

The
PEOPLE'S
ROAD
TO
PEACE

By

EARL BROWDER

5c

THE PEOPLE'S
ROAD
TO PEACE

BY

EARL BROWDER

COMMUNIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

NEW YORK

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

The People's Road to Peace is the report by Earl Browder, General Secretary, in behalf of the National Committee, to the Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, held in New York May 30 to June 2, 1940.

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION	3
II. THE IMPERIALIST WAR AS THE DEEPEST CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD SYSTEM	4
How the Capitalist Powers All Helped Prepare the War	7
Trying to Swap the "Wrong War" for the "Right War"—First Stage of the Second Imperialist Slaughter	14
The "Wrong War" Becomes the Real War	19
The War-Guilt of the Second International	22
Only One Road of Successful Struggle Against the War	24
III. DOMESTIC REACTIONARY DEVELOPMENT IS BUT THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WAR POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE—THE SITUATION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES	26
Issues and Parties in the 1940 Elections	32
The Role of the Communist Party in 1940	42
A People's Platform for Peace and Prosperity	44
Can the United States Afford Such a People's Platform?	48
The People's Platform for Democracy and Civil Rights	51
Possible Future Extensions of the People's Platform	55
IV. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS THE VANGUARD AND ORGANIZED DETACHMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS, AND LEADER OF THE NATION	56
V. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS THE PARTY OF WORKING CLASS INTERNATIONALISM	62

Published by Workers Library Publishers, Inc., P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York, N. Y.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.



I. Introduction

THE imperialist war for the redivision of the world is engulfing country after country. The more each imperialist gang of bandits needs a military decision to forestall its own inner collapse, the more desperately does each side call up its reserves, strike out on new adventures, cast the lives and treasure of new millions of men, women and children into the balance. Complete disaster is being inflicted upon nation after nation. And already the American bourgeoisie assumes, as a closed question, that this country is committed to one side of the imperialist rivalry, to the Allied camp, for good or evil, and to question the decision is already a form of treason. In the face of a popular will to keep out of the war, estimated at 96 per cent, the Roosevelt Administration, backed by the united economic royalists and their agents, is taking the country step by step into the war with a speed unexampled in all history, and with a boldness and cynicism that are quite breath-taking, worthy of Hitler himself.

War policy determines everything else. The American bourgeoisie cannot move toward entering the unpopular and imperialist war without, at the same time, making war against the living standards and civil rights of the masses at home, making war against the labor movement, wiping out progressive social legislation, and establishing a more brutal dictatorship of monopoly-capital over the daily life of the country. This domestic side of the war policy of the American bourgeoisie is unfolding itself with equal speed.

The United States and Italy are the only remaining capitalist great powers that have not entered the war as belligerents. Mussolini openly repudiated the concept of "neutrality" from the beginning, and proclaimed Italy as "non-belligerent," which means merely awaiting the most favorable moment to

enter as a belligerent. Roosevelt solemnly pledged the United States to a firm neutrality, but used this declaration only the more easily to undermine the anti-war stand of the people. The United States is "sliding" into the war; its position already so closely approximates Mussolini's that the Foreign Minister of Argentina has proposed that the Americas, recognizing reality, shall officially adopt the Mussolinian formula.

Only one really neutral great power remains in the world, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Firmly repulsing all efforts to drag her into the war on one or the other side, defeating all efforts to switch the war into a general capitalist assault against her rising and victorious socialist system, damping back the war-tide from her most immediate small neighbors, helping the weak nations in their fight for peace and national independence, encouraging the peace forces of all the world—the Soviet Union stands forth as the great stronghold and beacon light of the interests of the working class and the common people of all lands, their hope, their inspiration, and their protection.

The masses of all countries are identifying those who share responsibility for this bloody shambles into which the world has been thrown. They find the responsible ones at the head of all imperialist governments without exception. They are preparing the people's justice for all the guilty ones.

These are the main and decisive features of the national and international situation, which the workers and toiling people of the United States face, as we enter the period of the 1940 Presidential elections.

II. The Imperialist War as the Deepest Crisis of the Capitalist World System

THE present imperialist war is not a *repetition* of the imperialist World War of 1914-18, but is its *continuation*. It is the same in principle, in that it is the expression of the

most profound contradictions of the capitalist system of society (in its imperialist stage of the dominance of monopoly capital); it is different, inasmuch as it occurs *after* the last World War with all its consequences, in a period of more profound crisis, with the forces of world capitalism much weaker, with the revolutionary anti-capitalist forces much stronger and more mature, and above all with the existence of the powerful Soviet Union, a decisive and irrevocable break in the world system of capitalism. The present war is thus a deeper crisis, *the deepest crisis of the capitalist world*.

Tracing back the causes of the present imperialist holocaust, one is led directly and inevitably, even without the aid of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical analysis of capitalism, to the worldwide economic crisis that began in 1929, as the starting point of the immediate chain of events that culminated in the war. Even the most vulgar bourgeois theoreticians are forced to recognize this obvious fact, although they try to forget it, and above all to obscure its significance. But its meaning is inescapable, and already penetrates the consciousness of millions of workers in the capitalist countries; namely, that the seeds of this war are inherent in the very nature of the capitalist mode of production, and therefore in the social and political superstructure erected upon that foundation. *Capitalism is itself the general underlying cause of the war*.

This conclusion is further driven home when we note that the war originates as a "family quarrel" between the ruling groups of the *most powerful* capitalist nations. It is not the "backward" countries which are forcing war upon the most "advanced," but, on the contrary, precisely those highest developed in the capitalist sense which are dragging the less developed one by one into the war. These ruling groups are closely related to each other. That the United States, the strongest capitalist country, was not a belligerent from the first days is due to special historical circumstances, and does not change the general picture in this respect; and the speed with which the American bourgeoisie is moving into the very heart of the war serves to emphasize the inherent drive toward war that comes from the fundamental nature of the capitalist system. The imperialist war is the violent culmination of the

rivalries within the "family" of the international bourgeoisie; in no way does it arise from any inherent contradiction between the peoples involved. *The war proves that the common interests of the peoples cannot find organized expression through the capitalist mode of production and the state forms erected upon that basis.*

The imperialist character of the present war is even more complete and emphatic than that of 1914-18. Monopoly capital, finance capital, whose dominance in the most powerful countries determines the whole character of modern imperialism, has risen to new heights of power within the various countries, since the last war. The concentration and centralization of capital have proceeded apace, and the great trusts, combines, cartels, and banking syndicates have a much broader and deeper grip upon the economy of each capitalist country. *Therefore this war begins as a "total" war on both sides, to a degree even higher than that of the last war after four years of its development.*

The uneven development of capitalism, that decisive law of the imperialist stage, discovered by Lenin, is revealed most sharply in this current imperialist war. The disproportion between the real relation of force among the imperialist powers, on the one hand, and the distribution of territories among them, on the other hand, is something which the capitalist nations have no means of adjusting except by the arbitrament of war. The more extreme this disproportion, the more violent is the adjustment. This is the reality hidden behind the distinction between "the have and the have-not nations," which refers not to oppressor and oppressed nations, but to the relationship between military power and possessions. *Those governments which complain of being "have-nots" merely mean they have not as much territory as they think they could seize by their military power.*

Only the U.S.S.R. stands entirely outside the crisis of capitalism which is the basis of the war. Far from suffering economic crisis which since 1929 has racked the capitalist world, the Soviet Union, on the contrary, has won through to the greatest prosperity. It has multiplied its national production by more than ten times, over one thousand per cent; and while

its position in a hostile capitalist world has forced it to divert an ever-larger amount to defense purposes, its growth in production is so great that, even so, and with an unprecedented proportion going to investment in new means of production, the Soviet Union has still been able to raise the standard of living of all its citizens manyfold. That is the solid material foundation for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, as well as for its ability to maintain its peaceful position against all hostile forces.

HOW THE CAPITALIST POWERS ALL HELPED PREPARE THE WAR

Great Britain, France and the United States proclaimed themselves the most completely devoted friends of peace. Together with the smaller countries under their leadership, these powers were possessed, until the last two years, of ample positions and resources to guarantee against any disturbance of world peace. They had the League of Nations, dedicated to that purpose; and if the United States stood aloof from the League, this was more than compensated by the fact that the Soviet Union joined the League, and was most insistent that its proclaimed peace functions be realized. How could it come to pass, therefore, that in a few short years the overwhelming preponderance of power in the hands of these "friends of peace" could be dissipated so much that the rising militarism of Hitler could challenge them in this war with any hopes of success? Why could not the possessors of overwhelming power so use it as to organize peace? How could German imperialism, defeated, prostrate and helpless after the last war, stage such a spectacular comeback in such a short time?

The answer is to be found in two main factors: First, the contradictions and antagonisms among the victors in the last war flared up with new intensity when Germany was defeated, and among the leading powers themselves effectively prevented any common world policy; peace was not the first, but the last consideration among them. Secondly, the fear of the working class, of the socialist revolution, and especially the hatred of the Soviet Union which emerged from the last World War, was so deep and overwhelming within the bourgeoisie, the

ruling classes of the whole world, that it led them into fatal miscalculations, into policies which went bankrupt under the test of reality. Bourgeois society, as we look back at it since the World War, presents a most dismal picture of decay, not only economic decay, not only moral decay, but even more completely, if that is possible, intellectual decay. In the whole bourgeois world since the World War, there is not one example of an outstanding statesman, not to speak of a country, which pursued a consistent and long-sighted policy even for the preservation of the bourgeois world, which in their eyes is "the preservation of civilization."

France built her system of hegemony over Europe, only to find Great Britain facing her full of jealousy and suspicion, determined to rebuild as quickly as possible a new "balance of power" to replace that destroyed by the World War. The post-war world was a chaos of rivalries, antagonisms and contradictions.

The phase of "creeping war," which opened the new period of wars and revolutions, began when Japan struck at China in 1931 with the seizure of Manchuria. This was also a heavy blow against the United States, which confidently moved for international support in bringing Japan to heel. But the conference of the signatories of the Nine-Power Pact came to nothing, because Great Britain could not be committed to any action. The United States suspected Great Britain of wanting her to go to war with Japan then, with Britain standing on the sidelines to pick up the pieces, and was certain that the British had double-crossed her.

Hitler, who had come to power with the aid of British and German capital, marched into the demilitarized Rhineland, and announced its forthcoming fortification, but Britain, France, and the League of Nations merely scolded for a moment and were silent. In fact, relations between Britain and France were quite strained, for the French with justice accused the British of encouraging the Rhineland coup, and of playing off both Hitler and Mussolini against them, in order to restore the old game of balance of power on the Continent, which French hegemony had abolished for a time to the discomfiture of Britain. Then Mussolini struck in Ethiopia, and the British

Tories, after winning an election on the issue of "collective security," promptly proceeded, in partnership with the French, to sell the Ethiopians down the river. Mussolini and Hitler launched the fascist rebellion of the Spanish Army, and sent their forces in to help strangle the Spanish Republic; Britain and France, supported by the United States, responded by the elaborate farce of the "non-intervention committee" which blockaded the Republic, and these "democracies" publicly rejoiced when Butcher Franco was finally enthroned in power.

Hitler marched into Austria and turned it into a German province, but Britain and France remained silent. Japan invaded China in a bloody, furious war of destruction and made a ferocious assault upon British interests (incidentally machine-gunning the British Ambassador to China), but the U.S.A., Britain and France only mumbled a few words of formal protest, and the U.S.A. continued to furnish Japan with the largest part of the raw materials and machinery required for her war.

Finally, in September, 1938, Chamberlain and Daladier flew to Munich, in order to lay at Hitler's feet the bound and helpless body of Czechoslovakia. *By the Munich Pact, however, the British and French ruling classes had built up Hitler's regime in Germany so far, had surrendered so many strategic points, had so thoroughly destroyed their own moral standing by open complicity with Hitler's crimes, that it was already an open question as to which side was the strongest and, therefore, according to the rules of imperialism, entitled to rule the world. The Frankenstein built up over several years had escaped from the control of its makers.*

It is interesting and instructive at this moment when German arms, having conquered Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, are penetrating France so quickly that both London and Paris are threatened, to recall again the long line of events in which the British and French, usually with the acquiescence or assistance of the United States, themselves deliberately and of their own choice broke down and dismantled their whole post-war system of defenses against such a development.

How can such a course be explained, except as inconceivable

stupidity or deliberate suicide? Yet we know the men responsible for it are very clever men—indeed, perhaps their trouble was that they were too clever by far. These hard-bitten leaders of the bourgeoisie have no suicidal manias—they may plan death for tens of millions of the people, but never for themselves. How then is it possible to understand their course?

