) This, however, *did not stop* the local organizations of the Communist Party from "knocking at the doors" of the respective organizations of the Socialist Party. The most outstanding example of this is the united front offer of the Communist Party of District 16 (North and South Carolina) to the State Executive Committees of the Socialist Party of North and South Carolina and Georgia. Writing in the midst of the textile strike, the District Committee of the Communist Party, Paul Crouch, Secretary, said: "Today in the South there exists the greatest need for united action in defense of the workers' rights to organize, to strike and to picket. The splendid fight of the embattled textile strikers urgently demands united action in their behalf by developing relief, and defense. A widespread protest movement against the violence and murderous actions is an urgent necessity if the fight of the textile workers, which is the fight of all labor, is to be won." (*Daily Worker*, September 22, 1934.)

This letter has also been sent to Norman Thomas as the leader of the S.P. And what did Thomas do? Unbelievable as it may sound, he actually rejected this offer of *local actions*, under the still more unbelievable pretense that the Communist policy of exposing the treacheries of Gorman & Co. injures the textile strike. In other words, Thomas assumed the task of shielding Gorman's betrayals and of preventing the local actions in the South, and elsewhere, for which the N.E.C. has expressed a favorable attitude in its communication of September 6, 1934. Wherein does this differ from the position of the Right wing (Waldman, Solomon, etc.) in New York, which also rejected the united front offer of the District Committee of the Communist Party of District 2 in support of the textile strike? In reply to Comrade Krumbein's communication, the City Central Committee of the S.P. in New York replied that it has no need of united front action since it is already "co-operating with the union [United Textile Workers Union] and that is the best help we can render to them". But everybody knows that the S.P. leadership of New York was co-operating, not with the striking workers to win the strike, but with Gorman and Rieve (the latter a member of the S.P.) to choke the strike and to betray it. In this situation, Thomas comes along and takes a position against local united front actions in the South. So, we ask again, wherein does he differ from Waldman & Co.? He differs in this: he speaks words favorable to the united front; Waldman & Co. prefer not to use even favorable words. He voted in the N.E.C. in general favor of local united actions; the Right wing voted against it. He *shields* Gorman's treacheries; the Right wing collaborates with Gorman in perpetrating these treacheries. And when it comes to actually *doing* something on the united front, Thomas and Waldman & Co. *do the same thing*—they work against the united front. In plain words: *Thomas capitulates to the Right wing.*

This did not and could not slacken the activities of the Communist Party to extend the united front with the Socialist Party, locally and nationally. Every day brings new issues and a sharper need for such actions. For example, the need of solidarity actions with the Spanish workers. The Communist International, in an

appeal "To All Members of the Socialist International" and "To the Toilers of All Lands", "calls upon its Sections, in common with other workers' organizations, to organize demonstrations in solidarity with the Spanish working class". (*Daily Worker*, October 12, 1934.) "At the same time the Communist International turns to the workers of the Socialist International with the proposal *for immediate common actions*, as well for the support of the fighting Spanish proletariat as against the support of the Lerroux government by the governments of other capitalist countries. The Communist International instructs Comrade Cachin immediately to ascertain the attitude of representatives of the Second International on the arrangement of concrete forms and the practical carrying through of such united action." (*Ibid.*) A similar appeal was addressed by the Communist Youth International to the Socialist International of Youth.

Despite the fact that every day counted, and that not a minute could be lost in the work of bringing support to the Spanish workers (Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists), the Second International saw fit to postpone action until the middle of November, that is, to delay, on its part, the rendering of support to the Spanish workers *for a whole month*. And when it did finally take up the Comintern offer for "action", it decided to refer the matter back to the constituent parties. This is called, in plain language, passing the buck. But even this we must utilize to promote further the united front.

But what was the position of the Socialist Party of America? On October 11th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. addressed a communication to the N.E.C. of the S.P. (copy to Norman Thomas) in which it "calls upon the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to unite with us in a joint call to the American workers for a series of mass demonstrations in all important cities, under our joint auspices, to protest the bloody pogrom of Fascist-monarchist reaction in Spain and to express sympathy and solidarity with the struggling workers and peasants". (*Daily Worker*, October 11, 1934.) Comrade Browder urges, in conclusion, "immediate favorable action". (*Ibid.*) At this writing, a month later, there is as yet no sign of recognition or

answer from the N.E.C. of the S.P. The Communist Party, naturally, proceeded directly to the masses to carry out the appeal of the Communist International, though, it must be stated, insufficient efforts were made to rally the widest masses of workers, including Socialist workers, for solidarity actions with their Spanish brothers. There was to be observed a dangerous inclination to slacken direct mass work for the united front while "awaiting" the reply of the N.E.C. of the S.P. It goes without saying that nothing can be more harmful to the united front than for the Communists to relax the *direct mass appeal and organization of the united actions between Communists and Socialists and trade unions and unorganized workers.*

On the eve of the forthcoming meeting of the N.E.C. of the S.P., to be held in Boston at the beginning of December, 1934, the movement for the united front with the Communist Party in the ranks and branches of the S.P. is continually growing. Simultaneously the Right wing (Waldman & Co.) is making all preparations to split away from the S.P., fraudulently exploiting the slogan of a Labor Party for this purpose. As to the Thomas leadership, it is frantically wavering in all directions: it seeks to compete with Waldman & Co. for the "winning over" of Sell-Out-Gorman and the other N.R.A. agents in the A. F. of L.; it maneuvers desperately (by "promising" the united front) to retain its waning hold upon the genuinely Leftward moving rank and file of the S.P.; it plays with the renegades (Gitlow & Co.) and flirts with Tammany Lovestone as a "substitute" for the united front with the Communist Party; it permits itself to be terrorized by the Right wing and continues to capitulate to it. At the same time, the "Revolutionary Policy Committee" is beginning to show new signs of life. Having lain practically dormant since the Detroit Convention of the S.P. in May, during which time most of the leading elements of this "Revolutionary" Policy Committee were practically indistinguishable from Thomas & Co., especially on the question of the united front, the policy-makers are once more attempting to assert themselves as an organized group. The tempo of disintegration of the S.P. is increasing.

The most important of these developments is the growing Left-

ward move of the workers in the S.P. The adoption by the majority of the Declaration of Principles (programmatically a reformist document) which, curiously enough, did not seem to give Thomas much comfort, while imposing upon the S.P. serious obligations favorable to the united front struggle against war and fascism, reflects the Leftward development of the S.P. ranks *in a very indirect and distorted way*. A much more direct and clear reflection of this Leftward growth is to be found in the united front struggles of the Socialist workers and branches jointly with the Communist Party in such places as Trumbull County, Ohio, Bethlehem, Pa., Southern Illinois, in parts of Louisiana, Massachusetts. In these cases we deal with Socialist workers in the industries: miners, steel workers, textile workers, etc. Here is where the united front is achieved in daily struggle against the common enemy; here is where the basis is being created for the united front nationally between the Socialist and Communist parties. Next in importance, as showing the growth of the united front in action, are the widening activities of the "Committee for Socialist Action for the United Front", an outgrowth of the participation of a group of S.P. members as delegates to the Second Congress Against War and Fascism. Through this Committee, and otherwise, the movement is growing in the S.P. for affiliation to the Anti-War Congress and for a united front with the Communist Party. In the same line of developments must be placed the conversations between the Italian Bureau of the Communist Party and the Italian Federation of the Socialist Party for a united front agreement proceeding from the common actions of the Communist and Socialist Parties in Italy. And last, but by no means least, the coming together of Socialists and Communists in various localities for common struggle against unemployment and for H. R. 7598, the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill.

These are the developments on which we must center our major attention to promote further the united front.

As to the "Revolutionary Policy Committee", it is necessary to realize that, as a group, it consists of many and varied elements. Undoubtedly there are among them some that are genuinely seeking a revolutionary Socialist policy, but even those are still under the

delusion that this can be found in something which is not the program of the Communist International. In our programmatic discussions with the members of the Socialist Party, of which we have not had enough by far, it must be our task to show that a revolutionary Socialist policy is possible only on the program of the Communist International which is built upon the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. And in this connection we must also remember that discussion *alone* will not accomplish the task; for this, it is vital to combine the daily united front struggles with theoretical and programmatic clarification. In this way will the Socialist Party workers and the honestly Left elements of the R.P.C. learn from practical experience the correctness of Communist theory and program. That is why our first word to the R.P.C. must be: join us in the united front; fight in your party for winning branches and locals in favor of immediate united front actions with the Communist Party organizations; show by deeds that you are ready and willing to engage not only in verbal discussions but in actions that will build the united front and promote the revolutionary development of the American proletariat. Then our programmatic discussions, too, will become deeds that will count in a revolutionary way for the class struggle.

But the "Revolutionary Policy Committee" has also different sorts of people, elements that would seem to be more concerned with checking the drift of the Socialist Party ranks to Communism rather than with promoting *further* their radicalization and revolutionary maturity. It is the type of "Left" that serves objectively (and with some individuals also subjectively) as a screen for the Right. This we must expose. And again: by bringing forward very sharply the question of *immediate* united actions between Socialist and Communist Party organizations. This is at present the touchstone for elementary proletarian class honesty. With people who demonstrate this class honesty in deeds—in the united front—we can discuss all questions of program in a comradely way, with profit to the revolutionary movement. With those, however, who just talk (or write) about revolutionary socialism as against the program of the Comintern, while failing to move a finger to accelerate the united front between the two Parties, our talk must be different. To them we

cannot but say: gentlemen, your "Left" talk is not serious; whatever your subjective intentions may be, you are serving as a "Left" cover for the capitulators to the Right (Thomas & Co.), thus shielding the Right wing itself.

