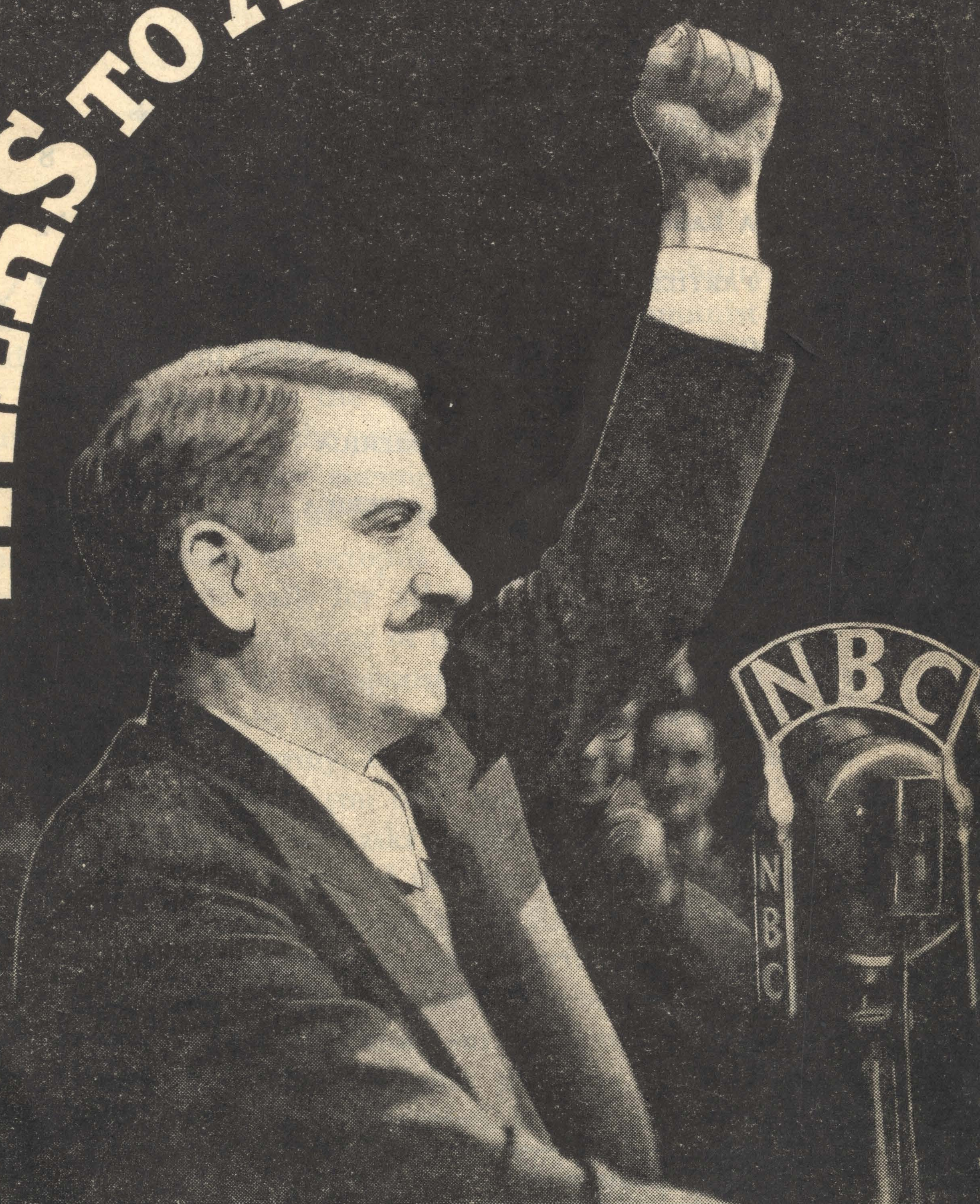


# TALKS TO AMERICA



**EARL BROWDER**

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PUBLISHED BY WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC.