There is but one explanation. The British ruling class had collaborated with their German class brothers in bringing Hitler to power in Germany in order to crush the threatening German socialist revolution, to smash the German Bolsheviks. They were delighted with his performance, and encouraged German rearmament for the purpose of smashing the Soviet Union, which Hitler had long boasted as his chief aim. For this the British and French bourgeoisie were actually happy to see Hitler building an army and piling up armaments. For this they were ready to make most serious concessions to Hitler's axis partners, Japan and Italy, sacrificing China and Ethiopia. For this they gave Mussolini and Hitler a free hand in Spain, to test out those engines of destruction which should later be thrown against the Soviet Union. For this they agreed to allow Hitler to guarantee his "rear" through the fortification of the Rhineland. For this they sacrificed Austria and Czechoslovakia, with untold armaments and treasure. For this they dishonored and emasculated the League of Nations. For this they betrayed their own most solemn obligations and turned them into a mockery before all men. For this they delivered their own fate into the hands of Hitler.

The British and French bourgeoisie had adopted Hitler as their savior with a faith as blind and unquestioning as that of his most ignorant German dupe. Systematically they thereby taught Hitler to despise them, to consider them as fit only for browbeating, blackmail, and, if need be, for subjugation. For a chemically-pure example of this fawning British attitude toward Hitler, one need only turn to the pages of the naive and self-revealing book of Sir Neville Henderson, British Ambassador to Berlin from 1937 up to September, 1939, in which he explains the "Failure of a Mission." Or to Lord Lloyd's booklet, *The British Case*, which is blessed with a preface by Lord Halifax, British Foreign Minister. There is

only one "crime" which they are not prepared to forgive Hitler, and that one is his renunciation of the anti-Soviet war. Yes, they were entirely too clever, these great statesmen of British and French monopoly capital, and overreached themselves. In the doing of which they incidentally brought disaster to the peoples of the world, and now to their own lands.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was talking quite a different language. Soviet defenses more than matched Hitler's armaments. Hitler's agents were ferreted out of their hiding places, and the country was cleansed of them, along with Japanese and British agents. The Spanish Republic was aided on a scale which, despite its desertion by all the so-called democracies, would have ensured its victory had not Blum and Daladier sealed the French border, at crucial moments, to stop the transit of Soviet arms and munitions, and permitted German planes to pass over France into Spain. The Chinese Republic was enabled, by Soviet aid, to resist over years the Japanese *blitzkrieg* conducted with American materials. The Soviet Union never lost an opportunity to urge the implementation of international pledges of collective security. Communists all over the world helped build the anti-fascist People's Front, despite all the betrayals and sabotage from the Second International. Above all, the tremendous achievements of the socialist Soviet economy, multiplying its national income tenfold, and the new Stalinist Constitution of the Soviet Union, made the socialist one-sixth of the world an impregnable fortress. *Facing the vigilant great Soviet Power to the East, and the rotten imperialisms to the West, Hitler disclosed after Munich that he was more inclined to finish up with his imperialist rivals, to revise his original schedule of world conquest, following his well-established tactic of hitting first at the softest and weakest points.*

The British bourgeoisie was thoroughly shaken and frightened by Hitler's defiant attitude toward them after Munich, especially when in March, 1939, Hitler marched into Prague, and with the collaboration of fascist Poland wiped out the remnants of Czechoslovakia. *But these British rulers, with the agreement of the French (and it now appears also of Roosevelt), committed the unbelievable stupidity of sticking tight*

to their original grand strategy. They changed nothing but some details of carrying it through. They still gambled everything, everything, upon bringing about a war between Germany and the Soviet Union. Hitler was raising his price; very well, he should get it and more. Not only was Poland to remain completely defenseless, as a pledge of British "good intentions" toward Hitler, but a "loan" of a billion dollars and a German-British alliance was dangled before Berlin, on the sole condition that all moves should be worked out jointly and not by Hitler's sole decision. To enhance the attractiveness of these offers, Hitler was to be threatened with the alternative of war. But the threat of war would have little weight, especially after Munich, unless it was a threat of war from both East and West. But war from the East was impossible without the Soviet Union and its Red Army to conduct it. No one, least of all Hitler, would take such a threat seriously, unless the weight of the Soviet Union was also behind it. Therefore in May the British and French opened conversations with Moscow for that purpose. Those conversations dragged on into August.

The British-French negotiators convinced the Soviet Union that their proposals were not seriously directed to the establishment of a peace front, but, on the contrary, were designed only to foment a German-Soviet war under the worst possible conditions for the Soviet Union. The following incontestable facts were sufficient to establish this:

(1) In contrast to Chamberlain's airplane flights to Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, and Munich, to negotiate directly with Hitler, for the Moscow negotiations were sent only subordinate officials, practically clerks, and these without any defined powers at all, and even without any formal credentials.

(2) Their proposals, in essence, were to the effect that in case Britain could not come to terms with Hitler, then the Soviet Union should consider itself at war with Germany, but should have no voice in negotiating those terms, and no rights of action in the Baltic territories or Poland, even when at war with Germany.

(3) Poland, Britain's vassal, meanwhile stood pat on the

position described recently by General Haller, on the occasion of visiting Roosevelt, as one of confidence in Hitler and hostility toward the Soviet Union, an undefended frontier with Germany and no mobilization, but huge fortifications fully manned on the Soviet frontier.

(4) The Baltic States, with British approval, absolutely refused to discuss any measures for their own and the Soviet Union's defenses in such a war with Germany, while Finland was receiving, in the very months of the negotiations, forty million dollars' worth of planes and munitions to supplement the Mannerheim line less than twenty miles from Leningrad, a line built under British direction.

These basic factors proved beyond all doubt that the British and French rulers were merely engaging in a maneuver to bring pressure upon Hitler to return to his original line of march against the Soviet Union, and that they had not the slightest intention of negotiating a serious peace front that included the Soviet Union upon a basis of equality.

At the same time the Germans came to Moscow with the offer of a far-reaching Pact of Non-Aggression, on the lines which the Soviet Union had always held out to all nations. Since the Soviet Union, if not itself attacked, had not the slightest reason to attack Germany, and since there was no prospect whatever for a real peace front, this offer was entirely acceptable. It withdrew Eastern Europe from the immediate threat of becoming the main battleground of the impending imperialist world conflict. It helped dispel the cloud of illusion and falsification that enveloped the world, reveal the true relation of forces and issues, and give another opportunity to the peace forces of the world to halt the war-makers. It enabled the Soviet Union to perfect its western defense lines, the weaknesses of which the capitalist world had been boastfully discussing for years. *The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, signed on August 23, 1939, knocked into a pile of ruins the whole grand strategy of the camp of Chamberlain-Daladier-Second International built on the fixed idea of using Hitler Germany to destroy the Soviet Union.*

With the desperation of gamblers playing a "sure thing

system" at roulette, the British-French rulers with their Social-Democratic accomplices (and, as we now know, the complicity of the Roosevelt Administration) had doubled and redoubled their stakes. *They gambled away the independence of nations and their own honor. They staked the most precious interests of their own peoples. They played with the peace of the world, with the lives of tens of millions of helpless and unknowing people. They gambled—and they lost.*

A storm of hysterical rage swept over the bourgeoisie and their hangers-on of the Second International (with its Trotskyite and Lovestoneite appendages), against the Soviet Union, for daring to sign a Pact of Non-Aggression with Germany without their permission. This storm was by no means least violent in the United States, significantly enough, showing how deep in the conspiracy had been our American ruling class. The very men and parties which had most loudly praised the Munich Pact less than a year before—remember, *only* the Communists fought and voted against Munich—now led a most ferocious denunciation of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact as—of all things—"another Munich"! *The very men and parties who had been publicly praying for the success of Chamberlain's efforts to secure an agreement with Hitler on how to divide up the world—these were the ones to denounce the Soviet-German agreement merely not to go to war with one another.* The depth of this hysteria among the bourgeoisie and their "Socialist" lackeys is a measure of the completeness of the bankruptcy of imperialist policy thereby revealed. The gamblers could not accept the fact that they had lost.

TRYING TO SWAP THE "WRONG WAR" FOR THE "RIGHT WAR"—
FIRST STAGE OF THE SECOND IMPERIALIST SLAUGHTER

In the first days of September the British Government, and after it the French, declared war against the Frankenstein of their own creation, because it had escaped from their control and renounced its original mission. But it was with the outspoken cry that came sincerely from their imperialist hearts that this was the "wrong war," which should be exchanged as quickly as possible for the "right war," for the war they had

been conspiring so many years to bring about. Their slogan, "Swap the wrong war for the right war," is the key to an understanding of the whole course of war from September to March of this year, the period of the "phony war." *It meant that the British-French rulers were still, incredible as it seems that such stupidity could be possible, bullheadedly persisting on the path of the bankrupt and shattered grand strategy of the anti-Soviet war. Having failed to bribe and persuade Hitler to go through with it, they now undertook to force him to do so.* That goal determined the whole form and spirit of the first stage of the war. Its disastrous consequences for the Allies are only now becoming apparent, in the second stage of the war. *Instead of correcting the fundamental error which had brought them to catastrophe, they intensified it, and thereby redoubled its terrible consequences.* And in this stage, the Roosevelt Administration from secret complicity emerged into open and active partnership.

Ostensibly the war began over Poland. That was only a convenient pretext, however, as uncontested facts amply prove. Britain had no more intention of defending Poland than she had previously had of defending Austria, Spain, or Czechoslovakia. The British Government did not even sign its *paper guarantee* of Poland until the last days of August, when the war had already been decided upon; it had negotiated an insignificant loan to Poland, but even that fell through, because they could not agree how it should be spent. The Polish army was never fully mobilized, and not even a trench was dug on its German borders, although its Soviet frontier bristled with modern fortifications. The Polish Government was itself fresh from the feast, together with Hitler, on the body of Czechoslovakia. It had not conceived of the idea, nor had its British mentors, of resisting Hitler in any serious way. *Chamberlain had sent a note to Hitler, on August 28, offering him the same kind of settlement of the Polish issues that he had already provided in the case of Czechoslovakia. The sole issue was narrowed down to whether Hitler should take what he wanted by force or whether he should receive it from the hands of Chamberlain as a gift. In this issue was concealed the true matter of dispute, which was not Poland, but whether*

Hitler accepted Chamberlain as an equal partner in the redivision of the world.

The Polish Government with most of the generals of its army broke and fled the country in the first weeks of the German onslaught; their only efficient preparations had been to pack their treasures, money, jewelry, and so on, for a hasty flight to London and Paris.

With the collapse and flight of the Polish Government, the Soviet Red Army occupied Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia, rescuing some thirteen million inhabitants, including more than two million Jews, immediately incorporating them with full equality in the autonomous Soviet Republics, giving them land and reorganizing their economic life. The western bourgeoisie (including the American and especially the Jewish-American), was more indignant against this rescue by the Red Army than they were against Hitler; rescue missions, they thought, were only permissible when undertaken by commission of His Majesty the King and Emperor of the British Empire through his faithful servant, Neville Chamberlain.

The little Baltic states of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which with Poland had been Britain's pawns in the so-called "peace front" negotiations with the Soviet Union, and provided Britain with its desired "insuperable obstacles" to meeting Soviet views, now that they were released from the threat of British interference, underwent a sudden and profound change of heart. They quickly signed mutual defense pacts with the Soviet Union, providing for Soviet naval and military outposts on the Baltic, and for the rescue of their economies from collapse by close trade relations with the Soviet Union. Lithuania received her ancient capital, Vilna, seized by Poland in 1920, as a free gift from the Soviet Union. All three countries have been profuse in their praise of how the Soviet Union has carried out these agreements. But Britain, France and the United States had exerted every effort to prevent these agreements from being signed.

Then negotiations opened between Finland and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union asked that the Finnish frontier close to Leningrad be moved back, for a lease on Hangoe Pen-

insula for a naval base to protect the Gulf of Finland, for some small readjustments in the north to protect Murmansk; and offered Finland compensating territorial adjustments of ten-fold area and economic value, together with favorable economic relations and a mutual defense pact. There cannot be the slightest doubt that a quick and peaceful settlement would have been made, but for the intervention of Allied and American influence. President Roosevelt made a public intervention based upon the assumption that the Soviet proposals must be rejected, and placing his influence in support of such a decision, presumably assuming responsibility for the consequences. Mannerheim, Ryti and Tanner felt cocky, indeed; did they not have the most powerful forces of the world in their support? They went so far as to permit themselves the luxury of provocative incidents violating the Soviet frontier. Again, the imperialist forces had over-reached themselves. The Red Army marched into Finland.