It is a bit comical to hear the R.P.C. announce the "discovery" that a united front agreement between the S.P. and the C.P. must be considered as "the first step in a process which should have as its end and objective the galvanizing of the working masses into motion, into class action" (*Revolutionary Socialist Review*, November, 1934, page 4), while at the same time taking categorical issue with the tactic of the united front from below. Did the authors of this editorial ever consider that the tactic of the united front from below aims precisely at bringing about "the galvanizing of the working masses into motion, into class action"? What else is a united front from below, if it is not a united front of the masses, regardless of their Party affiliations, for struggle against the capitalists? But there is also a serious element in this comical performance by the editors of the *R.S.R.* It is their attempt to shove to the background the need for a united front agreement nationally as well as locally *between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party*. The editors of the *R.S.R.* seemingly take it for granted that "In all probability, the next N.E.C. meeting (in December) . . . will see our party, formally, endorse the united front" (*Ibid.*), and therefore "It now becomes necessary to impress upon our party and the C.P. the narrowness of this kind of a united front if it remains confined merely to the two". (*Ibid.*) We ask: what concretely is the R.P.C. doing to make certain (or reasonably so) that the December meeting of the N.E.C. of the S.P. will endorse the united front, *not alone formally* but actually, which means the setting up by the N.E.C. of organizational guarantees that it will be carried out? Secondly, what, specifically, is the R.P.C. doing to make sure (or reasonably so) that the endorsement will be given to the united front offers of the *Communist Party*, Section of the Communist International, and not to some "substitute", that is, maneuvering with Gitlow and Lovestone? Somehow, we don't see much of the R.P.C. in the front line trenches where the battle for

these things is now taking place. Certainly, it must be agreed that the Communist Party has made its position amply clear, not by words only but by mass activities (in the San Francisco General Strike, in the National Textile Strike, in the mining industry, in steel, etc.) *that it builds the united front among the masses*, in battle, and in the unions, and that it invites the Socialist Party and its members to work *jointly* for the building of such a united front. At the same time, it has also been made amply clear that, as far as the S.P. is concerned, the Right wing is for closer combination with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the N.R.A. *versus* the united front. The Thomas leadership is waveringly but definitely capitulating to the Rights, while the working class rank and file and the honest Lefts are actually engaging in the united front with the Communist organizations to build the struggles of the masses. The question is: *where does the R.P.C. stand in this situation?* The high and lofty advice of the quoted editorial in *R.S.R.* "to both parties" to include the masses in the united front does not answer the question. For Waldman, too, claims that his unity with Gorman and the N.R.A. "includes the masses"; and it does: as an object to be betrayed. And Thomas, also, wants to include the masses, but he also wants to shield Gorman's treacheries, and he does not seem to want a united front with the Communist Party. He wants the "good" Communists—Gitlow and Lovestone. Then, again, as distinct from all these fake and anti-working class "unities", there are the growing united fronts of Communist and Socialist organizations which everywhere seek to bring in *the trade unions*, as the main objective, and the unemployed organizations, and all other mass organizations of the workers. This *is* the united front in action. Now which of these ways of bringing the masses into the united front are you for—editors of the *R.S.R.*? Don't you realize that your general phrases of "galvanizing" the working masses, when unaccompanied by a clear statement in favor of the already developing united front of the masses, and without deeds supporting this united front, can have but one effect? The effect, namely, of helping all those tendencies, in the S.P. and out, that are working against the united front with the Communist Party?

In view of the foregoing we must continue to apply the tactic of the united front, being "much more persistent, bolder, and more flexible in operating these tactics . . . fight to the utmost to spread them, . . . starting a determined offensive against Social-Democratic leaders and trade union bureaucrats who sabotage the united front of struggle" (O. Piatnitsky, "Problems of the International Trade Union Movement", *The Communist International*, Vol. XI, No. 22, Nov. 20, 1934, p. 760). This is the way to achieve the united front. We are for the united front from below as "*the fundamental form of the united front*" (*Ibid.*, p. 759). This does not exclude the application of the united front from above. The Communist Party of the U.S. has been applying the policy of both the united front from below and from above, and in doing so it was guided by the proposition that "In many cases even now it will be possible to get a united front only from below, *but there cannot be a united front which comes only from above*" (*Ibid.*, p. 759).

Now that the Second International Executive has referred the question of the United Front back to its constituent parties, the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party must give a clear answer to the proposals of the Communist Party. The S.P. can no longer say that it must wait for its International to act. While the November (1934) decision of the Second International, referred to above, is in the nature of "passing the buck", still it leaves one thing definite. It is that the national parties are *free to act*, that is, from prohibitions by their International. Hence, the N.E.C. *must act* and, we want to hope, will act favorably to the United Front proposals of the Communist Party.

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Since the above lines were written, the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party has had its meeting in Boston and made certain decisions on the question of the united front. In this decision, the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party made one step forward and two steps backward. It expressed itself as favoring the united front in "principle", but set up new difficulties for the branches and locals of the Socialist Party to participate in this united front. The most astounding part of this decision is to postpone action on the united front with the Communist

Party nationally until the convention of the Socialist Party in 1936. In other words, the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party, led by Norman Thomas, finds it possible to postpone the united front for one year and a half!

But the united front will not be postponed. The Communist Party and the truly militant workers in the Socialist Party will see to it that it's not postponed. The necessities of the American working class demand action IMMEDIATELY, and this action must be secured. The Communist Party membership and branches will from now on exert themselves even more strenuously than heretofore to establish united front action with the Socialist Party membership, branches and locals. The Communist Party will fight to the utmost of its abilities to build up united front formations of unions, Socialist Party organizations, other working class mass organizations, toiling farmers and Negroes, in cities and states, to promote the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and war.

Forward to immediate united front action!

EDITOR'S NOTE

In the following pages are reproduced the historic call for the united front by the Communist International, statements of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., and correspondence between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party regarding the united front.

Communist International Calls for United Fight Against Hunger and Fascist Terror

OFFERS SOCIALIST PARTIES, TRADE UNIONS, ETC., UNITY ON BASIS OF ENERGETIC PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE

March 18, 1933 *

Manifesto issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposing to labor organizations and Social-Democratic Parties to join in a united front against hunger and the capitalist offensive:

TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES:

The crisis continues. Unemployment is increasing without interruption. Hunger and misery are seizing ever-fresh sections of the workers. The capitalist offensive is assuming ever-sharper forms. The bourgeoisie are preparing to launch a campaign against all the political and economic achievements of the working class. Fascist reaction is seizing one country after another.

The establishment of the open fascist dictatorship in Germany has inexorably confronted millions of workers of all countries with the question of the imperative need for organizing the united front of struggle against the fascist offensive of the bourgeoisie, and above all, against the German bourgeoisie who, step by step, are robbing the working class of all economic and political achievements and attempting to crush the workers' movement with the most brutal method of terror.

The main obstacle to the formation of the united front of strug-

* This and the other materials following are reprinted from the *Daily Worker*, central organ of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. The date at the head of each document is that on which it appeared in the *Daily Worker*.
—ED.

gle of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers was and is the policy conducted by the Social-Democratic Parties, who have exposed the international proletariat to the blows of the class enemy.

¹ This policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, known as the so-called policy of the "lesser evil", has led, in practice, to the triumph of fascist reaction in Germany.

The Communist International and the Communist Parties of all countries have repeatedly declared their readiness to join in a common fight along with the Social-Democratic workers against the capitalist offensive, against political reaction and civil war. The Communist Parties were the organizers of the common fight of the Communist, Social-Democratic and non-party workers, in spite of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties, who systematically disrupted the united front of the working masses.

On July 20 last year, the Communist Party of Germany, after the Prussian Social-Democratic Government had been driven out by Papen, proposed to the Social-Democratic Party and the German General Federation of Trade Unions the organization of a common strike against fascism. But the Social-Democratic Party and the A.D.G.B., with the approval of the whole of the Second International, described the proposal to organize a common strike as a provocation.

The Communist Party of Germany repeated its proposal of common action at the moment when Hitler seized power, it called upon the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party and the Executive Committee of the German General Federation of Trade Unions to organize the resistance to fascism, but again met with a refusal.

Nay, more, when in November last year the Berlin traffic workers unanimously went on strike against a wage reduction, the Social-Democratic Party sabotaged the united front struggle. The whole practice of the International Labor Movement is full of similar examples.

The Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International published on February 19 last, a declaration on the readiness of the Social-Democratic Parties affiliated to this International to form a united

front with the Communists in order to fight against the fascist reaction in Germany. This declaration stands in sharp contradiction to the whole of the previous actions of the L.S.I. and Social-Democratic Parties.

The whole policy and activity of the L.S.I., hitherto, justifies the Communist International and the Communist Parties putting no faith in the sincerity of the declaration of the Bureau of the L.S.I. which makes its proposal at a moment when in a number of countries and before all in Germany, the working masses are taking into their own hands the organizing of the united front.

In spite of this, however, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in view of fascism which is unchaining all the forces of world reaction against the working class of Germany, calls upon all Communist Parties to make yet another attempt to set up the united front of struggle with the Social-Democratic workers through the medium of the Social-Democratic Parties.

The E.C.C.I. makes this attempt in the firm conviction that the united front of the working class on the basis of the class struggle will be able to repel the offensive of capital and fascism, and to accelerate to an extraordinary degree the inevitable end of all capitalist exploitation.

Owing to the peculiarity of the conditions, as well as the differences in the concrete fighting tasks confronting the working class in the various countries, an agreement between the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties for definite actions against the bourgeoisie can be carried out most successfully within the confines of each individual country. The E.C.C.I. recommends the Communist Parties of the various countries to approach the Central Committees of the Social-Democratic Parties belonging to the L.S.I. with proposals regarding joint actions against fascism and against the capitalist offensive.

Nevertheless, the negotiations between the parties concluding such an agreement must be based on the most elementary prerequisites for the common fight.