P. O. BOX 148, STA. D, NEW YORK CITY.

FEBRUARY, 1937

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## DEMOCRACY OR FASCISM

*Speech Accepting the Nomination as Presidential Candidate of the Communist Party, Broadcast over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company, from Madison Square Garden in New York, June 28, 1936.*

YOU have placed upon me a heavy responsibility. You call me to carry the standard of the Communist Party and the platform which alone, of all parties and platforms in this election, gives the correct answer to all the most burning problems of the people. Our enemy is Wall Street—the reactionaries, the enemies of the people. The battle is difficult and complicated. The enemy is strong, ferocious, and unscrupulous, an octopus with a thousand poisonous arms. The battle calls for all our strength and wisdom. We are organizing an army of the liberation of the people. No person can hold a responsible post in it, unless he is ready to subordinate himself to the collective will and wisdom of the whole army. It is in this spirit that I accept the nomination which you offer me.

We have weighed our tasks frankly and realistically. We see that the chief enemy of the peace, freedom and prosperity of the American people is the Republican Party and its reactionary allies, Hearst, the Liberty League, Wall St.

Roosevelt and his administration have been retreating before the attacks of reaction, surrendering position after position. Even the Philadelphia platform, with its progressive note and ringing promises, accepts as final the Supreme Court's usurped power to block their realization until three-fourths of the states have ratified a Constitutional amendment.

The self-styled Union Party of Lemke and Coughlin is the product of a Hearst-Liberty League intrigue. Lemke is clearly but a stooge for Landon. His platform is even more dishonest than that of the Republicans, standing for essentially the same policies.

We regret to see that the Socialist Party, refusing all cooperation with other progressive forces, is moving into the backwater of doctrinaire sectarianism, out of the mass currents of American life.

In this situation the Communist Party has decided to come forward with its own program and its own candidates.

We Communists would prefer to have associated ourselves with other progressives for a united ticket and platform. The need is great for the broadest possible united front. We have done everything we could to bring this about. We say that the rising danger of fascism and war calls for a united People's Front—for the trade unions, farmers' organizations and all progressives to unite in a Farmer-Labor Party. The growth of the Farmer-Labor Party is the most promising thing in American political life.

But the largest organizations of the Farmer-Labor Party movement are supporting Roosevelt. The big progressive trade unions have formed Labor's Non-Partisan League for the same purpose.

We Communists cannot agree with this reliance upon Roosevelt to defeat the reactionaries. Too often we have seen that the more Roosevelt is supported from the Left the more he compromises with the Right. We declare that the progressive forces must create a strong political organization, an independent force, before they can even force Roosevelt to stop surrendering their rights and liberties.

But, despite this disagreement, the Communist Party fully agrees with the labor and progressive forces supporting Roosevelt that the victory of Landon and Knox, the creatures of Hearst, would be a major misfortune for the

American people. We call for their defeat at all costs. But we warn the leaders of the big progressive unions, and the progressive group in Congress, that their present reliance upon Roosevelt does not guarantee the defeat of Landon. On the contrary, it is this policy which has brought the imminent danger of Landon's victory. It was the failure of these progressive leaders to join in a Farmer-Labor Party movement with all their strength which left the field open for the reactionary conspiracy of Coughlin-Lemke-Hearst. It is their continued hesitation to even call a national conference of all progressive forces to unite the fight against reaction that increases the chances of a reactionary victory.

We Communists have declared, we declare again now, that we will support with all our strength every serious effort to set up a united progressive front against reaction, fascism, and war. There is still time—but the time is growing short.

The issue of the 1936 election is not a choice between socialism or capitalism. It is a choice between progress and reaction, between democracy and the path toward fascism.

Hearst, the Liberty League, and the Republican Party have issued the war cry against Roosevelt that the New Deal is Socialistic and Communistic. That is only their campaign demagoguery. It is addressed to the middle classes and propertied people to frighten them into accepting fascism as the alternative to a non-existent threat of socialist confiscation. It is addressed to the masses, in the hope of discrediting socialism by identifying it with the failures of the New Deal. There is nothing of socialism in Roosevelt's policies or in the Democratic platform. The platform's progressive democratic note is a grudging concession to the big trade unions and the rebelling masses of the suffering people. It is an unwilling testimony to the correctness of the Communist Party, which declares that the main issue is democracy or fascism in America.