That was the moment when the bourgeoisie, and particularly the American bourgeoisie, together with all their "Socialist" and "labor" lickspittles, opened up their hearts and minds for the whole world to see what is really there. With one voice they all shouted that no sacrifice was too great if only it would preserve the Mannerheim Line at the throat of Leningrad. "The war in Finland" took precedence over the war with Germany, which, especially in America, found itself relegated to the back pages of the newspapers. *The great empires of the world were supposedly locked in a life-and-death struggle, but the one single spot where the Allies, plus the United States, plus Italy, were willing to assume the military offensive was on the Mannerheim Line against the Soviet Union!* The Roosevelt Administration rushed huge loans to Mannerheim; Herbert Hoover opened up public subscriptions for arms and supplies; the newspapers presented Mannerheim with miraculous military victories gratis every day; the public test of true Americanism became a pledge of allegiance to the Mannerheim-Ryti-Tanner Finnish government, to refuse which was considered substantially treasonable! *What a revelation that was of the true desires and thoughts of the bourgeoisie! Here at last was the "right war" which they were ready to move*

heaven and earth to substitute for the "wrong war" with Hitler! Let us never forget this revelation of the true mind and heart of the bourgeoisie, of the ruling classes, which has not changed one iota, although with the ebb and flow of military fortunes it is often covered with sweet words and gestures, and a pretense of a new "friendliness" toward the Soviet Union.

During the period of hostilities in Finland, Allied-American grand strategy was reconstructed in terms of holding tight on the Western front, while active military measures were assigned to the "northern front" and the "southeastern front," both of them capable of being directed against Germany or the Soviet Union, or both, with equal facility. The plan was to move simultaneously on both fronts in May, in a pincers movement, which, backed by the blockade and a solid western front, would "bring Hitler to his senses" and a quick peace, followed by a concerted drive against the Soviet Union, the "right war" at last. The world-shaking achievements of the Red Army in smashing the Mannerheim Line, and the Soviet-Finnish peace on March 12, without precedent in the generosity of its terms, again shattered the reconstructed Allied strategy.

While these events were taking place, President Roosevelt made his first ambitious attempt at direct diplomatic intervention to change the course of the war. He sent Sumner Welles on his dramatic tour through Rome, Berlin, Paris and London. According to the best available information Welles carried proposals, already agreed upon with the Vatican, with London and Paris "agreed in principle" (that is, prepared to discuss as a basis of settlement), whereby Italy was to receive Tunis, Corsica, Jibouti, and an equal voice in control of Suez, in return for pressing Hitler to accept a "token" reconstitution of Poland and the status quo in the West, return of German African colonies, and a free hand and practical assistance in the East against the Soviet Union—the whole settlement to be guaranteed by the United States, which would assume the role of "honest broker" between the rivals and policeman of the new "community of nations." Unfortunately for Roosevelt's ambitions, the market price for Mussolini's services had taken a big jump just at the moment Welles started

on his trip, and when he arrived in Rome, he found his currency so highly depreciated that it would buy nothing. Mussolini had adopted Lloyd George's famous phrase as his answer—"Too late and too little." Welles returned to Washington a sadder if not a wiser man.

The first phase of the imperialist war came to a close with a situation which, according to former standards, was a military stalemate, and a diplomatic deadlock; with the United States out in the open as the "non-belligerent" ally of Britain and France, corresponding to Italy's position as "non-belligerent" ally of Germany; with feverish preparations on both sides to extend the war to the small countries; and with the Soviet Union, the only truly neutral great power, greatly strengthened and at peace, more than ever the center of attraction of all the peace forces of the world.

Marking the close of the first phase of the war, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, speaking to Britain and the world, uttered those historic words: "Hitler has missed the bus!" The next day, the second phase of the war opened with the British mining of Norwegian territorial waters. Within six weeks German troops were within artillery range of British shores.

THE "WRONG WAR" BECOMES THE REAL WAR

Less than two months' engagement of the main imperialist forces in military combat (hardly three weeks if we disregard the Norwegian preliminaries), already promise to exceed all estimates of the deadly and destructive nature of modern warfare between great powers. Despite seven months of "phony" war, that is, war largely confined to economic and diplomatic moves, it now appears that casualty lists, civilian and military, will quickly overtake and surpass those of the last war. It is not possible as yet to make any decisive estimate of the course and consequences of this second phase of the war. A few conclusions are, however, clearly in order:

First, the speed of events clearly is transforming the war into a *world war* on the largest scale with the possibility of the greatest catastrophes. The very concepts of "neutrality" and "national independence" have become meaningless for

most of the world, killed by the actions and policies of both belligerent camps. Britain first violated Norwegian neutrality, thus sharing the moral responsibility of Germany; the only difference was that Britain did it first while Germany did it most successfully, thoroughly and effectively. The Allies boldly announced that "neutral rights" would no longer be any barrier to what they considered necessary military measures, just before the Germans acted upon their words by striking through Holland and Belgium. The United States has been poised for entrance into the war by Roosevelt's actions, and especially by his latest declarations, which may any moment receive a powerful push from the Far East, in the dispute over the rubber, tin and oil resources of the Dutch East Indies, with Japan preparing to realize her imperialist "manifest destiny." Rumors of a possible transfer of the seat of the British Empire to Canada serve to emphasize the seriousness of involvement of all the Americas, through the pro-war policies in Washington, and the unbridled grasping for profits of American capital.

Second, the initiative in the war has been definitely seized by the Germans, with all the advantages that accrue therefrom, largely as the result of Allied-American obsession with the aim of "switching the war" against the Soviet Union. The advantage of this initiative has been further emphasized by the revelation that air power has gained over sea power since the last war, as shown not only in the Skagerrak but also on the Norwegian Atlantic Coast, with deadly intimations following for the Mediterranean area. This, however, is not the main reason for the present campaign of panic and pessimism over Allied military prospects, spread among their partisans in America, any more than the situation at the beginning of April justified the Pollyanna optimism of Chamberlain's cheerful chuckles at that time, less than two months ago. The jitters and gloom, spreading from London and Paris, arise more from fear of their own population, disillusioned and disgusted with their ruling classes and rebelling against the indescribable horrors imposed upon them, and against admitted incompetence if not treason in high places. Then, also, pessimism at this moment is a form of pressure upon the American bourgeoisie openly to enter the war as a belligerent, in order to

offset the moral effect of their setbacks, to offset Mussolini's probable entrance on the other side, and—not least important—to forestall some possible demands the American bourgeoisie might make at the expense of Britain if they have more time to think the matter over. *Pessimism over the present situation is thus a not too delicate form of blackmail against Washington and Wall Street, threatening a possible "quick peace" at the expense of American imperial ambitions, since it is no longer feasible to do it at the expense of the Soviet Union.*

Third, the perspective of a long war of blockade and attrition, upon which Great Britain was orientated last September as the final guarantee of success, failing all efforts to "switch the war," no longer holds any promise of achieving the larger aims of British imperialism. This is because (a) the blockade is not as effective as it had been supposed; (b) the Empire ties with the Dominions, India and Ireland already reveal dangerous strains which may become very acute under a prolonged war; (c) Japanese and American demands and aspirations, directed to the field of British imperialist interests, become ever more embarrassing, costly and threatening for the future; (d) economic strain and threatening crisis is becoming almost, if not fully, as potent a factor for Britain and France as for Germany and Italy; and finally (e) the working class and toiling masses generally are, from the beginning, almost entirely without enthusiasm for this war, even where they are not yet vocally and actively against it, and the bourgeoisie is becoming acutely conscious of the threat of popular upheavals, leading toward socialist revolutions. The Allied Powers are therefore tending to abandon the perspective of a long war, and want above everything now to bring in the United States as the necessary reserve for a military decision in their favor.

It is on this background that we must evaluate the call to war issued by President Roosevelt at the Pan-American Scientific Congress, and his hysterical juggling with flying-time schedules and "fifty thousand planes" when appealing for expansion of the Army and Navy appropriations to three and a half billion dollars. All these things are understandable, they have a definite logic, *only* as preparation for quickly and fully

throwing the United States as a belligerent into the imperialist war between Britain and France, and Germany, into military adventures overseas.

The "wrong war" has become the real war. The real war is becoming a world war. The world war is getting set to engulf the United States also—if the American workers and lovers of peace allow this to happen.

THE WAR-GUILT OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Long ago the working class and democratic masses generally would have haltered the warmakers, and made it impossible for them to throw the world into war, *but for the fact that they were held back, demoralized, split up, and delivered over to the control of the bourgeoisie by their treacherous misleaders of the parties of the Second International, the so-called "Socialist" and "labor" parties, and the reactionary trade union leadership that follows them.*

The parties of the Second International share fully and completely the war-guilt of the imperialist profiteers, in an even more degraded and disgusting form, because they cover themselves with the hypocritical cloak of phrases about "socialism in the future" and "the interests of labor," with the most brazen demogagy. The Attlees and Citrines in England, the Blums and Jouhaux in France, the Norman Thomases, Sidney Hillmans and William Grèens in the United States, one and all performed the most indispensable services to the imperialist war-makers, without which they would never have been able or have dared to plunge the world into war.

The case of the Spanish Republic is a key example of this traitorous role of the Second International. If the German armies have swept over the small Western European countries and now hammer at the gates of Paris and London, this is possible *only* because in the spring of 1939 the Mussolini-Hitler-Franco armies were able to take Barcelona and Madrid and finally strangle the Spanish Republic. *If the Spanish Republic had emerged victorious there is not the slightest doubt that this alone would have prevented the outbreak of the Second Imperialist War in 1939.* For over two years, throughout the heroic struggle of Republican Spain, our Party

never tired of pointing this out. One thousand American boys—Communists—died in Spain for democracy—to save the peace of the world. The imperialists and all their agents attacked us then. They put every obstacle in the way of the Spanish Republic. To this day, the U. S. Government has failed to recognize and aid the heroic fighters for Spanish democracy and the Spanish refugees in France, who need our support.

Mussolini and Hitler could never have strangled the Spanish Republic without the cooperation of Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt. But Chamberlain & Co. could never have dared to give that cooperation without the support of the whole Second International. Indeed, it was Leon Blum himself, leader of the French Socialist Party and then Premier of France, who took the initiative in formulating and applying the infamous "non-intervention" scheme. It was the leadership of the British Labor Party which restrained and broke up the mass movement in England that demanded help to Spain. It was the Scandinavian Socialist leaders, holding decisive positions in their governments, who, together with the Dutch and Belgian Socialist leaders, and those of Poland and Czechoslovakia, made up the overwhelming majority of the Second International leadership that unhesitatingly upheld this traitorous policy. It was Norman Thomas in the United States who justified his European colleagues, while covering himself with hypocritical lip-service to Spain, and gave to Roosevelt his cynical reply to all protests against the American embargo: "Do you really expect me to go farther than Leon Blum and the Second International?" It was the Second International leadership which conspired with London, Rome and Berlin to deliver the final blow against the Spanish Republic, by opening up the gates of Madrid, through their miserable agents Casado and Besteiro. *Now it is clear that history will record the delivery of Madrid to the fascists as the opening of the flood-gates of the war that today sweeps over all Europe and extends more and more to the rest of the world.*

It was the Second International which prevented the successful building of the People's Front against reaction and war. When the French Socialist masses forced their leaders to enter the Front Populaire, it was Leon Blum who conspired

night and day to dissolve it, who never rested until he had shattered this powerful alliance of the people from within. In England it was Attlee and Citrine who forcibly suppressed the People's Front movement, which could long ago have brought down the Chamberlain Government and opened the way to peace. In the United States it was Norman Thomas and the reactionary trade union leaders who took the lead in denunciation of the People's Front and the democratic front for peace, in the most extreme and slanderous terms.

Since the Second Imperialist War is on, it is the Second International in each country which has most shamelessly and unconditionally led the shouting for the most extreme war party. *Their only complaint against the war is that it is not yet also a war against the Soviet Union.*

The fight for peace, and for defending the economic and political needs of the workers and toiling masses, can be successful only to the degree that it meets, exposes, isolates, and defeats all these warmongering agents of imperialism among the people.