Without a concrete program of action against the bourgeoisie,

any agreement between the parties would be directed against the interests of the working class.

The E.C.C.I. therefore proposes the following points as a basis of such an agreement:

(a) The Communists and Social-Democrats commence at once to organize and carry out defensive action against the attacks of fascism and reaction on the political, trade union, cooperative and other workers' organizations, on the workers' press, on the freedom of meetings, demonstrations and strikes. They shall organize common defense against the armed attacks of the fascist bands by carrying out mass protests, street demonstrations and political mass strikes. They shall proceed to organize committees of action in the workshops and factories, the Labor Exchanges and the workers' quarters, as well as organize self-defense groups.

(b) Communists and Social-Democrats shall commence at once to organize the protest of the workers with the aid of meetings, demonstrations and strikes against any wage reductions, against worsening of working conditions, against attacks on social insurance, against the cutting down of unemployment benefit, against dismissals from the factories.

(c) In the adoption and practical carrying out of these two conditions, the E.C.C.I. considers it possible to recommend the Communist Parties during the time of common fight against capital and fascism to refrain from making attacks on Social-Democratic organizations. The most ruthless fight must be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strike breakers who disrupt the united front of the workers.

These conditions which are put forward for acceptance by the L.S.I. apply also to those parties which, like the Independent Labor Party for example, have proposed to the Comintern the organization of the united front of struggle.

The E.C.C.I., which makes these proposals before the international working class, calls upon all Communist Parties, and in the first place upon the Communist Party of Germany, immediately and without waiting for the results of negotiations and agreements with the Social-Democracy with regard to a common fight, to proceed to

organize joint fighting committees with Social-Democratic workers and with workers of all other persuasions.

The Communists have proved, through their long years of struggle, that they stand, and will stand, not in words but in deeds, in the front ranks of the fight for the united front in class actions against the bourgeoisie.

The E.C.C.I. firmly believes that the Social-Democratic and non-party workers, regardless of what attitude the Social-Democratic leaders adopt in setting up the united front, will overcome all obstacles and, together with the Communists, set up the united front, not in words, but in deeds.

Precisely at the present moment, when German fascism has organized a monstrous provocation, in setting fire to the Reichstag, forging documents about an alleged Communist insurrection, etc., in order to crush the workers' movement in Germany, every worker must recognize his class duty in the fight against the capitalist offensive and fascist reaction.

Down with the fascist reaction and the terror against the working class!

For the united front of struggle of the proletariat!

Proletarians of all countries, unite for the fight against the capitalist offensive and capitalism!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

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The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. fully agrees with the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for achieving the unity of the workers in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascism.

The Political Bureau of the Party will, during the next few days, make public concrete proposals for the realization of such united action of all workers.

These proposals will be made specifically to the Socialist Party, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the American Federation of Labor on the carrying on of united struggle against

Roosevelt's economy and inflation program, against wage cuts, for increased wages and relief to meet higher prices, for federal social insurance, against police terror in strikes, against injunctions and deportations, for stopping of shipment of munitions to Japan, for mass protests against German fascism, for release of Thaelmann, Torgler and all other imprisoned victims of the Hitler regime, and for mass solidarity with the German workers.

Communist Party Proposes United Action

March 30, 1933.

Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., offering united front on the basis of the Communist International appeal:

TO THE TOILING MASSES OF THE UNITED STATES:

**TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR:**

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY:

**TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE FOR PROGRES-
SIVE LABOR ACTION:**

**TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE TRADE UNION UNITY
LEAGUE:**

**TO ALL OTHER NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS AND WORKING CLASS
ORGANIZATIONS, NATIONAL AND LOCAL, NEGRO AND WHITE:**

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. fully agrees with the proposals of the Communist International for a renewed effort to forge the unity of the workers in a united struggle for the maintenance of their living standards, against Hitler's bloody fascist regime in Germany and against imperialist war.

The need for working class unity was never before more urgent than at the present time. Only through a solid, fighting unity of the masses can the living standards of the toilers be maintained, can

the attempts to lower these standards be defeated, and the mass resistance to fascism and the increasing war danger be developed.

The economic crisis in the United States is deepening. Hunger stalks the richest country in the world. Over sixteen million workers are unemployed. Millions of farmers are impoverished.

ROOSEVELT ACTS FOR BANKERS

Roosevelt's policies, as is already evident, are policies in the interests of the bankers and big industrialists and against the interests of the toiling masses. The dictatorial powers taken by Roosevelt—already a step toward fascization—are being used against the toilers. The militarization of labor, the economy program at the expense of the masses, banking measures which wipe out the savings of millions of small depositors, the inflation of the dollar which reduces the purchasing power of the toilers, and increased military and naval expenditures in preparation for a new war in which the masses will be called upon to be the cannon fodder—this is the anti-working class program of Roosevelt.

The war policies of American imperialism are also being pursued by the other imperialist powers with equal energy, indicating that the capitalist world, unable to solve the crisis by economic measures, is preparing for war in a desperate effort to find a way out.

The same trend toward a forceful solution of the crisis is shown in the growing resort to fascist terror, particularly by the bloody Hitler regime in Germany, also in Austria and other European nations, and even by the beginnings of the fascization of the state apparatus in the United States.

UNITED FRONT ABSOLUTELY VITAL

Under such circumstances it is a life and death question for the toiling masses to form a united front of struggle against the capitalist attack on their living standards, against the growing bloody fascist terror, and against the acute danger of war. A united working class aided by the toiling farmers and the oppressed Negro people

could effectively resist these hunger and war plans of the bosses. It is an imperative necessity that all workers' organizations—the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party particularly—should join in a united effort to weld together a solid fighting front of all the toilers.

Such a united effort in order to be beneficial to the workers must necessarily be made on the basis of active mass struggle for such clear-cut working class demands as the following:

1. Against Roosevelt's hunger and war program; against forced labor; against wage-cuts; for increased wages to meet rising prices; for adequate relief for the unemployed without discrimination against Negro or foreign-born; for shorter hours without reduction in pay; and for relief for the small farmers.

2. **For federal unemployment insurance**; against the proposed unemployment "reserves" bills.

3. For the workers' rights, for the release of Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, and all political prisoners; against police terror, against deportations, and against injunctions in labor disputes.

4. Against fascist terror and anti-Semitism in Germany; for the release of Thaelmann and of all imprisoned anti-fascist forces; for material support to the revolutionary movement of Germany.

5. For the immediate withdrawal of the Japanese forces from China, for the defense of the Chinese people, for the stopping of munition shipments to Japan; against the imperialist war policy of Wall Street particularly now in the Far East and in Latin America.

6. For the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States; against imperialist attacks on the Soviet Union.

FIGHT TO WIN BACK YOUR WAGES!

The realization of these general demands requires the immediate taking up of a united struggle to restore the wages of the miners, the steel workers, the auto, textile and all other workers. It means to prepare to win back the wage cut put over on the railroad workers. It means support to all workers now carrying on a fight for improved conditions. It necessitates the development of the broadest mass action against the Roosevelt forced labor and economy measures, for federal aid to the unemployed and for unemployment insurance. This struggle at present means the support and building up of the

Mooney Congress to be held in Chicago, the defense of the nine Negro Scottsboro boys, for the release of those now held for deportation and against all deportation measures.

THE COMMUNISTS HAVE CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED UNITY OF WORKERS

The Communist Party of the United States has consistently advocated the unity of the workers in active struggle for such demands. To an increasing extent, the workers have themselves emphasized their desire for unity. In the demonstration of October 30 in Chicago, in the National Hunger March, in the numerous state hunger marches, in the nation-wide March 4th demonstration, in innumerable local strikes, demonstrations and other actions, Socialist and Communist workers, workers of the A. F. of L. and unorganized workers have united in effective actions which won concessions from the bosses and prevented a further lowering of the living standards of the masses.

These actions, effective as they were, could not accomplish the greatest results because big national workers' organizations—the A. F. of L., and Socialist Party particularly—were not ready to give their aid in the setting up of a militant fighting front of the workers. On the contrary, the leaders of these bodies actively prevented the united action of the workers and by their policies during the crisis have been a direct help to the bourgeoisie in carrying through the attacks on the masses.

This policy is still being continued. President Green of the A. F. of L. has already abandoned the fight on the Roosevelt forced labor bill which is one of the most threatening acts against labor. The Socialist Party leaders go to Washington to congratulate Roosevelt on his banking acts which have already wiped out the savings of many small depositors. The Socialist Party has so far refused to join in a united conference to free Mooney, has rejected proposals for joint May Day meetings. The Socialist Party is now chief sponsor to a conference in Washington from which really militant labor organizations including the Communists, are barred. The So-

cialist Party is also silent on or approves the obvious acts of capitulation to Hitler already carried through by some of the Socialist leaders in Germany.

Recently, however, due to the sharp attacks of the bosses on all workers, including the members of the reformist organizations both here and in Germany, these bodies are no longer able to avoid talk of unity. The Communist Party of the U.S.A., which has consistently stood for militant united action, takes note of this unity talk in the reformist bodies. We again propose and urge united action of the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, together with the Communist Party in an effort to unite the broad masses of the toilers in one joint struggle for a program of demands such as outlined above. The Communist Party addresses its proposal for unity directly to the leading National Committees of these organizations and proposes a conference with representatives chosen by these bodies to consider these proposals and concrete mass struggles, for the realization of the agreed upon demands.

UNITY URGENT, CANNOT WAIT OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS

However, the Communist Party urges the workers not to wait for the outcome of these negotiations. Unity is an urgent immediate need in every factory, mill and mine, in every neighborhood, in every city. Daily attacks are being made on the workers' standards. These attacks must be answered immediately as they are made. This requires unity at once, without delay. The Communist Party urges all workers—Communists, Socialists, A. F. of L. members particularly, to unite in every factory and town. We urge all workers to set up joint committees of action to prepare and carry through joint meetings, demonstrations, parades and strikes to force the granting of the mutually agreed upon local demands. The Central Committee urges the district and local Communist bodies to immediately take the initiative in making proposals for joint action to corresponding Socialist and A. F. of L. bodies in order to achieve the fighting unity of the workers with the least possible delay.