ONLY ONE ROAD OF SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR

The overwhelming majority of people of every country hate this war, and want to stop it immediately. The ruling classes of each warring camp reply: yes, we all want peace, but peace can come only through victory for our side, therefore the only road to peace is to sacrifice everything for the war. In the United States, where 96 per cent of the people are against entering the war, the answer is given that the only way to peace is to enter this war to guarantee victory to the Allied cause. *Thus the agents of the high financiers and war-profiteers try to turn the very aspirations for peace into the mightiest engine for war.*

Along this road lies only catastrophe, misery, starvation and death for the peoples of the world. The choice of supporting the "lesser evil" against the worst evil leads not to peace, but to the sure infliction of every possible evil upon the masses. Not the victory of one or another imperialist camp is the road to peace, but the victory of the people over their war-making rulers in each country is the only way.

What reason is there to believe that an Allied victory will bring anything better to the world than a German victory? Britain and France emerged the victors in 1918, with such tremendous powers in their hands as had never existed before in the world, not only the power to dictate the terms of peace to the vanquished, but even to dictate to their own allies, the United States, Italy and Japan, not to mention the smaller powers. What did they do with their power? What kind of Europe and what kind of world did they produce? If the world is in a bloody mess today, that is the direct result of victory for the Allied Powers in 1918. Have the British and French ruling classes showed any intelligence or morality since 1918 greater than before? On the contrary, they have shown even less. Have they shown any more ability? On the contrary, they display nothing but an abyss of incapacity, ineptitude and corruption. Are they any more "democratic"? On the contrary, they have leveled off the so-called democracies with the fascist regimes, so that there is no essential difference between them in their relationship to the masses. There is nothing to choose between the imperialist camps, for any support given to either means the surrender of the whole struggle for peace and a better world.

Only the peoples of the world, led by the working class, can bring peace and a better world, and that only by struggle and victory over *their own* imperialists and reactionaries.

The people of the United States can protect themselves and help the rest of the world only by resisting and defeating all those who want to help one side against the other, which leads finally and inevitably to entering the war; only by fighting against every tendency to spread the war anywhere in the world; only by fighting and defeating the tremendous efforts being made to establish a war regime within the United States even before the entry into the war; only by fighting against and defeating the armaments program which is only a greased chute to catapult this country overnight and against its will into the war.

The only road of successful struggle against the imperialist war is that so sharply and clearly defined in the words of Georgi Dimitroff:

"First, union of the fighting forces of the working class within each country;

"Second, a genuine popular front of the working people, led by the working class;

"Third, united action of the proletariat internationally, and its own independent, single international policy of struggle against imperialist war;

"Fourth, combination of the struggle of the working people of the capitalist countries with the anti-imperialist movement in the colonial and dependent countries;

"Fifth, rallying the working people around the great Land of Socialism, the only state which champions the cause of peace among nations and which defends the vital interests of the working people of the whole world." *

This is the only path which can rescue the world from the chaos and destruction of imperialist war. This is the path which we must help the American working class, at the head of the whole people, to find in the most concrete fashion, for our own country.

III. Domestic Reactionary Development Is but the Other Side of the War Policy of the Bourgeoisie—The Situation Within the United States.

UNDER the slogan of "National unity" the economic royalists and their agents are rallying the entire bourgeoisie against the working class and toiling masses, they are splitting the nation into two camps with a decisiveness that has never before been witnessed. They are making united war against the labor movement, against the living and working standards of the masses, and against popular civil rights. This

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The Struggle Against the Imperialist War*, pp. 14-15. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

is the domestic policy which inevitably accompanies an imperialist war policy. President Roosevelt, assuming the leadership of the war party, has thereby also assumed the leadership of domestic reaction. The New Deal chapter of progressive social legislation, always fragmentary and lacking consistency, has now definitely closed.

The Roosevelt regime was inaugurated almost simultaneously with that of Hitler in Germany. Both arose from the same deep and catastrophic economic crisis of the capitalist world system, and the impossibility of finding any way out by "normal" means. *They took different paths*, because the German bourgeoisie had united, with British support, upon the course of open brutal dictatorship to suppress the home population and intense preparation for foreign wars; whereas the American bourgeoisie split after a short period when it was in doubt which way Roosevelt was moving; the most reactionary section went in the Hitler direction while a "liberal" section rallied the masses to its support for a "liberal experiment" in progressive domestic and foreign policy to meet the crisis, which came to be identified as the "New Deal" and the "Good Neighbor" policies. Both of these are now dead. The Rooseveltism of the New Deal has capitulated to the reactionaries. A new Roosevelt is again bosom friends with that evil old man Garner and his friends. The new Roosevelt course is essentially for America the same direction which Hitler gave for Germany in 1933. Unless it is halted, and a different course charted for our country, it can only have a similarly catastrophic end. In the name of the fight against Hitlerism, the American bourgeoisie boldly strikes out on the path of imitation. Its period of appeasement of the people has ended. Monopoly capital, dominating our society, has in the end no other answer to the questions raised by the crisis and breakdown of its economic system than that given in the past years by its European class brothers. It is the answer of black reaction and war.

But from 1935 up to the outbreak of the imperialist war, a section of the bourgeoisie, in a loose sort of coalition with labor, the poorer farmers, the Negroes, the youth, the unemployed, *had tried to lead the United States on a different path*,

the path of social reform and concessions to the masses, with peaceful and conciliatory relations with Latin America and the rest of the world. That was the period of the New Deal, in which the obsolete and disintegrating old party structure had largely dissolved into two new camps—the New Deal and the anti-New Deal—in which *American newspapers and the economic royalists were almost as fierce in their hatred of Roosevelt as they are now of the Communists.*

How long ago that period seems now! Yet, when we check up with the calendar, it was less than a year ago that Roosevelt was accused of being a Red, or at least a “Communist stooge” and an agent of Moscow. It is only somewhat more than a year ago that a solemn Senate Committee gravely demanded to know of Mr. Felix Frankfurter, prominent New Dealer, if he were a member of the Communist Party, and only upon his equally grave reply that he was not, unanimously confirmed him to life membership in the Supreme Court. Less than a year ago that Martin Dies was a deadly enemy of the Administration of which he is today the ideological and political vanguard. Less than a year ago that Elliot Roosevelt was publicly panning papa on the radio and boosting papa’s most virulent enemy in the Democratic Party; but now papa has won son’s endorsement for a third term by uniting with son’s employers. Less than ten months ago in fact; but so much water has run under the bridge in that time that it seems like ten years!

Today it is no longer any more than her usual jump ahead of her political camp when Dorothy Thompson, the unique and inimitable, plumps for a third term for Roosevelt on Republican and Democratic tickets with Wendell Willkie as his running-mate! Yes, it is unquestionably the same Dorothy. Only the times have changed, and the alignment of classes, and the bourgeoisie is at war—war among their different governments and war against the working class and toiling masses everywhere!

Today there are eighty-five trade unions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations *indicted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, for conspiracy* to organize the workers of their industries. Ben

Gold, Irving Potash, and a dozen associates of the Fur Workers Union have been sentenced to long prison terms. Twenty-five Teamsters of Local 807, A. F. of L., were convicted and some of them face as high as forty-one years’ imprisonment for striving for union conditions and standards. The first time in history that *any one* has ever been sentenced to prison under this law adopted generations ago! And the proceedings are brought by the Roosevelt Administration, heading a united bourgeoisie, with the economic royalists a solidly cheering group in the foreground!

The great transformation began to develop systematically and swiftly, at the opening of the imperialist war. A simple little reservation to the declaration of American neutrality toward this war—that “we” could not all agree to be “neutral in thought”—started an endless chain of cause and effect that has culminated in a complete regroupment in American politics and brought the U.S.A. to the brink of plunging headlong into the most senseless and destructive war in the history of the world.

“Fifty thousand airplanes” is the slogan which opened up the 1940 Presidential campaign. For what? The answer is a solemn recital of the flying time of various air-schedules into the United States, culminating in the information that from Tampico, Mexico, it is only two-and-a-half hours to Omaha and Kansas City. But Lindbergh was only stating a matter of common knowledge and common sense, whatever his political motive, which is open to question, when he said that no possible enemy could invade the U.S.A. by air, and that the U.S.A. cannot possibly be involved in war except by its own seeking. For what, then, the fifty thousand airplanes and the multiplied billions for the Army and Navy? What, then, is the significance of time schedule of air flights?

Peoples of the twenty Latin American countries will stir uneasily as they reflect that the air time-tables work both ways! The whole world knows of “Wrong-way” Corrigan, and that he is an American national hero! There is no power which could conceivably invade the United States by air, but fifty thousand military airplanes in the U.S. with as many young Corrigans at the controls would be as heavy a sword

over the head of Latin America as twelve thousand planes in Germany were for the last years over the head of Europe. The Mexican people must be pondering deeply over the meaning of the mention of Tampico, principal point of distribution of the Mexican oil industry, regarding which the U.S. Government is making demands which the Mexican Government has rejected as infringing upon Mexican integrity and independence. Fifty thousand airplanes become full of meaning for the Latin American peoples, who can now see the three hundred-mile neutrality zone around the continents as a claim staked out by Yankee imperialism.

What do the fifty thousand airplanes mean to the people of the Pacific, of the Far East? Will the news bring comfort to the four hundred million population of China, who during eight years have suffered much more than Europe all the horrors of modern military invasion, the loss of all their sea-coast and large cities, the death of ten millions, with famine for hundreds of millions? No, it will not comfort the Chinese, for they will remember that over the eight years, *the Japanese invaders have carried on only with the supplies furnished by the United States*; that the American conscience has stirred but faintly under the vast profits gained from this trade; that Washington became excited and raised the slogan of fifty thousand planes, in relation to the Far East, only when the future of the rubber, oil, and tin of the Dutch East Indies became an open question. Fifty thousand planes registers an American imperialist claim on the Dutch East Indies.

Greenland, Iceland, the Caribbean islands, these are but the small change in the great gamble of world-redivision and world empire into which Roosevelt is leading the American people.

But this bald program of imperialist territorial aggrandizement overseas cannot secure the support of the American people. It is therefore not directly propagandized; it is even indignantly denied. Once the United States is "at war," however, the tail would go with the hide without any possibility of mass criticism. The problem of American imperialism is therefore one of getting the country into war, on any or every pretext, and then their program will have no effective oppo-

sition, so they think. How to get into the war, that is the question for our ruling circles.

The United States is already in the war morally and economically as a non-belligerent ally of England and France. But the profits from war-trade prove painfully disappointing in volume, and do not keep pace with the losses from deepening economic crisis. Further, as a non-belligerent it is still impossible to abolish at one stroke all social legislation and trade union safeguards, still impossible to conscript labor, still impossible to implement those beautiful M-day plans, which are the imperialist ideal of heaven on earth. All the irksome problems of "disciplining" unruly labor, of dissolving all "democratic nonsense" in the country, could be so easily cut through with the sword of belligerency, of official entrance into the war!

This, not sympathy with the "democracies" which have turned dictatorships overnight, is the main driving force impelling the American bourgeoisie into the war. But that sympathy, which exists among the masses together with a hatred of Hitlerism, is counted upon to undermine and overcome the even more clear and emphatic determination among the masses to keep out of this war. This is being strengthened by studied incitations to hysterical fear of the safety of America in the war-torn world. Truly America is in danger, but the bourgeoisie is determined to hide the real danger, which is the danger of being dragged into the war on the Allied side, and the danger of indigenous fascism which springs directly from the economic royalists, from Wall Street. The masses are to be frightened by the specter of invasion from abroad, to accept the yoke of military dictatorship wielded by the economic royalists at home.

This course is all the more acceptable to our American ruling classes, since they also have interests in the European war which they can better advance through a belligerent position. They want Britain to win—not too quickly and not too cheaply, of course! They foresee the British Empire coming out of this war in such a position of dependency upon the American Empire, as formerly the Dutch bore toward Britain, or that to which the French had been reduced in the last

few years. The British Empire is an "inheritance" which the American imperialists would therefore not like to see dispersed, although they are not displeased to see Uncle John Bull in poor health. But above all the American ruling class interest in Europe is to do everything possible to check and prevent the outbreak of popular upheavals, which bear the danger of leading directly to the socialist revolution in one or more European countries. *Fear of revolutionary upheaval in Europe, and the determination to hold it down by all means is the most powerful general motive driving the American ruling circles toward entrance into the war as a belligerent. Capitalism must be preserved at all costs in Europe if Wall Street is to feel safe in America. That is what the American newspapers and statesmen mean when they say, "In Europe they are fighting our battles for us, and we must help them."*

This is the world outlook and program upon which the economic royalists and their political henchmen are united. This is the basis for unity of the bourgeoisie, which takes place so rapidly before our eyes after years of split and the most bitter struggles. It is a unity against labor and the masses at home, against the weaker and dependent countries and for the Allied imperialists as against the German in the war. But it is only a relative unity within which their own quarrels grow more bitter. It is not yet a unity of leadership and method in the struggle for these goals. Our ruling classes have not thoroughly modernized their instruments of rule, and fall into some confusion in driving toward what they want. Let us turn to an examination of the alignment of candidates, parties, and issues in the 1940 Presidential elections, the waves and froth on the surface of our political seas, which express that confusion.

ISSUES AND PARTIES IN THE 1940 ELECTIONS

The dissolution and merging of the New Deal and anti-New Deal political camps have wiped out all previous perspectives for the 1940 elections, as we analyzed the question at our Tenth National Convention, and at our National Committee meetings in May and September of last year. All that is now

ancient history, fully valid for its time, but as obsolete today as a first model Ford automobile.

The traditional two old major political parties have again emerged to the foreground, but representing less than ever before a division on real issues and political currents of American life. The Republican and Democratic Parties exist as the two arms of a common set of rulers, the economic royalists, and can have no serious struggle for power between them except within the limits set for them by their common masters. At the same time the lower leadership and apparatus of these parties constitute a special interest, the "Ins" to preserve the rich spoils of office (not something to be sneezed at, and all in all rivaling some of the larger industries in financial values), and the "Outs," moved by a desperate hunger to get back in the public trough again. Since Roosevelt decapitated and dispersed the New Deal coalition, these old parties are prancing over the political stage, confident that they will run the show between them, whichever gets the principal role, and that the masses will not be able to obtrude themselves on the stage but must remain as audience and payer of the bills.

The workers, farmers, toiling middle classes, Negroes, youth, the great bulk of the voting population, are profoundly dissatisfied with conditions, and with the policies of government. They are almost unanimously for staying out of the war. At least a third of them are consciously independent of both major parties, perhaps even so much as half; while the great majority have only the most formal and traditional party attachments. Yet the independent and dissatisfied masses have no common instrument of political expression; they have never learned (except small minorities and a few localities) to express their independence except through swinging back and forth between the two established major parties. Moves in the direction of mass political independence are organized only incompletely; Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Farmers Union and other farm organizations, the Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress, various regional and local movements under various names, all together constitute a formidable nucleus of a third major

party; but even if fully united and mobilized would face in 1940 the enormous handicaps of American election laws which give a practical monopoly of election rights to the old established parties. It is this condition which gives such arrogance to the ruling class in control of Republican and Democratic Party leadership, and makes them feel free to defy mass demands and sentiments even in the face of an impending Presidential election.

The crisis in America and the world has created a situation analogous in its outlines to that of 1856, when the dominant Whig and Democratic Parties were equally divorced from the masses and in agreement to thwart their will—a situation which gave birth to the Republican Party, a new party, a third party, which began as a desperate minority movement but swept to power in the nation four years later under Abraham Lincoln, solving the crisis through the abolition of slavery and victory of the Union in the Civil War.

The masses of the United States cry out for such a new party, for a modern Abraham Lincoln, as the only road toward the solution of the crisis of today, the crisis of the breakdown of capitalism, the crisis of imperialist war that threatens destruction to the world.

It is the threat of emergence of such a third party, despite all difficulties, which is the only curb on the unbridled arrogance of the economic royalists who rule both old parties. It is this which holds them back from enthusiastic adoption of Dorothy Thompson's coalition ticket of Roosevelt and Willkie. It is this which preserves the forms of political struggle between the two parties and which, unorganized and unprepared as it is, might conceivably become the hole in the reactionary dike through which the stream of mass resistance to war and reaction might break.

Roosevelt has captured complete control of the Democratic Party machinery which had escaped him when he was still a New Dealer. He has made it the War Party of a consistent and energetic drive to war on all fronts. The Republican Party is more immediately and completely the instrument, the servant, of the economic royalists, but because it is known as such it cannot possibly be so useful for war-times as Roose-

velt and the Democrats. Roosevelt performs a similar service for the American ruling class to that which the British Labor Party performs in the new Churchill Cabinet for the British ruling class—he brings the mass support that clings from past associations with labor and progressive causes, together with fanatic consecration to the imperialist war with all its consequences. The British rulers would be more comfortable with a Cabinet of die-hard Tories, but they wouldn't be nearly as successful in war; the American rulers would be more comfortable with a Dewey, Taft, Vandenberg, or Willkie, but again they would not be nearly as successful in war. That is why Park Avenue and Wall Street, where hatred of Roosevelt was a cult, have taken the President to their bosom again. He is no longer the "traitor to his class." The betting-odds in favor of a third term are steadily rising.

That is not to say that everything is cut and dried. Many things can happen between now and November, for the current of history is running at a terrific speed. There are speculations in high bourgeois circles that there might be a quick peace in Europe—which would mean a peace highly undesirable to Wall Street, a combination of British-German imperialisms directed immediately against American imperialist interests, with a possible Japanese attachment to double its effectiveness. That would mean the probable defeat of Roosevelt. In these catastrophic days we must not be surprised at even the most surprising transformations. We must learn to expect the unexpected, without committing ourselves to speculations. There are but few fixed and stable points in the world. The recent seizure of power in France by the Cagou-lard, General Weygand, gives point to Duff Cooper's warning about a French move for a separate peace.

Within the limits imposed by the basic agreed policy of the bourgeoisie, the Republican and Democratic Parties will probably display a shade of difference on the question of American entry into the war, which will be a real difference. Both will, of course, protest that they want to keep America out, but that we are being dragged in against the unanimous will of the country. That is one of the established techniques of going to war. Both will support the huge armaments program,

which they will both call defense, but which has no meaning except for fighting abroad. But the Republicans are still undecided whether they shall appear as *more* warlike than Roosevelt, or *less* so; but since the first will really be very difficult indeed, and the second will be much more productive of votes, the chances are strongly in favor of the Republicans taking a position a shade less warlike than the Democrats. After all, the real decisions will always be made by the same interests anyway, and the Republicans are the "Outs" who want to be "In"!

A real difference within the ruling classes—a difference of *tendency*—may thus be reflected in the two parties. Roosevelt places first the considerations of saving European capitalism from collapse, and even subordinates some immediate considerations of American imperialist advancement to this aim. The Republicans agree with this aim, but whenever it may seem to conflict with some immediate extension of American control over the world, they would be inclined to sacrifice their class brothers in Britain and France. What Lindbergh expresses as a definite system of thought, the Republican Party tends to reflect as an undeveloped tendency, a shade, a tone, of difference with Roosevelt.

In the field of domestic policy, both Republicans and Democrats are fully agreed to scrap all labor and social legislation as much as possible, to militarize labor, to drastically curb civil liberties, to lower the standard of living of the masses. They will disagree as to method. The Republicans will want to do it more openly, frankly, and brutally; the Democrats want to do it sorrowfully, with many tears, pointing with pride to the New Deal, promising solemnly that it will all be restored "after the emergency has passed," or even that it will not be done at all, and that "labor" will be "represented" in Washington, and blaming it all on the wicked foreign aggressors. The net result adds up to about the same amount.

That about sums up the differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties. Tweedledum and Tweedledee are back again in their original act, somewhat more tawdry and shopworn, but the same old team. The Gold Dust Twins of Wall Street are all set to do their stuff. The workers, farmers,

and toiling middle classes will again be given the opportunity to choose whether Dum or Dee shall administer the policies of starvation, oppression, and war, and will be asked to enthrone over the choice. Meanwhile the hysterical clamor about the "fifth column" is preparing the necessary "atmosphere."

Who is the "fifth column"?

We must not make a mistake of identity. The newspapers say that in England the hysteria about the "fifth column" and "parachute" troops became so confusing that some villagers caught and murdered several officers of the Royal Air Force, whom they mistook for alien enemies.

It is very important for the American people to know who are the hidden force—the enemies of the freedom of our country that are concealed among us and actively working to our country's undoing. Surely we ought to know what the "fifth column" is.

This expression "fifth column" came into use at the time of the Spanish civil war. It meant, and it always means, the concealed enemies of the people, the reactionaries, the groups opposed to the interests of the majority of the people, and therefore compelled to conceal their real character from the people. But there are certain easily recognized marks of the "fifth column."

First: They will be found secretly or openly sowing the seed of race prejudice—the seeds of Negro baiting and anti-Semitism—or, at least, secretly connected with those who do spread such prejudice in order to debauch the people.

Second: They will be found always composed of strike-breaking, anti-labor elements; they always smell of the strike-breaking underworld, subsidized by big business.

Third: The "fifth column" is always connected with the centers of great wealth that are interested in making or provoking war. Remember that always: The "fifth column" is always of the war party and never in friendly relations with anyone sincerely and intelligently working for peace.

And lastly: There has never been a case in Spain or France or Austria or Belgium or Czechoslovakia or Poland or America or anywhere else, where the "fifth column" did not hate

as its first enemy the Communist Party and the trade unions of the working class.

So who are the "fifth column" in the United States?

Undoubtedly, the first name we think of is Martin Dies, the protector and employer of so many professional anti-Semitic and fascist agents, including the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite provocateurs, in his un-American activities.

Undoubtedly, also, we cannot but think of the fact that the Roosevelt Administration, in assuming leadership of the war party, and taking over the whole policy and probably also the personnel of Mr. Dies' un-American machine, inevitably will function as the most effective organizer of the "fifth column." This is evident from Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, in which he tries to stimulate pro-war groupings amongst the vast majority of the American people who are opposed to war. It is also the corollary of Mr. Roosevelt's, Mr. Jackson's and Mr. Arnold's present nationwide drive against the unions.

They are the "Ins"; but what about the "Outs"?

Tweedledum, in power, may be more effective, but Tweedledee—the Republican Party leadership—has a long and evil-smelling record of direct connection with practically the entire body of the corrupt underworld, of fascism, anti-Semitism and the agent-provocateur.

Proof of a tie-up between the Republican National Committee and various fascist and anti-Semitic organizations and leaders is to be found in the financial reports filed under compulsion of the Corrupt Practices Act. Various notorious fascists and fascist organizations have received large sums in the form of direct payments of money from the Republican National Committee. Such avowed super-patriotic fascists as Walter S. Steele, president of the so-called American Coalition of Patriotic Societies; Sidney Brooks, one of the founders of the Order of '76; Harry Jung, president of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation; Felix McWhirter, of the American Nationalists, and others, have found money support from the Republican National Committee. So, too, have certain fascist organizations like the National Union and the Volunteers. The famous under-cover spy, Harold Lord Varney, who was so successful as an *agent-provocateur* in the

I.W.W., received large sums of money from the treasury of the Republican National Committee.

But not the worst of it is shown by direct payments from the Committee treasury. During the 1936 election campaign *fourteen fascist organizations received \$924,974.84 from nine leading Republican families.* The Crusaders, the Minute Men and Women of Today, the New York State Economic Council, the Sentinels of the Republic—these are fascist recipients of this huge sum of nearly a million dollars.

The du Pont family gave \$356,667.68, the Pitcairn family of the Auto-Giro Company and coal companies gave \$100,250; J. P. Morgan and associates donated \$68,226; the Mellon associates, \$60,752.55; the Rockefeller associates \$49,852.56 and E. F. Hutton and associates \$40,671.28, all to subsidize a "fifth column" for anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-labor, anti-democratic, anti-peace, anti-Communist underground activity in the United States.

Raymond Pitcairn gave the Sentinels of the Republic \$91,000 while his brother Harold contributed a petty \$5,000 and the good Rev. Theodore Pitcairn donated \$3,500. Of the \$924,000 contributed by these nine families almost half went to the Crusaders and the Sentinels, two openly avowed fascist organizations. The Crusaders received \$227,856.11 and the Sentinels, \$140,820.

The Crusaders received other contributions from other leading Republican industrialists. From:

James F. Bell, Chairman of the Board of General Mills	\$6,876.27
Walter Chrysler, Chrysler Auto	876.27
H. B. Earhart, Vacuum Oil Co.	3,376.27
Howard Heinz, Heinz Pickle Co. and director of Mellon Bank	5,876.27
George A. Houston, President, Baldwin Locomotive Co.	876.27
George H. Mead, President, News Print Importing Co.	876.27
F. A. Merrick, President, Westinghouse	876.27
E. T. Weir, President, Weirton Steel Co.	10,126.27

Walter S. Steele, editor and publisher of the notorious fascist and anti-Semitic organ, *National Republic*, has been on the payroll of the Republican National Committee for years.