The Socialist and A. F. of L. leaders often concealed their resistance to united action on the grounds of the sharp criticisms made of their policies and actions by the Communists. The Central Committee, in line with the proposal of the Communist International, advises all districts, local bodies and the working class generally, that the Communist Party is ready to sincerely agree to withhold all attacks upon Socialists, A. F. of L. or other working class bodies which sincerely enter into mutual agreements for united struggles around agreed-upon issues and loyally carry through the agreement in practice. This does not, of course, infringe upon the right of any organization or its representatives to freely make and discuss proposed demands and actions in the course of efforts to reach agreements. At the same time, the Central Committee considers it necessary to emphasize, that in case any organization, or its representatives, breaks the agreement made, or fails to carry it out in practice, the most ruthless fight must be carried on, arousing the masses against those responsible for such betrayals as against scabs and strike-breakers.

On the basis of these proposals, the Communist Party pledges itself before the masses to bend every effort to quickly and firmly weld a solid fighting front of the toilers against the capitalist offensive as represented in Roosevelt's policies, against fascism and against war.

We particularly urge that a beginning be made in the establishment of such effective united resistance to the bosses' hunger and war program by converting the proposed Continental Congress into a broad united front action of all workers' organizations without exception.

We further urge that united support be given by all working class bodies to the Mooney Conference in Chicago which must be made a central rallying point in the struggle to free all class war prisoners.

Finally, the *May First* actions this year in every locality must be

united actions; they must see the coming together of all workers' bodies in one united struggle for the workers' demands.

Fraternally yours,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

"For Unity in Struggle Against Fascism, Hunger, War!"

OPEN LETTER TO SOCIALIST WORKERS FROM THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

May 26, 1934.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE DELEGATES AT ITS NATIONAL CONVENTION:

COMRADE WORKERS:

We address you, workers who understand that the rotten capitalist system is destroying and will destroy all tolerable conditions of life for the working class and the toiling masses, that this system must be overthrown and a socialist system erected in its place, and that to bring about this change the working class must organize itself and take power, constituting itself as the ruling class.

At this moment the world stands before another great crisis, similar to that of 1914-1918. Again the workers of the world stand at the cross-roads, and must choose one of two paths. Again the workers' struggles are rising also in the United States, most important of all in a great wave of strikes. But this time, we have the benefit of the brilliant light thrown by the experience of the last sixteen years, upon the question, "Which way?"

TWO CAMPS

In the closing years of the World War and the immediate post-war period, the workers who had already declared for socialism found

themselves divided into two camps. One was the Second International, which declared through its principal theoretical spokesman, Karl Kautsky, and in the United States through Morris Hillquit, that the road to socialism must be through a transitional period of coalition with the bourgeoisie, of cooperation of working class with capitalist class, of gradual and peaceful transition to socialism through bourgeois democracy. The other camp was that of the revolutionary socialist groups, headed by the Russian Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, which founded the Communist International in 1919, who pointed out that the road to socialism must be through a transitional period which could only be a dictatorship of the working class against the capitalist class, of civil war between them, the establishment of a new Workers' State power, and the crushing of the reactionary forces, the enemies of the revolution.

BALANCE SHEET OF SIXTEEN YEARS

We now have before us the balance sheet of 16 years application of these two opposition lines of action. In Germany and Austria, the road of Kautsky and the Second International was taken by the majority of the workers; in Russia, the road of Lenin and the Communist International was taken by the great majority, with the establishment of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." The road of the Second International, of coalition, of class-cooperation, of gradualism, of "democracy," led inevitably step by step in Germany and Austria to the surrender without struggle of all the gains of the 1918 revolution. It led to the shameful vote for Hindenburg, to the refusal of a united fight with the Communists against Hitler, to the capitulation to fascism, to the crowning infamy of the vote for Hitler's policy in the Reichstag in May, 1933. It led to the shattering of "Red Vienna" and its "municipal socialism" by the artillery of Dollfuss and the slaughtering of a betrayed and leaderless working class.

The road of the Second International led directly to the victory of fascism.

The road of Lenin, of the Communist International, led step by step to the consolidation of the power of the workers, to the overcoming of the terrible economic problems of a shattered, backward, country amidst a world of enemies, to the laying of solid foundations of a socialist system. It led to a brilliant and unparalleled economic advance, which brought the Soviet Union into the first ranks of the industrial nations, to a cultural revolution and a rise of living standards without precedent in history. It led to the creation of a mighty stronghold of working class power, based upon socialism, which is capable of meeting and defeating a world of capitalist and fascist enemies.

Workers of the Socialist Party! Which of these roads do you wish to travel in the United States? You must choose one or the other. There is no third way.

The Communist Party addresses you, pointing out to you this great, all-dominating question which you must answer, because this is a question of life or death for the working class, for the establishment of socialism in our country. Your leaders have taken you, they are taking you today, along the same sad road travelled by German and Austrian Social-Democracy. We appeal to you, workers in the Socialist Party, to call a halt to any further steps along this path towards death and destruction.

When your leaders endorse the N.R.A., as Louis Waldman did in your name in the Washington code hearings, they are taking you on the same road that German Socialism travelled. When Thomas and Hillquit visited the White House to congratulate Roosevelt on his "progressive" policies in the first weeks of the new administration, they were walking in the footsteps of Loebe, Wels, Severing, Bauer, Vandervelde and MacDonald. When your leaders give their wholehearted support to the Green-Woll-Lewis bureaucracy, at the head of the A. F. of L., as they do, and endorse the infamous auto settlement and the steel code, this is essentially a coalition policy with Roosevelt, and through Roosevelt with finance capital. This course is paving the way for fascism in the U.S. just as the course in Ger-

many and Austria, which was also approved by your leaders, led to the victory of Hitler and Dollfuss.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

It is quite possible that most of you, uneasily conscious of this problem, are still unable to give yourselves a clear answer as to how to find a way out of the swamp into which the Second International has led you. Many of you are still filled with suspicions and distrust against the Communist Party, about which you know little except what its enemies have told you.

The Communist Party has been tested and proved in action. We invite you to join with the Communist Party in a united struggle for the most immediate and pressing needs of the workers and toiling masses, against developing fascism and imperialist war. To fight for and to win these immediate demands is the first step on the road to Socialism. Never was the need of unity so great. The capitalist attacks against living standards must be defeated. The working class must be organized, must win victories. We invite you to join in a united fight for such objectives as the following:

1. For decisive wage increases, to overcome the declining standards of living being brought about by the Roosevelt "New Deal" and the N.R.A.; for a decisive shortening of the working-week; for driving company unions out of the industries; for a bold and energetic strike movement in every industry to win these demands; for a decisive fight within the unions against the policies of Green, Woll, Lewis & Co., and for building a revolutionary trade union leadership.

2. For the immediate enactment of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), the only real social insurance proposal before the country, which has already been endorsed by over 2,000 A. F. of L. unions, by many City Councils, including those of Milwaukee and Bridgeport, by the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, by the unions of the Trade Union Unity League,—for a vigorous struggle for immediate relief, for building a strong Unemployment Council movement, and unifying all mass organizations of the unemployed.

3. For the immediate enactment of the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill, to secure the farmers in possession of their land and

tools, to provide them with the means to cultivate their lands, and to produce the abundance of food that the masses need. This is the only measure before the country which, if carried out, will really meet the needs of the masses of farmers.

4. For the immediate enactment of the Bill for Negro Rights and to Suppress Lynching proposed by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights; for a daily struggle to immediately win equal rights for the Negroes in every phase of life; for the unconditional liberation of the Scottsboro boys.

5. For the united struggle against War and Fascism, to stop shipments of munitions, to defend the Soviet Union, etc., along the lines of the program of the American League Against War and Fascism, adopted unanimously by the great U.S. Congress Against War on October 1, 1933, by 2,616 delegates from the broadest variety of organizations ever gathered together in the U.S.; for the freedom of Thaelmann and all other anti-fascist prisoners in Germany.

6. For the broadest possible united action in localities, in the factories, and trade unions, on every question affecting the workers and toiling masses, to win better working conditions, relief for the unemployed, etc., and to build and unify the existing mass organizations of the working class.

The Communist Party is prepared to cooperate with every worker and workers' organization which will really fight for these things. We offered a united front in March, 1933, but it was refused by your leaders, in the same way as the German socialists refused the Communist offer for a joint fight against Hitler. We offered to suspend criticism of organizations entering such joint struggle, for the duration of the agreed-upon actions, on condition that the fight is loyally carried through by all.

We are offering to all workers in the Socialist Party who really want to fight against the terrible misery, against the growing danger of imperialist war and fascism, everywhere, in all factories, trade unions, and localities, to build a real and solid fighting united front.

For unity in struggle against hunger, fascism and war!

Fraternally yours,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF U.S.A.,

(Signed) EARL BROWDER, GENERAL SECRETARY.

A Serious Word to the Socialist Party

BY EARL BROWDER

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

July 14, 1934.

THE Communist Party recently addressed a letter to the Socialist Party Convention at Detroit proposing immediate, practical steps for the formation of the united front on the life and death questions that now confront the working class.

It was to defend and advance the best interests of the working class that this proposal was made to the Socialist National Convention.

But the convention did not answer this proposal. Instead, it referred the matter to the newly elected National Executive Committee.