Steele is the president of the American Coalition Committee on National Security, an organization composed of 114 so-called patriotic organizations such as the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, American Women Against Communism, Associated Farmers, Minute Men of America, Better America Federation, etc., etc. He is in constant touch with the leaders of these anti-labor, anti-Semitic, fascist organizations.

In the *Congressional Record* of February 17, 1939, pages 2237-38, there appears Congressman Sabath's expose of Steele's connections with the Silver Shirts, with the anti-Semitic, fascist Col. Sanctuary, head of the American Christian Defenders (Sanctuary is a member of the advisory board of Steele's *National Republic*); with George Sylvester Viereck, the known Nazi agent; with Harry Jung, notorious labor spy.

The Republican National Committee's report of election expenditures on file with the Clerk of the House in Washington shows that the Republican National Committee has paid out to Steele's fascist, anti-Semitic magazine large sums of money for alleged "printing and supplies." In 1932 the Committee paid \$19,569.63. In the next Presidential campaign, that of 1936, the Republican National Committee paid \$18,883.65.

Another on the payroll of the Republican National Committee is Sidney Brooks. His salary was \$312.50 per month, plus \$104.17 allowance per month, plus expenses. This Sidney Brooks was one of the founders of the Order of '76, an anti-Semitic, fascist organization. He is the son of Edwin Emerson, Nazi propagandist and agent who had his office in the German consulate office at 17 Battery Place, New York. The total payments to Brooks in 1934 when he was organizing the Order of '76 was \$8,604.30.

During the 1936 campaign the Republican National Committee paid to one S. Jones, an ex-reporter, \$3,000 per month and expenses. From May 26, 1936, until October 31, 1936, they paid Jones a total of \$14,895.44. Jones, an intimate of

William Dudley Pelley, James True and other fascists, acted as pay-off man to various fascists for their services to the Republican Party.

The financial reports of the Republican National Committee further show payments of \$5,000 made to the Volunteers, a fascist organization with headquarters in Chicago.

The reports show payments made to Harry Jung individually and to his organization, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. Jung is connected with the leading fascists in this country and sells the *Protocols of Zion* at 15 cents a piece, or 10 cents in bundle lots.

The reports show payments made to the National Union, a fascist organization with headquarters in Springfield, Mass.; to Harold Lord Varney, to Felix McWhirter, treasurer of the Republican State Committee of Indiana. McWhirter has been associated in his fascist activities with such leading fascists as Dudley Gilbert of the American Nationalists, James E. Campbell and General Moseley.

Many of these persons are recognized as agents of Nazism, even by Martin Dies who does his best to protect them and use them against the labor movement.

It is true these "fifth column" groups reached their highest development in fighting against the New Deal, but the Administration itself has deserted the New Deal and has found substantial agreement with the du Ponts and Morgans in the drive for war.

There we see the true "fifth column," always the subsidized agent of the most reactionary, most warlike section of finance capital, seeking to lure the people into destroying their own liberties and into bloody military adventure.

Some people think that, because the Socialist Party is a corpse, therefore it will not play a role in the 1940 elections. But that is a mistake. Such persons have short memories. What could be more completely a corpse than the League of Nations, and yet last December the ghastly thing rose from its grave with the greatest alacrity when it heard the anti-Soviet trumpet call. The corpse of the Socialist Party is rising to the same call, and Norman Thomas will shake its bones on

the front pages of all the capitalist newspapers until next November. He has already received his credentials from the New York metropolitan press as a scholar and a gentleman, one of their own, performing a useful if slightly distasteful task in the common cause, and therefore to be treated with the greatest consideration and respect. After all, if the Communist Party vote is to be kept down, the bourgeoisie cannot get along without an "anti-war" party of its own, which will specialize in slanders against the Land of Socialism. Norman Thomas with his Socialist Party is made to order for them. Not an intelligent bourgeois in America could doubt it, after Thomas said that if he could be sure the war would end in the destruction of the Soviet Union, then he would "regretfully" favor America's entrance into it. The bourgeoisie readily forgives Thomas his "regrets," for they saw the French Norman Thomas, Leon Blum, "regretfully" strangle the Spanish Republic, break up the Front Populaire, and deliver up the French working class to the police, all to the accompaniment of the most exquisite tears and lamentations. Yes, we may expect the Socialist Party corpse to play a very lively part in the elections this year, at least in the newspapers, and we shall not underestimate the damage it can do to the cause of working class advancement and peace. The capitalist press does not give millions of dollars worth of favorable newspaper attention out of liberal Quixotism; they expect to receive value for value. And they will not be disappointed. Norman Thomas will deliver to the masses, under a sugar-coating of "Socialist" phrases, every idea with which the ruling class wishes to impregnate the working class. The full and systematic exposure of this role of Norman Thomas before the broadest masses will be one of our most essential tasks throughout the election campaign.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN 1940

The peculiarities of the political superstructure in the United States serve to emphasize the effects of the changing class alignments; both of these factors place the most heavy responsibilities upon the Communist Party in 1940. A great and growing mass movement away from the old major parties

has been disrupted from above by the desertion of Roosevelt and his close associates to the enemy camp. At the moment it even appears likely that of all the former New Deal coalition, *only* the Communist Party will appear in these elections fighting for the immediate demands of the masses as something to be advanced and not surrendered; *only* the Communist Party (with some local exceptions here and there) will offer candidates to vote for whom means a clear-cut vote against war involvement and for the preservation and extension of the interests and rights of the broad masses.

The Communist Party's first task is to crystallize the mass determination to keep our country out of the European war.

At the same time the Communist Party has a special task to inform and educate the masses in the program of the socialist way out of the crisis; this is something of which the broadest masses are only dimly conscious, which they understand as yet but little and unclearly.

Our Party must learn, better than ever before, how to perform both tasks simultaneously; how to express the immediate and conscious desires, aspirations, and demands of the broad masses, of **the majority**, to rouse and organize them in the most effective struggle for these aims; and at the same time, using this immediate struggle as the starting point, to educate these masses more and more to their fundamental and long-time interests of which they are not yet conscious, which they do not yet accept and fight for, namely, the program of transforming the privately-owned and shockingly-mismanaged national economy into a commonly-owned, planned economy of prosperity for the masses, which is socialism—the first stage of communism.

The Communist Party occupies a most favorable strategical position in relation to the masses for both these tasks. Our enemies understand this, sometimes better than we do ourselves; they may cry out that "the Communist Party is dead," hoping by some verbal magic the wish thus expressed may come true, but by their mounting and hysterical slanders and attacks against us they testify to their knowledge that we are very much alive and growing stronger every day. Communists need to know their own strength and opportunities,

without exaggerating them, for by their full utilization the enemies of the people can be defeated.

A PEOPLE'S PLATFORM FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY

It was almost three years ago there were uttered the words which, in taking up the question of formulating a people's program for peace and prosperity, I wish to quote:

"In our generation, a new idea has come to dominate thought about government—the idea that the resources of the nation can be made to produce a far higher standard of living for the masses if only government is intelligent and energetic in giving the right direction to economic life. That idea . . . cannot be thrust aside by those who want to go back to the conditions of ten years ago or even preserve the conditions of today. It puts all forms of government to proof."

The masses of the people have not abandoned this idea, nor have the Communists abandoned it, but the man who spoke those words in 1937 now talks a different language, he now says that everything must be subordinated to the goal of fifty thousand airplanes and a multiplied navy. A program of armaments for imperialist adventures abroad cancels out the program for "a far higher standard of living for the masses."

Therefore, the people's platform must begin with the fight to keep America out of the war, the fight against all policies which call for great armaments.

The most immediate menace of war for America is the call for moral support to the British and French Empires, is the already-deep economic involvement, which combine to push and pull the American people, against their will, into beligerent support.

Therefore, the people's platform must declare to both imperialist camps, German and Allied, "A plague on both your houses!" It must stop the blood-soaked trade in munitions and instruments of war. It must declare to the whole world, so that there shall be no encouragement of false hopes, that "The Yanks are not coming."

Industrial and agricultural production for a war market

gives immense fortunes to a few men; for the nation as a whole it produces disaster. War profits and the prospect of war profits cause the extension of monopoly and a sharp rise in prices, bringing disorder into the economy and misery to the people. Those who are seeking immediate riches from the war are in the forefront in breaking down American neutrality. To resist the clamor for war profits requires the unswerving effort of all Americans who love peace.

Therefore, the people's platform must demand that during the existence of war conditions abroad the Government shall place the most drastic taxation upon profits, to guarantee that the burden of taxation shall be placed where it shall least disturb the general standard of living, and that the monopolists and profiteers shall be deprived of their motive for endangering the lives, peace and prosperity of the people.

Finance capital's invasion of the Latin American countries is endangering the peaceful relations between them and the United States, as exemplified by the efforts of the Roosevelt Administration, at the behest of the Oil Trust, to dictate the inner affairs of Mexico, and to interfere in their elections. The United States, by holding Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands as colonies, not only oppresses these peoples but also thereby worsens American conditions, and further endangers peace.

Therefore, the people's platform must call for a united struggle together with the peoples of Latin America and the Philippines to resist and curb the power of American big banks, trusts, and speculators abroad, to eliminate their dictation of American policy, to secure full independence to Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and jointly to resist and defeat those who would drag the Americas into the war.

Thus the people's platform will point the way which alone can throw back all the forces making for war, and open the way for the full development of the domestic measures necessary for achieving prosperity, a far higher standard of living for the masses.

The trade unions are the starting point and foundation of all struggle for a better life, especially for that largest sector of the American people, the wage workers.

Therefore, the people's platform demands the strengthening and extension of the trade unions, particularly the industrial unions, until the great majority are organized; the establishment of effective democracy within them; militant leadership to gain ever shorter hours and higher wages, with union control of working conditions; and the unification of the labor movement in one democratically-controlled center.

The trade unions are constantly under attack by the great trusts, the economic royalists, by the employers as a class, and by their agents entrenched in government positions.

Therefore, the National Labor Relations Act, which establishes the right of organization and collective bargaining as public policy, must be strengthened and serious penalties provided for violators; therefore, the Wages-Hours Act must be strengthened and extended to all workers, to provide a minimum of protection to the most needy and least organized sectors; therefore, legislation must forbid government contracts with employers who defy or violate labor legislation of any kind.

A large and growing section of the population are denied any place in the economic structure; these disinherited groups, the youth who have never been given jobs, the old people whom the capitalists will no longer employ, and the ten to twelve million able-bodied and capable workers who cannot find work, comprising about one-third of the population, must be cared for by measures of social legislation for their own sake, and for the sake of maintaining the living standards of the entire population which are otherwise undermined.

Therefore, the people's platform must fight for a minimum old-age pension system of \$60 monthly after sixty years of age, financed and administered entirely by the Federal government; for the American Youth Act, which provides educational facilities and work for the young people; for expanded public works, through WPA and PWA, to provide jobs at prevailing union rates for at least three million workers (the Marcantonio Bill); and for an improved system of unemployment insurance, financed by government and employers, which will guarantee all wage-workers maintenance when

unemployed for reasons beyond their own control, at a major fraction of their established earning power but not less than old-age pension rates, for the entire period of involuntary unemployment.

One of the greatest drains upon the national economy, and the greatest burdens upon the people, is the unsatisfactory and deteriorating state of public health, for which there is no remedy under the prevailing system of treating health problems as individual private matters.

Therefore, the people's platform must fight for a comprehensive national public health service, backed up by national health insurance, which will guarantee a rising minimum of medical, dental, clinical, and hospital provisions for the entire population.

American agriculture is in a chronic and deepening crisis, which is threatening the very existence of the largest part of the farming population. Many hundreds of thousands of farmers, from the oldest and hardest farming stock, are literally in the economic position of the war refugees of Europe—and this in the richest country in the world and in peace time. The great majority on the countryside are sinking into ever-deeper poverty. Agriculture, a basic pillar of the national economy, is rotting away and weakening the economy as a whole. All measures hitherto undertaken have only alleviated some of the consequences, but have not changed the course of development.

Therefore, the people's platform will demand, while strengthening the existing emergency farm legislation, that more radical measures be undertaken which will secure the farmers in possession of their land, return of the land to dispossessed farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers, lighten the tax burden on working non-employing farmers and provide them with cheap production credits, remove the interest burden and foreclosure threat of farm mortgages, establish a national system of crop insurance and soil conservation, guarantee cost-of-production returns to the family-size farms, extend electrical and public-service facilities to the countryside, and encourage the development of farmers' cooperative marketing and production.