Up to the present moment, however, this newly elected National Committee, consisting of people under the leadership of Norman Thomas, and considering themselves "Left wing" in contrast to the Waldmans, Cahans, Pankens of the "Old Guard", this new committee has also seen fit to wholly ignore the united front letter of the Communist Party.

Thus far, there has been no answer, either positive or negative.

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The Revolutionary Policies Committee in the Socialist Party which declares itself more to the Left than even the Thomas wing supporting the new Declaration of Principles, has levelled stringent criticism against the Communist Party for our united front policy.

This group accused us of fighting solely for a united front from below—without the Socialist Party leaders and against these leaders.

If by this is meant that we oppose that specious and false kind of "united front" which consists merely of endless debates and the issuance of general statements without any concrete *unity in actions, in struggle*, then we surely are opposed to this. The united front has value only insofar as it aids the working class to achieve practical,

concrete results, improvements in its daily life, victories against fascism, etc.

We have been sending repeated concrete proposals to the Socialist Party leaders for the preparation of united front actions.

We have proposed more than three times in the past twelve months, negotiations between the two Parties for common agreement on united action for specific, immediate issues.

In addition, we have stated our readiness to agree to a cessation of all mutual attack during the period of the united actions, as long as these actions commonly agreed upon, are honestly put into effect.

These proposals, made by our Central Committee to the Socialist Party, still stand. They still stand, ready for mutual discussion and agreement, despite the fact that they have received no response from either the National Committee of the S.P. or the Revolutionary Policies Committee.

For these united front proposals we shall continue to fight, striving to weld among the masses the unity of the working class. Certainly no one will deny that this is our revolutionary duty. The recent inspiring united actions of the French Socialists and Communists in defence of Thaelmann and against fascism prove once and for all that this unity is possible in action.

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Certain immediate, concrete issues face Socialist and Communist workers alike.

The fight against the monster of advancing fascism is now truly a life and death question.

We ask the leaders and rank and file of the Socialist Party these questions:

Would it not be of tremendous effect in the mobilizing of our forces, and for all workers, as well, if, for example, in California, Socialists and Communists were to hold immense united front mass meetings protesting the reign of terror against the Pacific Coast strikers?

Would it not be of tremendous effect in the advance of the working class movement all over the country, if Socialists and Communists

combined to use their influence in the trade unions everywhere for mass demonstrations and practical aid to the Pacific Coast strikers?

And suppose Socialists and Communists united, despite all the real differences between the two Parties, to fight wage cuts, strike-breaking, terrorism against picket lines, street meetings, etc., would not this strike a serious blow at fascist reaction and capitalist exploitation?

Under such conditions, would not hundreds of thousands of workers and impoverished farmers join us in our fight against capitalism?

And with what power could such united front actions be effective in the large cities! In New York, for example, a joint demonstration of Socialists and Communists against the increasing police brutality of the LaGuardia-O'Ryan administration could be a mighty thing.

Wasn't the Socialist, Lasser of the Workers' Unemployment Union, beaten by the same police who assault Communist meetings? And isn't the question of social and unemployment insurance, endorsed by many Socialist Party locals, an immediate need of the New York City masses upon which we could act together?

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Then there is the fight against fascism.

Very earnestly we wish to place before the leadership and the members of the Socialist Party the question of the fight for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann and all anti-fascist fighters now in the torture dungeons of the Nazis.

The cooperation of many Socialist workers in this campaign for the freeing of Thaelmann has been gratifying.

But is it not clear how much more powerful this struggle could be if Socialists and Communists united to carry forward this campaign together?

And surely not much discussion is needed to drive home the grave import of this fight. Every Socialist worker understands and feels deep emotion in regard to the fight against the beasts of fascism.

And every Socialist should realize that these blows that we strike

together against the Hitler beasts, become also a blow at the menace of fascist savagery right here at home.

The growth of fascist propaganda here, the activities of Nazi agents, and the rise of fascist movements all over the country, the shooting of strikers, the terrorism in the South, the spread of company unions, etc.—are these not danger signals that we must heed at once?

And what Socialist would not agree that the growth of fascism and the menace of imperialist war slaughter go hand in hand? The Socialist Detroit Convention itself stated this.

I ask you: Why should it not be possible to hold huge united front mass meetings of Socialist and Communist workers in every city on August 1, the international day of struggle against imperialist war and fascism?

I ask you: Is there any plausible reason that should make this unity against imperialist war impossible? Can anyone doubt that such successful joint actions would stir wide circles of the working class into action against the brutality and exploitation of the capitalist employers?

Such are the problems of the united front. They are the immediate concrete problems which face the masses in their daily struggle to live.

The united front does not involve the questions of democracy and dictatorship, the question of armed uprising and the seizure of power through revolution or ballot. These are questions that will be settled in the day to day clash of opinion, in the crucible of experience of the working class, at home and in the international arena.

What is involved in our united front proposals is the immediate, practical unity of the working class now against the attacks of the police, for the right to assemble and speak freely, for the right to organize unions, for higher wages, etc.—all the immediate questions of the day to day struggle for better living conditions for the working class.

Members and officials of the Socialist Party! Must we wait until we have a Germany or an Austria?

We Communists sincerely extend our hand to all Socialists ready

to act, ready to fight for the immediate interests of the working class, in New York, and in all sections of the country.

We say that those who hamper the united actions of the masses will stand in judgment before the bar of the American and international working class.

We say that only those who seek to cement the unity of the Socialist and Communist workers, despite all the differences between the two parties, are truly fighting for the working class against capitalism.

The way to unity must be found. Before the forum of the American working class, of all who toil, we come forward with our proposals for class solidarity. Let no hesitation stand in the way of that working class unity which is a crying need in the light of the developing situation here and throughout the world. Let our calls be answered.

Exchange of Letters Between Browder and Thomas on United Front

SOCIALIST LEADER SENDS REPLY TO FIRST LETTER OF BROWDER

Aug. 25, 1934.

Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, has sent a letter to Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, in answer to his recent letter suggesting a discussion of the proposal made by the Communist Party for united front action against war and fascism and on other specific issues facing the American working class.

His letter follows

"August 21, 1934.

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter. I expect to take up the entire matter at the meeting of the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party over Labor Day.

"My own personal feeling is, as I have said many times before, that enormously desirable as united action is against war and fascism and for certain specific measures between your Party and ours, it cannot be achieved if your Party still regards it as primarily a weapon to destroy the Socialist Party or for leadership. The basis of a united front is good faith. This does not mean that each party may not reserve its right to criticize the other and to appeal for support for itself. It does mean that we have to keep to fair play in the way in which we fight and especially in the field in which we are co-operating. Neither you nor I would altogether agree with Sidney Hook, though possibly for somewhat different reasons. Nevertheless I think he made an able statement of the case, as I see it, in a recent issue of the *Modern Monthly* which, if I remember correctly, he called 'Social Fascism.'

"This letter, of course, is an expression of my personal point of view. Official action will have to be taken by the N.E.C.

"Fraternally yours,

(Signed) "NORMAN THOMAS."

SECOND COMMUNICATION OF COMRADE BROWDER

Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, yesterday replied to Norman Thomas's letter of August 21 as follows:

"August 24, 1934.

"YOUR letter of August 21 in answer to ours of the 17th received and has been given careful attention.

"You did not answer directly our proposal for preliminary conversations directed towards removing as far as possible any obstacles there may be, to a positive decision on the part of the N.E.C. Inasmuch, however, as you took this occasion to give a restatement of some of these obstacles in your letter, we assume that you prefer to accomplish through correspondence the same objective we had in mind. Although we are of the opinion that direct conversation would be more speedy and effective, we are prepared to do what is possible in this direction by the medium you choose.

"You state the chief obstacle is the opinion of many Socialist Party leaders that the Communist Party regards united action 'as primarily a weapon to destroy the Socialist Party'. This opinion is incorrect. The Communist Party regards united action as primarily a weapon to protect the immediate needs of the workers and other toiling elements of the population, to defeat the attacks of the capitalists upon their living standards and civil rights, and to prepare the masses through their experiences in the struggle for the tasks involved in moving forward to greater aims. The Communist Party's attitude toward other Parties and groups is determined by their contribution toward achieving these aims. In the presence of an admitted mass starvation, unity of a powerful united movement to compel the adoption *this Winter* of adequate federal unemployment and social insurance is a primary purpose of our proposal.

"While we write, colossal crimes of strike-breaking are being committed against the working class, with the use of troops in four states, and extra-legal bands of armed thugs, organized by and cooperating with the police, are beginning openly to appear in strikes to carry out the earlier phases of Hitler's methods. Even the capitalist press no longer conceals the war danger. So sharp and increased is the danger that every day of delay in bringing about the most powerful united struggle against this danger adds to the hazard of being engulfed by it. We regard the united front as primarily a weapon to meet this situation, and not as anything else.

"The essence of the problem of good faith and fair play can be found in determining concretely what is necessary to fully carry out a particular action. This in turn is determined by an agreed-upon set of demands (such as we have proposed recently, but subject to mutual determination) and methods of carrying out joint actions in very concrete terms. The Communist Party is prepared for the effort to arrive at such an agreement. The Communist Party is prepared to demonstrate its good faith in any agreement for a united action by the only method through which good faith can be demonstrated, by carrying through the agreed upon action with all of its energy. It is prepared to join with all other participants in such action in condemning any breach of agreement or

failure to carry through the action agreed upon. The Communist Party is prepared upon the basis of agreed-upon united actions to conclude an agreement for restraining and establishing limitations upon mutual criticism between the co-operating organizations during the course of the action.

"Our immediate task of achieving united action would not be aided by entering on a discussion of the article to which you refer, written by Sidney Hook. In this field there are certainly numerous possibilities of disagreement rather than agreement. We do not propose to bring the subject of this article into the discussion; we will deal with it in another place and manner.