The housing situation in the United States is a menace to public health and morals, for the great mass of the population, as well as an economic scandal. The amount paid for rents of family housing, that now provides sub-standard slums, is sufficient to pay above average returns on the investment required to replace these slums with modern apartments, under a system of mass production, adjusted to the requirements of capitalist financing, but organized and controlled by the Government. This would also put the idle building trades workers back to work, solve many of the public health problems, and put idle capital to work. The only losers would be the profiteers of the housing monopoly, who now divert much of the national income to excessive rack-rents, a form of pure parasitism which the nation could well abolish.

Therefore, the people's platform must include a large-scale national housing program, to invest in modern large-scale housing and community-center plans at least five billion dollars of idle capital every year, until the shortage of modern low-rent housing has been entirely overcome.

These are the main immediate economic measures of the people's platform. They are measures already approved in principle by the majority of the American people. All of them were included, in principle, in the New Deal program of 1935-1938, although the Roosevelt Administration was always half-hearted and incomplete in their application. These are the principles which Roosevelt has now abandoned despite all his hypocritical protestations, in favor of a war and military program. This people's platform is not socialism, it is not socialistic, it is merely the minimum progressive policy which is required to halt the decline and decay of the national economy, and which is possible within the limits of the existing capitalist system.

CAN THE UNITED STATES AFFORD SUCH A PEOPLE'S PLATFORM?

The standard objection to such a platform is that the country could not afford it, it would cost too much, it would bankrupt the nation. But that objection needs to be examined and analyzed more closely.

First of all, let us take note of one very peculiar thing:

The very persons who cry out most loudly of the danger of bankruptcy from such a platform are the very ones who are most ready to spend greater sums for war.

Take, for example, that serious and intellectual organ of Toryism, the New York *Herald Tribune*. It complains bitterly that even Roosevelt's timid and abandoned New Deal already bankrupted the country. But the *Herald Tribune* came out recently with an impassioned demand that the United States immediately declare war against Germany. Now it is generally known and established that if the United States enters the war, *the cost in the first year alone of conducting the war will be at least twenty billion dollars*. How much it would cost in dollars alone before the war was ended is a subject to be referred to the specialists in higher mathematics.

Why do these eminent authorities and statesmen howl about bankruptcy, when the proposal is to spend and invest another ten billion dollars yearly in raising the health, living standards, and housing of the masses of the people, and yet forget all about the danger of bankruptcy when they themselves propose to spend twenty billion dollars yearly for purposes of mass-murder and destruction? If ten billions invested in healthier, stronger, better-fed, better-housed, better-clothed, better-educated people means bankruptcy, then what will be the result if we spend twice as much on bombs, tanks, airplanes, battleships, guns, and engage a few million American boys in using these murderous playthings?

The plain common sense of any worker or farmer can answer this question. America can a thousand times less afford twenty billions for war and war preparations than she can afford ten billions for the people's livelihood. And the present great campaign for war and war preparations is the final proof of the lying, hypocritical character of the argument of these same gentlemen that the country cannot afford a people's program of jobs and security for all.

Let us look at the problem from another angle. The capitalist bankers and financial experts may be able to confuse the minds of the people, when they discuss the problem in terms of the hocus-pocus of monopoly finance capital. But go behind the banker and his ledgers. Look at the country and its

people. We have a broad and rich land, and competent farmers on it, capable of producing enough food each year to feed 300,000,000 people instead of 130,000,000. We have unlimited reserves of almost every raw material needed for our economy, and skilled workers begging for the opportunity to produce twice as much as they now do. We have the highest-developed industry in the world, with power, machinery, and capable workers, the product of which could be doubled or tripled within the year, if only it were called upon for such production. We have marvelous scientific laboratories and scientific workers, whose latest discoveries and inventions, now languishing unused and undeveloped because of the crisis, could transform the whole life of the people and again double their productive capacities. We have everything conceivable in the mind of man that is necessary to provide a life of comfort and plenty for the whole population.

Why, O gentlemen who hold the title deeds of ownership of these marvelous productive forces of America, at whose beck and call stand millions of the most skilled and capable workers the world has ever seen, why do you say that this country and this people cannot afford to go to work producing everything the country needs? Explain it to us more simply, you rich and wise and good gentlemen in whose stewardship America with all its marvelous riches has been placed! Why is it that America can afford twelve million idle workers; can afford forty million ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed men, women, and children, can afford mines, mills, and factories, closed down and rusting; can afford billions of capital lying idle in the banks; can afford accumulating agricultural surpluses, and to pay farmers to produce less; can afford to play with the idea of war, and can spend many billions preparing for war—but such a country cannot, you say, afford to put these men to work, to put these idle resources to work, because it would bankrupt us? Why? Why?

Explain this riddle if you can, you statesmen and intellectual servitors of the capitalist class. Perhaps, if we can force you to try to explain this riddle to the workers and farmers of America, they will begin to see that there is nothing wrong with the productive resources of our country, there is nothing

wrong with the workers and farmers of our country, but that the whole trouble arises from you and your masters, the monopolists, the economic royalists, who stand as a barrier between the people, the workers and farmers, and the country's economy, and refuse to allow them to come together for the enrichment of the country, because you first must have your profit, a constantly increasing profit which is dragging the people deeper and deeper into unemployment, misery, poverty—and now into war!

No, the one thing America can no longer afford is this insane and catastrophic crushing of the lives of the millions who *are* America.

The workers and farmers, the majority of Americans, already see this problem, dimly as yet but with rapidly growing clarity, and the way out along the lines of the people's program which we have outlined.

It will be the main task of the Communist Party in the 1940 election campaign to make the whole people conscious of the problem, and of the road toward its solution. We must, we will, we can succeed in this task!

THE PEOPLE'S PLATFORM FOR DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

We speak very much of the people. When we say "the people," however, we do not mean each and every one of the population taken as a whole. That would be nonsense, because it would be to say that "the people" are poor and "the people" are rich; that "the people" want peace and "the people" want war; that "the people" are exploited, and "the people" are exploiters, and so on. *So, in order to make any sense, to find any path, we must distinguish between the people and the enemies of the people.* First of all, who are the enemies of the people? I turn for a quotation to a formerly very popular authority:

"We have those who really fear the majority rule of democracy, who want old forms of economic and social control to remain in a few hands. They say in their hearts: 'If constitutional democracy continues to threaten our control, why should we be against the plutocratic dictatorship which would perpetuate our control?'"

Yes, this is a correct indication of who are the chief enemies of the people. They are those "few" in whose hands rest "old forms of economic and social control," those who have become known as "economic royalists" or "the sixty families"; they are the finance capitalists, and together with their smaller-scale satellites and lieutenants of many sorts, make up the bourgeoisie, the "upper class." The man whose words I have just quoted is himself of this bourgeoisie, of its more aristocratic strata, and was called "a traitor to his class" when he was indulging in those orations which aroused the masses to considerable enthusiasm; but since that time he has rejoined his class, those who want a plutocratic dictatorship, and has himself joined in that aim. The philippic of the Roosevelt of 1937 describes the Roosevelt of 1940.

These enemies of the people, enemies of democracy, are now clamping down their open and brutal dictatorship. Like all their prototypes in other lands, they proceed under the flag of "the fight against Communism" (remember the Anti-Comintern Pact of Hitler-Mussolini-Franco-the Mikado!), which immediately spreads out to include the whole labor movement and all oppositional trends. They have already adopted a law prohibiting Communists from relief, and from private as well as public employment. How many votes could the Republican Party obtain if there were such a law directed against it? How long will it be before such laws produce a full-fledged fascist regime in America? The attacks against the Communist Party have already broadened to include most of the labor movement, and three to four million foreign-born workers.

Even before the latest war hysteria, however, and as a long-standing part of "the American democratic way of life," our country has suffered from the effective cancellation of democracy through the disfranchisement of the great majority of the Southern people, white and Negro, workers and farmers. This is done through poll-tax laws and direct franchise limitations, as well as through direct violence and lynch law. Martin Dies, for example, holds his dominant position in Congress through the votes of less than thirteen thousand out of a total of over one hundred thousand adults of voting age, the eighty-

eight per cent being effectively disfranchised. Congressmen from New York, elected by an average vote of over 103,000 have one vote each in Congress, the same as Dies, and, of course, far less influence on legislation.

In Pekin, Illinois, the other day, a group of men and women gathering signatures for election petitions to put candidates on the ballot were set upon by a mob of prominent citizens in broad daylight, beaten up and run out of town, and their automobiles were burned, with the tolerant collaboration of local officials. The next night the President addressed the nation on the dangers before it, but he did not recognize this mob violence as the signal of danger; on the contrary, his words were calculated to fan the flames of that hysteria which begin to consume even the simplest rights of electoral participation.

But limitations of time forbid any enumeration of the incidents of the rising flood of the anti-democratic offensive. The main fact of the general assault against popular and labor rights is established and well-known to the country. What is new and menacing in this assault is the emergence of the sinister figure of J. Edgar Hoover at the head of a secret political police, whose activities are to be held sacred as those of Himmler by Nazi Germany.

Therefore, the people's platform for peace and prosperity must be buttressed by a broad and well-organized struggle for the protection and extension of civil liberties and popular rights. Definite goals must be set for this struggle, such as:

Defeat every attempt to restrict freedom of speech, press, radio, and assembly, and the right to organize and strike.

Rouse the great masses to halt the attacks upon the trade unions through Anti-Trust Law indictments and "conspiracy" charges.

Demand the immediate enactment of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, which has been so shamefully pigeonholed by Congress and the Administration.

Secure the franchise to the Southern masses, white and Negro, by immediate federal legislation prohibiting and penalizing all poll tax laws, and other limitations on the fran-

chise, as a *national issue*, not a regional Southern issue, without the solution of which there is no effective democracy for the whole nation.

Abolition of all discriminatory legislation and customs directed against the Negro population; unconditional equality, economic, political and social.

Defeat all the anti-alien legislation, and the so-called sedition laws, which are a modern resurrection in a worse form of the ancient "Alien and Sedition Laws" of the Adams Administration, in the fight against which Thomas Jefferson established American democracy, in the fight against which today this democracy can alone be preserved.

Defeat the attacks against the Communist Party, which constitute a knife at the throat of the Bill of Rights for the whole population.

Defend the Bill of Rights, which is even more important in time of war than in time of peace, which is a guarantee for all or is valid for none.

In this fight for popular rights, the working class is the main and leading force, which must unite itself, and gather the masses of the people around it, to defeat the enemies of the people. The working class, and especially the organized labor movement, is the heart and backbone, is the organizer and leader of the democratic mass movement of the people.

This platform of the fight for peace, for economic security and prosperity and for civil rights, a fight, which has to be won against the determined attacks of the "upper classes" of the economic royalists and their agents, is denounced by President Roosevelt and his associates as a "harmful class struggle" which he is determined to abolish. But if the struggle of the workers, farmers, and toiling masses is to be abolished, first of all the attacks against their peace, their living standards, and their liberties must be stopped. No one who leads in these attacks can abolish the defense and resistance of the masses, no matter how much he shouts against the "class struggle." The class struggle is not something invented by the Communists or the working class, it is a struggle imposed upon us by the rich, the overprivileged, the economic

royalists, and their course of exploitation, oppression, reaction and war.

POSSIBLE FUTURE EXTENSIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S PLATFORM

The immediate platform which we have outlined does not go beyond the limits of the capitalist system in its economic aspects, while it is merely the realization of the promises of bourgeois democracy in its political aspects. It is not a revolutionary program, therefore, in the sense that it is not a program of socialism nor is it socialistic.

But America is already entering the period in which the broad masses are already discussing whether it is possible to accept capitalist orthodoxy as the rigid limitations of all measures in their interest.

For instance, it is not only the Communists, but tens of millions of workers and farmers, who ponder over the mysteries of the question why twelve million idle workers should be *forbidden* by the government to produce anything which would compete with a private capitalist, no matter how much the twelve million lack that same thing; or the question how is it that starvation and poverty are to be relieved by paying farmers to reduce their production. The question will not down; why not put the twelve million to work producing more abundantly the things they and the farmers need, and pay the farmers to produce more, not less? This, we know, the capitalists cannot do, but if so, why not the government? And the only answer to this is, that to do so would violate the economic laws of capitalism.

For the masses, the economic laws of capitalism are therefore not so sacred as they were formerly. If these economic laws of capitalism are preventing the workers and farmers from solving their problems, then has the time not come to go beyond those economic laws and begin to find some new laws?

These are the questions that bring America to the edge of the problem of socialism; measures that already begin to go beyond the limitations of the economic laws of capitalism will more and more be demanded by the masses of the people. Such measures are the first beginning of a socialistic trend in the proper and exact sense of the word.