"We understand that your letter is an expression of your personal point of view. Undoubtedly, however, this point of view is not confined to yourself and will be a considerable factor in determining the official action to be taken by the National Executive Committee. The Communist Party is prepared to carry this correspondence further if you agree upon the value of it, with a view to preparing in the most concrete form possible the issues that must be finally and officially acted upon.

"We repeat our offer of direct conversations to this end.

"Fraternally yours, (Signed) "EARL BROWDER,
"GENERAL SECRETARY, C. P., U.S.A."

Socialist National Executive Committee Postpones Action on United Front

Sept. 15, 1934.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has decided to postpone consideration of proposals for united action between the two parties until its December meeting, the letter of the Socialist Party to the Communist Party states.

The letter, made public yesterday, follows:

"Sept. 6, 1934.

"THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party realizes the immense value to the labor movement of a united action

of all elements against the danger of war, fascism, and continued exploitation. We realize that such united action on specific issues by no means requires organic unity of parties between the Socialists and Communists. United action does, however, require evidence of good faith and the intention to use any agreement which may be arrived at not as a maneuver for power within the labor movement but as an instrument in the struggle against an oppressive master class. No united action on specific issues is possible between Socialists and Communists except on a basis which also gives hope of ending fratricidal strife within the trade union movement.

"On the basis of these principles, which are accepted by all Socialists, we have thoughtfully considered the proposals of the Communist Central Committee and the answers to questions given at our meetings by Robert Minor on its behalf. We have been particularly impressed by Comrade Minor's two statements. First: that after a lapse of six years the Congress of the Communist International is shortly to meet; and second, that he could not speak authoritatively for the C.I., which, as everybody knows, subscribes to the highly centralized 'monolithic' theory of international party organization and exercises rigid control over its various national branches.

THE FRENCH FACT

"We were also impressed by the fact that the very promising French agreement for united action has not long been in effect, and that it has not yet been duplicated in any other country. Furthermore, while we have no desire to dwell on the past to the hurt of the future, we cannot accept Robert Minor's statement that since 1921 there has been an honest desire in the Communist Party for a united front as something other than a 'maneuver'.

"In every country and in every language the highest officials of the Communist Party times without number have specifically asserted that the purpose of the united front was to destroy the Socialist Party. At one and the same time they have proposed the united front and in the most unmeasured terms abused the party to which they proposed it and its leadership. They have dubbed Socialism 'social fascism', that is, as the witting or unwitting accomplice of the

very thing which it is the purpose of a united front to fight.

"Numerous quotations could be found to prove this point. For instance: Stalin—'Social-Democracy is objectively the moderate wing of Fascism'; the 13th Plenum's declaration that 'Social-Democracy continues to play the role of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open fascist dictatorship'; the editorial in the *Rote Fahne* (July 5, 1932)—'Our struggle for a red united front is a struggle against the Social-Democratic politics, against the Social-Democratic party, and its representatives'; the article by Earl Browder in *The Communist* of August, 1933—'The united front is a method of struggle against the Social-Fascists for the possession of the masses'; and the article by C. A. Hathaway in *The Communist* for October, 1932—'We have to get down to bed rock in our fight against the Socialists'.

"Although Robert Minor said that only 'irresponsible individuals' had tried to use the united front as a maneuver, we find in the official history of the first ten years of the Third International (I. Komor, *Ten Years of the Comintern*)—"The main object of this tactic (the united front) is the exposure of the treacherous leaders and the liberation of the toiling masses from their influence'. Zinovieff at the Fifth Congress, said, 'We perceive these tactics as strategical maneuvers'. Your official organ, *The Communist*, for April, 1933, says: 'Does the Communist International manifesto mean a change in the basic line of the Comintern in regard to the united front? Of course not. . . . These tactics, while changing in form, do not in any way change the principal content of the tactics of the united front'.

"The official bulletin of the Young Communist League for March-April, 1933, speaks of the Young People's Socialist League as 'the most dangerous enemy in the ranks of the working youth'.

"In its editorial of August 1, 1933, your official organ, the *Daily Worker*, said, 'On the eve of a new imperialist war, the Socialist Party is doing all it can to help the bosses by drumming up a chauvinistic spirit behind the Roosevelt slave and war program'. And on March 30, 1932, 'The role of the Socialist Party is to assist fascism in placing its iron ring around the necks of the workers'.

"All of these quotations are based upon the theory of 'Social-

Fascism', which, as any reader of your newspapers can understand, is still accepted by the Communist Party of the United States.

POSTPONE DECISION

"In view of these facts, we believe that the ultimate success of a united action movement will best be served if we postpone consideration of further negotiations between our two parties until our next meeting about December 1, by which time we shall have had opportunities to observe the decisions of the Communist International Congress and the success or failure of the French agreement. We shall also have had time to get the advice of the L.S.I. to which we are writing, urging that body again to renew its attempt to find an honorable basis for a reasonable agreement.

"Meanwhile we are aware that there are questions arising from time to time, mostly in the field of civil liberties, in which it is desirable that there shall be effective local action for the defense of workers' rights. We are, therefore, drawing up a plan to govern possible cooperation in this field. The success or failure of this kind of cooperation will do much to determine the nature of the action which we shall take at our next quarterly meeting.

"Fraternally yours,
(Signed) "CLARENCE SENIOR."

Will Not Slacken Fight for United Action, Communist Party Tells Socialist Party

COMMUNIST PARTY ANSWERS SOCIALIST NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE ON POSTPONEMENT OF UNITED ACTION

Sept. 15, 1934.

Answering the letter of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, postponing consideration of the united front proposals of the Communist Party until the December meeting of the S. P. Executive, the Central Committee of the Communist Party warns of the danger of delay in the formation of the united front.

The letter, signed by Earl Browder, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party, greets the local united actions between Socialists and Communists in New Orleans and the practical agreement between the Young Communist League and the Young Peoples Socialist League to cooperate in the American Youth Congress, and points out that "despite our disappointment, we are by no means prepared to slacken our efforts to achieve united action."

The letter of the Communist Party follows:

"**WE** ARE in receipt of your letter of September 6th, which came to our hands on September 8. While we had previously become familiar with its contents through the daily press, we refrained from officially acting on these reports until they were confirmed by the arrival of your letter.

"We must express our deep regret that the general effect of your decision regarding our proposals for united action is negative, especially now in the textile strike. The negative character holds despite your expressed realization of 'the immense value to the labor movement of united action'. We believe these good words must be translated into deeds.

WILL CONTINUE UNITY EFFORTS

"Despite our disappointment, we are by no means prepared to slacken our efforts to achieve united action. Our hopes in this respect are being supported by growing tendencies for united action, shown outstandingly in the American Youth Congress in which the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communist League consummated a united front, and in various localities throughout the United States. We look upon these developing actions between lower organizations of the two parties as providing a good foundation for future united actions on a large scale.

"In the Milwaukee newspapers we read that your committee decided to send a delegation of observers to the Second United States Congress Against War and Fascism in Chicago, September 28-30. While we had expected more decisive participation in this great movement on your part, not mere observation, we can now only express our sincere desire that the results of the observing delegation

will be to contribute to more decisive action after the Congress and strengthen the participation of your local organizations in the local committees of the League. Now on the eve of the new world war is no time to limit ourselves to observations.

ON THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

"In our judgment the central point of your letter is contained in the following sentence:

"No united action on specific issues is possible between Socialists and Communists except on the basis which also gives hopes of ending fratricidal strife within the trade union movement."

"This sentence, in our judgment, requires further clarification, because it admits of two opposite interpretations: If the sentence is understood as a call to end fratricidal strife between Socialist and Communist members and followers in the trade unions for united action on concrete issues, then we can only give our wholehearted endorsement to such an objective. We are firmly of the opinion that the united front means that Socialists and Communists should fight shoulder to shoulder within the trade unions upon an agreed platform. We believe that this would furnish a unifying influence that would extend far beyond the boundaries of the membership of the two parties. Further, if the statement is directed towards an effort for the unification of rival trade unions within a given field, we are wholeheartedly in agreement with this. If it were not for the present rotten and servile leadership, openly pro-capitalist and tools of the capitalists, at the head of the A. F. of L., there is no doubt that during the last eighteen months it would have been possible to have built a unified trade union movement with ten to fifteen million workers in its ranks. The workers could then have had a powerful and solidified working class weapon with which to wage the struggle for their daily bread. This is what the Communists fight for in every union in which we work—the A. F. of L., T.U.U.L., or independent unions. It is our aim to establish a powerful trade union movement, embracing all workers, a trade union movement with real workers' democracy, free from gangsterism and

corruption, organized on an industrial basis, guaranteeing complete equality to the Negro toilers.

ANOTHER POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION

"But there is another possible and opposite understanding of the sentence quoted from your letter. This opposite interpretation is that to end fratricidal strife really means to end the struggle conducted by Communists and other revolutionary workers, as well as broad circles of non-party workers, against the policies of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and its constituent international unions. Such an interpretation demands the acceptance without opposition of the expulsion and deportation policies recently promulgated by the A. F. of L. Executive Council. It demands unconditional submission of the miners to that corrupt bureaucrat, John L. Lewis, and the voluntary liquidation of such independent organizations as the Progressive Miners in Illinois. It demands the unconditional acceptance of such brazen treachery as William Green's stab in the back of the San Francisco General Strike, as well as the betrayal of that strike by the local Central Labor Council leaders. It demands submission to Green's 'arbitration' sell-out proposal for the heroic textile strikers. It demands surrender of the New York painters to the gangster and racketeer, Zausner. It demands unquestioning support to the notorious sell-out agreement negotiated in the steel and auto industries. It demands support to the A. F. of L., participation in the N.R.A. and its subdivisions, together with the policy of arbitration which surrenders the workers' interests into the hands of their enemies. It demands approval of Matthew Woll's leadership and participation in all plots and attacks on the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union. It demands that we must withhold our fight against war and fascism to await the leadership from Green and Woll, who are a part of the war preparation machinery and in the forefront of oppressive measures against the workers.

"We saw that within the Socialist Party at its last Convention these two contrary interpretations exist and have stubborn defenders. We declare, frankly, that to the degree your letter expresses the latter interpretation of unity with Green and Woll, to that degree

it is equivalent to a rejection on your part of any possibility of united action. This makes it all the more necessary for the N.E.C. to clarify the question as to which of these interpretations shall be placed on the sentence quoted from your letter. We sincerely hope that the first, not the second, is the correct interpretation.

C. I. FIGHTS FOR UNITED FRONT

"We note your contents on the influence of the Labor and Socialist International and the Communist International on our concrete united front problems in the United States. You failed, however, to bring out the fundamental fact that the C.I. in no way places the slightest obstacle to the development of united action in the United States. On the contrary, the C.I. has advised and encouraged all its constituent parties to come to agreement for united action with the Socialist Parties in the respective countries. Unfortunately the same is not true of the relation of the L.S.I. to the S.P., which seems to constitute one of the stubborn obstacles to the achievement of united action in the United States.

"You state that the French agreement for united action has 'not yet been duplicated in any other country'. While this is technically correct, yet standing alone it would deny the equally important and even more basic, although not 'duplicate', agreements reached between the Socialist and Communist Parties of Austria, Italy and the Saar. Furthermore, may we point out that if the Socialist Party of France had waited for the Socialist Party of the U.S. to first prove the possibilities of united action, there would never have been this promising beginning for the united front.

ON "ORGANIC" UNITY

"We are glad to note that you agree with us 'that such united action on specific issues by no means requires organic unity of Parties between the Socialists and Communists'. Certain conclusions however flow from this agreement which you do not yet make in relation to some of the questions you raise. Of course, in the long perspective, full working class unity can be achieved only under a single, revolutionary Party, but this is not the problem we are now

considering. On our side this agreement that organic unity is not the immediate objective means that we must not demand from the Socialist Party that it abandon what we consider its fundamentally false and dangerous opinion that the Communist program of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet Power is the prime cause for the rise of fascism. On your side it means that you shall not demand of the Communists the abandonment of our fundamental opinion that the policies followed by the L.S.I. (outstanding examples being the German and Austrian Social-Democratic Parties) actually paved the way for fascism, enabled it to come to power and constituted what we Communists designate as Social Fascism. We have never classed the members and adherents of the Socialist Party as Social Fascists, but on the contrary consider them our class brothers. We have nothing to repudiate or correct in our expressed positions on this question, nor in the clear and authoritative words of Comrade Stalin which you quoted. These contradictory positions of our two Parties express the basic programmatic differences which make necessary that conclusion which you expressed that organic unity of Parties is not possible nor is it required to bring about united action on specific issues.

"United action to meet the most pressing immediate problems of the working class despite existing programmatic differences is a field in which tremendous possibilities are open. This is especially true if you draw the lessons from Germany and Austria that not collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its brazen lieutenants of the type of Green and Woll, but only a fighting united front of the workers including Socialists and Communists can defeat fascism and war.

PROPOSALS FOR A UNITED FRONT

"What Socialist workers can fail to agree, for example, with the Communist workers on the necessity for a broad solidarity movement in support of the heroic textile strikers, of protest against the cold-blooded murders being carried through, especially in the South, and in opposition to all proposals to end the strike without winning its demands? What Socialist worker can fail to see the enormous advantages to the whole working class from the participation of his

Party in the great movement rising in the American League Against War and Fascism and its Second Congress, which meets in Chicago September 28? What Socialist worker can fail to see the great gains we would get from a united drive for the Workers Unemployment and Insurance Bill, H.R. 7598, which your spokesman, Thomas, as an individual at the Youth Congress and officially in your N.E.C. meeting, described as the best before the country, and which is the only project that means anything to the millions now unemployed? What Socialist worker can fail to agree with our proposal that all the mass organizations of the unemployed should be unified under an agreed system of organization and a common platform of struggle?

"The whole aim of the Communist Party is to achieve the greatest possible working class unity in the struggle against the capitalist attacks, against rising fascism and war preparations in this country. This is our fundamental strategy, that is our larger plan of action. We believe that every increase in working class unity favors the development of a class conscious proletariat, able to defend itself and prevent fascism. We are confident of what will be the verdict of the workers on larger questions of program once they get into action in struggle for their immediate demands. Every proposal towards achieving united action of the workers can in this sense be called 'maneuvers', but not in the false, narrow sense implying trickery, which you impute to us, but in the sense of a serious, proletarian strategy directed against the common enemy, capitalism, worked out by agreement between the two parties. We make no maneuvers to perpetuate divisions among the working class. Our goal is to overcome the existing split in the working class.

GREET LOCAL UNITED ACTIONS

"The final paragraph in your letter opens up possibilities of local united actions, particularly in defense of workers' rights. We will do everything possible to stimulate such local actions. We point to the successes already being achieved in this respect, for example, the

united front of Socialist and Communist Parties in New Orleans and the splendid maneuver which they jointly carried out by leading a mass demonstration of 5,000 workers in between the armed camps of the two Democratic Party factions with the demand that the money being spent on corrupt factional warfare should be diverted to unemployment relief. Such local actions in all spheres are springing up everywhere. We have encouraged and will continue to encourage them by all possible means.

"The Socialist Party has spoken not a little in recent times about the necessity to fight against fascism and war. If these words are not to remain empty phrases, we ask you openly and frankly, is it not necessary to move boldly and decisively toward uniting all forces of the revolutionary working class? We ask you, is not this the only way to reach the broad circles of the suffering farmers and middle classes, who are only driven away from the working class by the policy of collaboration with the representatives of capitalism? The united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties will enormously extend the fighting capacity of the working class. A united front will rouse millions of hitherto passive workers, and the exploited masses generally will follow them with a new hope and a new enthusiasm, a new courage to fight against the common enemy.

TIME FOR ACTION, NOT FOR PONDERING

"There is not a long time to observe and ponder about this problem. The deepening crisis of capitalism is rousing all the black reactionary forces of fascism all around us every day. The imperialist antagonisms are rushing the whole world toward a new mass slaughter. Fascism can be defeated, war can be prevented, the conditions of the life of the toiling masses can be protected only by a fighting united action of the two Parties of the most advanced sections of the working class, drawing the broad masses into the struggle behind them.

"We appeal to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and to their members and followers: End all hesitation and

evasion, come together with us upon an agreed program of the most immediate needs. Fight unitedly and thus march forward toward victory.

“Fraternally yours,

“CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

(Signed) “EARL BROWDER, GENERAL SECRETARY.”

Communist Party in Carolinas Asks Socialist Party for United Action in Strike Through Letter to Thomas

Sept. 21, 1934

The Communist Party of District 16 (North and South Carolina) has transmitted a letter to Norman Thomas, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and through Thomas to the State Executive Committees of the S. P. of North and South Carolina and Georgia, proposing immediate united action in the textile strike.

The letter, which was signed by Paul Crouch for the District Committee of the Communist Party, follows:

“THE Communist Party of District 16 (North and South Carolina) transmits to you, as a member of the National Executive Committees of the Socialist Party of North, South Carolina and Georgia, a proposal for the immediate formation of a joint committee to formulate united action of the Socialist and Communist Parties to assist the textile workers in their struggle for the right to organize,

strike and picket; for united action against the murderous terror now unleashed against the strikers by the mill owners, and, finally, to mobilize the entire southern working class to come to the aid and give all possible help to the textile strikers.

"Today in the South there exists the greatest need for united action in defense of the workers' rights to organize, to strike and to picket. The splendid fight of the embattled textile strikers urgently demands united action in their behalf by developing relief and defense; and a widespread protest movement against the violence and murderous actions is an urgent necessity if the fight of the textile workers, which is the fight of all labor, is to be won.

"Today in North and South Carolina and Georgia 8,000 troops and unknown thousands of sheriff's deputies and company gunmen daily murderously attack the workers and use every violent means to smash the strike. They are smashing picket lines with machine guns, with rifles, pistols and tear gas, with clubs and bayonets. They are enforcing a strikebreaking martial law and brazenly opening up struck mills. They are wantonly murdering unarmed strikers under the guise of 'quelling riots' and 'preserving' law and order. The brutal slaughter at Honea Path was repeated today in Belmont, N. C. Only this morning E. K. Riley, a striker with 12 children, died from bayonet wounds received at the hands of drunken troops.

"Also today, the local mill-owner . . . *'The protection furnished by national guardsmen in the first two days of this week enabled more than 10,000 employees to return to their places'.* (This in Georgia alone.)

"Hundreds of strikers are being herded into military concentration camps. Scores are held under exorbitant bail. Terroristic vigilante groups are being organized by the mill-owners. FERA and relief officials refuse the strikers relief unless they return to the mills as strikebreakers. Socialists are jailed in the strike districts. Communist meetings are brutally smashed and the speakers jailed. The

right to organize, picket, strike, to meet, and to speak is denied to the workers. Everywhere the employers and their lackeys have embarked on a reign of unparalleled terrorism destined to smash the strike and herd the workers back into the mills unorganized.

"This terror can be stopped only by a united and determined working class. United and speedy action is the greatest demand of the day. The thrilling example of the Hazelton, Pa., workers in closing down the city in a 24-hour sympathetic strike because they 'could not see their brothers shot down and remain idle' is an example of a practical demonstration of solidarity which can, and must, be developed and followed elsewhere.

"There is no time to lose. To delay on such a matter really means to trifle with the very life of the striking textile workers. To refuse to act, in face of the situation which exists in the South today, automatically deprives any organization of the right to call itself a working class organization. Clearly, to refuse to act means practical acquiescence to the terror of the mill-owners.