The more the reactionaries and warmongers sabotage and defeat the more conservative demands of the masses, the more they are hastening, not delaying, the time when the masses will pass from more radical and socialistic thought to action in the same sense and direction. That will furnish the transition phase, in which the toiling masses will go to school in their millions to the Communists, to learn the lessons of the permanent solution of the problems of poverty and war.

To further this process in the most systematic manner is not the least of the tasks of the Communist Party in 1940. To accomplish it is to introduce America into the higher school of political education, on the basis of its own experience, to introduce the millions to the problems of socialism as the first stage of communism.

IV. The Communist Party as the Vanguard and Organized Detachment of the Working Class, and Leader of the Nation

THE Communist Party is the Party of the working class. The Party is the most advanced section of the working class, its vanguard, uniting its immediate interests with its ultimate and broadest historical goal. The Party is its most organized detachment, furnishing the working class with a nervous system and center of intelligence, which enables it to think and act as a class. The Party's every thought and action is directed toward elevating the working class into the position of leader and ruler of the nation, in alliance with the farmers and all other sections of the toiling masses—that is, the full realization of democracy. It is from this high standard that we must review the work of our Party, formulate its tasks for the next period, and solve all its inner problems and its relations with the working class and the nation as a whole.

It is in times of deep crisis that men and leaders, issues and parties, are put to the acid test. It is in times such as these we

are now living through that all are put to the proof, to disclose their true character, to test their mettle. How has our Communist Party passed through this preliminary phase of the ordeals of fire?

First, we must note that our Party has come through the first phase of the war period more solid and active than ever before. All efforts of the enemy camp—and they were of unexampled intensity—to throw the Party ranks into confusion failed miserably. Deserters can be counted in the dozens, and they were of the type we are well rid of—dry leaves only waiting for the first stiff breeze to blow them away, or decaying bureaucrats looking for secure office chairs. Registration of members declined from 1939, but that this is due to increased organizational difficulties is shown by the fact that the trend of dues payments is upward. Party activity multiplied, as revealed in the tremendous increase in pamphlet and leaflet distribution. There has not been a single branch or committee to display hesitation or disagreement with the political position of the Party. Its solidarity is unexampled.

Second, the Party's ties with the working class and the masses generally have been strengthened. We may take as decisive evidence the fact that collection of signatures to put Party candidates on the ballot in the various states has met with unprecedented success, in face of the most vicious campaigns of intimidation from the press and from governmental sources, not to speak of the pressure of employers.

Third, our Party has demonstrated its ability to perform its vanguard role, to speak with clarity, sharpness, and precision, to point the way to the masses through the increasing chaos of reaction and war, without ever breaking its intimate contacts with the broadest mass movements and organizations. The rapidly-rising anti-war movement, most vividly demonstrated among the youth but also involving the trade unions, Negro people, and middle classes, is conclusive testimony to this fact.

Fourth, the Party as the most organized detachment of the working class has impressed its role as never before upon our own members, upon the broad circle of sympathizers, upon the broad masses, and, by no means least, upon our enemies.

The evidence from our friends and the masses is the demonstration of affection for and reliance upon the Party as the sure, stable, unerring compass through the storms; the evidence from our enemies is the frantic and hysterical campaign against our Party, which goes to the length of legislating Communists out of private employment. Need we remind our enemies and friends of the story of Galileo, brought before the Inquisition and forced to deny that the earth moves, whispered immediately afterward the words that have re-echoed through the corridors of time, down to the present, and which consigned his tormentors to eternal contempt: "But the earth does move!"

The enemies of the people, who are the enemies of our Party, labor under the strategical disadvantage, which will be ultimately fatal, that every blow they deliver against the people, every blow against the Communist Party, serves to drive home the basic truths which the Communists have been untiringly expounding. The more they hammer against us, therefore, the deeper are our teachings embedded and rooted in the thought of the masses. The masses, the people, are immortal; therefore, our teaching, once it is rooted and growing among the masses, is indestructible even by the most frantic rage of the ruling classes. The calm certainty of ultimate victory arms our Party for every difficulty and every battle.

The key to every problem of our Party lies in the working masses of the people, in our correct scientific program, and the organic union between the two.

When we proclaim our Party as the party of the working class, we do not mean to say that we have won the whole class, nor its majority, to our support. No, only the first beginnings have been well begun in this great task. We must always have this goal clearly before us, must be conscious of the big gap between our present position and the goal; and must know that the crossing of this gap calls always for certain qualities which we need consciously to cultivate, namely: modesty, patience, persistence, endurance, enthusiasm, self-sacrifice, and heroism.

When we proclaim our Party as the vanguard, and our program as scientific, we must remember always that our Party

is not fully the master, but is only in the process of mastering, the theoretical inheritance which is the source of our power, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. For our entire Party, and especially for its leadership, the first task is to deepen our political-theoretical knowledge and understanding.

We must master the art of self-criticism, systematically to search out our weaknesses and shortcomings and to correct them in such a way as to guard against their recurrence. And this we are only beginning to learn.

Our Political Committee and National Committee must frankly say that we have all felt at moments during the last nine months the inadequacy of our political equipment to solve promptly and effectively the problems pouring in upon us. During the first weeks of the war, despite a correct general line, we lagged perceptibly in our ability firmly to grasp *all* features of the developing new world situation. This expressed itself in two contradictory (but complementary) moods and tendencies; one, to rush ahead of events, to speculate, seek change for its own sake, to reverse slogans as a system; the other, to hesitate before changes of position and slogans even after such changes were demanded by the rapidly changing situation. I think it is possible to declare to this Convention that we have corrected these weaknesses in our leadership, before any permanent damage resulted, and that the Party as a whole has been armed against them.

One example of such deviations may be worthy of a little discussion, especially for the benefit of our Canadian brother Party, which in the midst of its courageous and sustained struggle against the war is with difficulty overcoming a stubborn manifestation of a similar error. There arose among us a tendency to discuss the whole international situation as revolving upon the pivot of Anglo-American contradictions, as the immediately decisive factor in all big questions. Some comrades even began to draw speculative conclusions to the effect that the Anglo-American contradictions had moved Washington to instruct Ambassador Steinhart in Moscow to play a helpful role in the conclusion of the Soviet-Finnish Peace Treaty of March 12—incredible as this may seem to you

in the cold gray of serious afterthought! Our Canadian comrades have to overcome an even more systematic development of this speculation, which has appeared among some of them, in a form which takes attention entirely away from the practical tasks of the historical moment and away from the class struggle. The bourgeoisie of the United States is not going to help our comrades and the Canadian working class to withdraw Canada from the war; Canada represents for them a highly-valued means of participation in the war, and they will press Canada even deeper into the slaughter. Speculation as to Canada's future status in the imperialist alignment is fruitless and pointless; Canada is, socially and economically, a fully-developed capitalist-imperialist nation, which is the decisive question in class relations, and therefore in the immediate and ultimate program of the Canadian Communists. Let us hope our Canadian comrades will quickly wipe out the tendency to abstract dialectical dissertations and speculations on this issue, and get their feet firmly on the ground. Dialectical materialism is never abstract, never divorced from the historical moment and the mass movement.

Defense of the Party and its membership against the mounting attacks will undoubtedly become ever more a pressing problem. We have given the guiding line for all such defense in two points: (1) Reach greater masses with our position, for the masses do not agree to entering the war, and when they know the cause of the repressions against us, they become our staunchest defense; (2) Prevent enemies from securing membership lists, etc., which can be used as blacklists to victimize the workers; and similar technical measures of protection. These two general lines of defense of the Party apply from top to bottom. I will not speak about all the special problems of legal defense in trials and so forth, which will be reported on separately.

Our refusal to help establish blacklists against our members is seized upon by the panic-mongers of war as proof that the Communist Party is a dark and sinister conspiracy which must be stamped out, a "Trojan horse" and/or a "fifth column." That is the same kind of slander, for the same kind of purpose, which Hitler put forth against the Jews and "Marxians"

in Germany, which was the trademark identifying the rising fascist trends all over the world. This is the "fashion" today in America, with the President vying with Martin Dies in spreading it. Curiously enough, most of those who cry out now about "fifth columns" were the supporters of the original "fifth column," and of all succeeding "fifth columns"; they cry "stop thief" as a cover to their own thievery; they cry "fifth column" to cover up the intimidation and terrorization of the anti-war forces of the people, as direct preparation for war.

There is no authority which can legalize a political blacklist in America, which can legalize the denial of electoral rights, which can legalize the denial of the right to employment, for the purpose of penalizing political opinions and their expression. All such projects and efforts, if they be made by President, by Congress, by Martin Dies, by local officials, or by employers directly, are flagrantly in violation of the Bill of Rights and of American traditions which were established by generations of struggle. To surrender to such attacks means to commit treason to American liberty, to abandon the achievements of the past, and to block the road to the future. The Communist Party will resist such usurpation and oppression to the end.

And we will win this battle. For in this fight we are defending the most vital interests of the great majority of the population as they will soon realize. The unloosing of the dogs of war hysteria may be done in the name of fighting the Communists, but the dogs are already biting indiscriminately. The masses will rally to the fight to muzzle these dogs, despite all the hesitations and desertions of their leaders.

More than ever the Communists must call into activity all their organizational knowledge and art. The power of the masses lies in organization. The mass movement does not spontaneously organize itself, beyond the most primitive forms; consciousness and planning are of the essence of organization, and must be transmitted to the masses first of all by the Communists. This requires the constant review and re-vamping of our Party organization to fit it to the rapidly-changing situation.

During the past years our Party had developed a system of very broad leading committees. At our Tenth Convention we elected sixty members and candidates, and the New York State Committee elected one hundred. It is clear that in the present situation in the country, and in the world, such large sized committees become cumbersome and therefore harmful to the work. We recommend a drastic reduction in the size of the National Committee, to not more than seventeen members.

V. The Communist Party as the Party of Working Class Internationalism

THE working class movement of all countries has always found its highest expression in its internationalism, taking over the best traditions of the democratic revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, expressed by Tom Paine when he said, "The world is my country, to do good is my religion"; expressed by Abraham Lincoln when he said, "The strongest bond of human sympathy outside of the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindred"; expressed by the poet who sang of "the brotherhood of man, the federation of the world."

But that of which the Utopians and bourgeois-democrats could only dream, to which they could only aspire, the modern working class movement is realizing as a scientifically-determined goal. And at the head of this movement, embodying its realization, stands the association of all the Communist Parties of the world, the Communist International.

We are proud beyond measure to be associated with the Communist International, to bear the high title of Communists. It associates us with the greatest thinkers and heroes of all history and all lands:

With Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who founded the scientific theory of the proletarian revolution;

With Vladimir Lenin, who led the first victorious socialist revolution upon the basis of Marxism which he further advanced, and founded the first socialist state on one-sixth of the earth;

With Georgi Dimitroff, the hero of the Leipzig Trial, and the helmsman of the Communist International;

With Ernst Thaelmann, the heroic leader of the German proletariat, whose unquenchable spirit has never been dimmed, which will bring peace and liberty to the German people;

With Maurice Thorez, leader of the French proletariat fighting against the Government of National Treason which has brought disaster to the French people;

With Willie Gallacher, the fiery Scotch tribune of the British working class;

With Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party in its struggle for the National Salvation front, and for the independence and liberation of China;

With Jose Diaz and Pasionaria, leaders of the glorious battles of the Spanish people against the combined reactionaries of the world;

With the leaders of rising young Latin American Communist Parties, Blas Roca, Labarca, Encina, Prestes, and others; with the great Filipino leader Evangelista; with Tim Buck of Canada; all of whom head growing movements of the masses in close cooperation with their international comrades;

With the greatest thinker, leader, and builder of all time, who carried the work of Marx, Engels, and Lenin to new heights, to the victorious establishment of socialism, to the period of transition to communism, to the safeguarding of the Soviet Union and its achievements against the furious dying struggles of the hostile capitalist world—the great Stalin.

With such masses, with such a scientific guiding theory, with such a Communist International, with such leaders—we can march forward into the storms ahead fully confident of the final outcome. To the people will belong the victory!

Just Published!

THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR

By **EARL BROWDER**

A new and basic volume of the writings, speeches, articles and reports made by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States during the last year on the most vital issues before the people. With an introduction specially written for this volume and summarizing the lessons and conclusions flowing from the events of the past nine months, this collection takes on historic significance, providing an indispensable guide for leading and organizing the people's fight for peace and in defense of their security and civil rights.

The volume also contains a basic analysis of the significance of the Soviet-Finnish Peace never published before.

320 pages

Price \$2.00

Order from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York, N. Y.