"The Communist Party of District 16 is aware of the letter of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party which responded negatively to the proposals for united action made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. But our Party will never slacken its efforts to achieve united action and never abandon the fight for unity. Our Party welcomes every effort toward united action no matter on how small a scale it may be and is prepared at all times to stimulate such actions. We observe the statement of the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party in its communication to the C.C. of the Communist Party, which stated:

"We are aware that there are questions arising from time to time, mostly in the field of civil liberties, in which it is desirable that there shall be effective local action for the defense of the workers' rights'.

"This, we believe, opens up the possibility for effective local united actions, particularly in defense of workers' rights in connection with the textile strike and the situation prevailing which we

herein call attention to. Questions concerning united action, in so far as the textile strike is concerned in the south, cannot remain or be considered in the abstract. The Communist Party therefore proposes:

"The immediate establishment of a joint committee representing the Socialist and Communist Parties in the above named states, to take steps to:

"(a) Formulate practical arrangements for united actions to help win the textile strike, to make it 100 per cent effective, to close every mill, to help organize and lead mass picketing, mass marches, to help develop a widespread relief movement to feed the strikers and thereby strengthen their struggle, to help organize and undertake a broad defense movement in behalf of the arrested and jailed strikers.

"(b) To launch a united struggle on a broad scale against the terrorism of the troops and gunmen, to force the immediate withdrawal of the troops and the de-commissioning of all deputies and the turning over of all funds being used for their upkeep into relief funds for the strikers; to struggle against martial law and the denial of the workers' rights to organize, picket and strike; to fight for the freedom of speech and assembly for the Communist Party and all workers.

"(c) To mobilize the southern workers and workers' organizations to come to the support of the textile workers, to hold protest meetings and demonstrations, to prepare local and general sympathetic actions of a solidarity character, etc.

"We transmit this to you because of the belief that your response will to a large extent determine the response and attitude of the State Committees of North and South Carolina. Our Committee stands ready to meet the Committee of the Socialist Party upon notice.

"It is our hope that the Socialist Party will respond in a positive form to our proposals for the development of united action which can defeat the terror of the employers and guarantee that united effort which is necessary to help the textile workers win a glorious victory.

"Faternally yours,

(Signed) "PAUL CROUCH,

"FOR THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY."

United Front Leaflet in Trumbull County, Ohio

Nov. 5, 1934.

DEFEAT THE CANDIDATES OF THE STEEL TRUST!

VOTE THE COMMUNIST STATE TICKET AND THE SOCIALIST
COUNTY TICKET, NOVEMBER 6.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE WORKERS AND FARMERS OF
TRUMBULL COUNTY, OHIO

GREETINGS:

Six years of Republican and Democratic rule have brought the workers of this country to the worst conditions in history. The Republican and Democratic Parties have united to drive down the wages and living standards of the working people. Only in those places where the workers united, organized and fought for their rights were they able to maintain or temporarily better their conditions.

The terrible experiences of Germany and Austria where a divided working class was temporarily defeated by the fascist armies of capitalist reaction and all the labor organizations were declared illegal has opened the eyes and minds of workers everywhere.

The world-wide attack of international capitalism upon the rights and conditions of those who toil, forces the most advanced sections of the workers to the conclusions that either we unite our forces *now* in common battle against the common enemy, or we must experience in America the horrors that our German, Austrian and Italian brothers have undergone.

It is with a full realization of all these facts and the burning need for united working class action that the Socialist and Communist workers of Trumbull County have met, discussed these problems and decided to unite the forces of both Parties at the polls,

November 6—voting the Socialist County Ticket and the Communist State Ticket.

The fact that the Communists are on the ballot with a full state ticket but no county ticket, and the Socialists have a full county ticket but no state ticket was a spur to this agreement.

But this agreement would be impossible if it were not for the fact that the Socialists and Communists of Trumbull County are already uniting forces in a common program of struggle against unemployment, for more unemployed relief and Federal Unemployment Insurance, against Company Unions and for recognition of the workers' own unions—against all attacks upon the civil and economic rights of the workers, and against imperialist war and fascism.

The unity of action that we are beginning to establish on these points is the prerequisite for the united action at the polls. This unity must not end November 6, but on the contrary, the united front must be continued and strengthened after the elections, and must be felt in every struggle of the workers.

In agreeing upon this united front neither Socialist nor Communist Parties give up their independence of organization, of principles, or of tactics. This is not a merging of the two Parties. But we sincerely believe that the best interests of the workers will be served if we unite at once on those questions upon which we are agreed.

Therefore, in the name of the Socialist and Communist workers of Trumbull County, we call upon all workers of hand and brain, and upon all honest professionals, intellectuals and middle class people to break away from the Republican and Democratic Parties of the Steel Trust and bankers (the parties of wage cuts, company unions, lynchings, mass unemployment, high prices, hunger and broken promises) and to unite in a common struggle against all these evils and for the needs and demands of the working people.

We call upon you to go to the polls November 6 to vote down and defeat the Republican and Democratic candidates of the Steel Trust and organized reaction, and cast your ballots for the Communist State ticket and the Socialist County ticket. Roll up a tre-

mendous vote of protest against the Republican and Democratic Parties. Vote against capitalism! Vote for a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the U.S.A.

(Signed) FRED WILSON AND ALBERT BEATTY,
FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

(Signed) JOE DALLEY AND JOHN STEUBEN,
FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Joint Socialist and Communist Election Rally
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 7:30 P. M.
Newton Falls High School

Letter of Communist Party Asks Socialist Party to Join in Solidarity Actions for Spanish Workers

October 11, 1934.

Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., yesterday sent a letter to Clarence Senior, Secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, urging immediate united front action on behalf of the Spanish workers.

The letter, a copy of which was sent to Norman Thomas, follows:

“THE heroic struggle of the Spanish working class against the fascist reaction demands our immediate response. In Spain the united front of Socialists, Communists and non-Party workers is offering blood and lives to halt the reactionary forces threatening the whole world. Their fight is also ours. While our Spanish brothers and sisters are united on the barricades, can we in the U.S.A. any longer hesitate to at least unite in solidarity actions in their support?

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party calls upon the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to unite

with us in a joint call to the American workers for a series of mass demonstrations in all important cities, under our joint auspices, to protest the bloody pogrom of fascist-monarchist reaction in Spain and to express sympathy and solidarity with the struggling workers and peasants.

"In every district and city we are calling upon our Party to make similar proposals to the corresponding committees of the Socialist Party.

"Can we allow more precious days, and even months, to slip by, while the whole capitalist world is drifting ever more rapidly into fascism and war, without a serious effort to build a united working class front?

"We call upon you for immediate favorable action.

"Fraternally yours,

"CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY,
(Signed) "EARL BROWDER, GENERAL SECRETARY."

Appeal of Communist International and Young Communist International to All Workers to Aid Spanish Brothers

October 12, 1934.

In the following appeals the Communist International and the Young Communist International call upon the world working class to rally immediately to the support of the Spanish workers in their revolutionary struggle against fascist reaction, particularly addressing their appeals to the Socialist workers and to the Socialist International.

Yesterday a similar appeal was addressed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States to the Socialist Party. Workers everywhere, particularly Communist and Socialist workers, should strive immediately, without a moment's delay, for local united front action in support of the heroic Spanish workers. Protest meetings and demonstrations should be carried through at once.

At the same time the Socialist Party should be made to make clear its stand. Socialist, Communist and Syndicalist workers are jointly shedding their blood in Spain. Surely here the Socialists, Communists and all workers must give full support. The DAILY WORKER urges that the appeal of the Communist International be acted upon immediately.

Especially now with the alarming danger of a new imperialist war confronting the toiling masses of the whole world is it necessary to achieve united front actions of Socialists and Communists against war and fascism. Immediate action is imperative.

"TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL!
"TO THE TOILERS OF ALL LANDS!

"The fascist-monarchist reaction in Spain has hurled all the armed strength of the army, the navy and the aviation flotillas against the workers and peasants, who, under the working class alliance accomplished through the fighting unity between Communists and Socialists, have sealed this alliance with their blood, shed on the field of battle, a battle which is still going on.

"A victory for the fascist-monarchist reaction in Spain would—after the seizure of power by fascism in Germany and Austria—mean not only immeasurable torture for the workers and peasants of Spain, but would signify a heavy blow for the international proletariat.

"This single example of fighting unity of the working class was a powerful spur to the Spanish toilers in their efforts to hinder Spanish and world reaction.

"Having in mind this decisive picture of the bourgeoisie striving to shatter an embattled working class, the Communist International calls upon its Sections, in common with other workers' organizations, to organize demonstrations in solidarity with the Spanish working class.

"At the same time the Communist International turns to the workers of the Socialist International with the proposal *for immediate common actions*, as well as for the support of the fighting Span-

ish proletariat as against the support of the Lerroux government by the governments of other capitalist countries.

"The Communist International instructs Comrade Cachin immediately to ascertain the attitude of representatives of the Second International on the arrangement of concrete forms and the practical carrying through of such united action.

"EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL."

THE APPEAL OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

"**T**O THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL OF YOUTH, TO THE YOUNG WORKERS AND WOMEN WORKERS AND THE TOILING YOUTH OF ALL COUNTRIES!

"The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International joins in the appeal of the Comintern and proposes to the Socialist International of Youth to begin immediately with common action for the protection and support of the proletariat and the peasantry, consequently, therefore, of the youth, in their revolutionary fight.

"The E.C. of the Y.C.I. delegates Comrades Raymond, Guyot and Masse to begin negotiations at once with representatives of the S.Y.I., and together with them to begin concrete mass action for the support of the Spanish proletariat and peasantry and the youth against the fascist-monarchist reaction.

"EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, YOUNG COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL."

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