The Democratic platform takes a gratuitous fling at the "despotism of Communism". It would have been the part of wisdom, not to speak of good taste, at least to be silent on this point, when the same platform complains that our American institutions are defeating the expressed will of the people, through the Supreme Court, at a moment when Communism in the Soviet Union has just proclaimed a Constitution, the most democratic in all history, which guarantees to every citizen a job at union wages, with full social insurance, paid vacations, and opportunity for education, leisure, and culture. When America, the richest country in the world, gives its workers half of what Communism gives in the Soviet Union, it will be time to boast.

The Communist Party and its platform are in this election campaign for one purpose, and only one—to unite the broadest masses of the toiling people effectively around a program which, if carried out, would bring about a better life; would relieve the present suffering of millions of men, women and children; would preserve our democratic rights and civil liberties; would keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world. In accepting this nomination, I pledge to fight for the achievement of this program.

The realization of these progressive and democratic demands would preserve the rights and liberties of the people; they will learn and find in struggle the best way to the final solution of their problems. We are firmly convinced that the majority of the American people will finally choose the way of socialism, which is the common ownership and operation of the mills, mines, factories, railroads, banks—our whole highly organized economic plant—through a government really of, by, and for the people. This is the full program of the Communist Party, which causes Wall Street and Hearst to hate us so much. This is socialism, that is revolution, which the reactionaries want you to fear.

The majority of the American people are not this year

ready for this revolution toward which the full Communist program leads. But the American people must and will always retain the freedom to choose that road when they are ready. Americans will never permit the victory of fascism in our land. We must join hands, millions of us, to smash this menace. There shall be no American Hitler.

Hearst and the Liberty League carry on a campaign of incitement against the Communist Party, trying to make the people believe that because we are a revolutionary party we are something horrible and shameful. But thereby they only dishonor our American revolutionary traditions which are the heart of Americanism. Our country was born in revolution and preserved by revolutionary war. Hearst's diatribes against us are only bad copies of the incitements of the Slave Power against the great Lincoln. Americans have always been among the most revolutionary peoples of the world. Americans will not shrink from a new revolution, when they understand that only by this road can they once and for all break the corrupting power of Wall Street over our land.

The Communist Party shows the way to a better life now, and to the future of peace, freedom, and security for all.

As the candidate of the Communist Party, I will carry its program to the country—the fight for a united people's front in the Farmer-Labor Party, the fight for organizing the basic industries into industrial unions, in a united and powerful American Federation of Labor, the fight for unity of all progressive forces in America to defeat the threat of reaction, fascism, and war.

The Communist Party banner is the only consistent banner of progress, of liberty, and through liberty to socialism.

I accept your nomination as a charge to carry this banner to the great masses of the American people.

Forward to a progressive, free, prosperous, and happy America. Vote Communist!

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## **FOREIGN POLICY AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE**

*Broadcast over the Red Network of the National  
Broadcasting Company, August 28, 1936.*

**T**HE sinister shadow of war hangs over the entire world. The war dogs are becoming bolder, and the pack led by Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists are getting ready to tear down civilization itself, in their mad attempt to perpetuate their rule and conquer the world.

Every week brings new incitements by the war-makers.

Only this Monday, Hitler again shocked the world when he doubled his army, putting it on an immediate war footing. This newest threat to peace is no isolated incident. It is the latest in a whole series of provocative moves by the fascist warmongers, leading to their announced intention of beginning a new world slaughter. The Japanese militarists conquered Manchuria, are dismembering China, and are plotting to seize the Philippines and wage war against the United States. The rape of Ethiopia by the Italian fascists, Hitler's gigantic program of war preparations, and his constant threats against the small nations of Europe and the Soviet Union, were among the steps taken by the war-makers toward their goal of death and conquest.

This offensive of the troops of destruction unfortunately was not opposed by an invincible front of all the peace forces of the world. There was not enough resistance to their innumerable acts of aggression. Because the peace forces of the world were not united, the fascists have grown bolder, more insolent in their provocations.



During the past few weeks, we have seen the fascists of every country openly intervening on the side of the rebel insurrection against the democratically-elected government of Spain. The lives of tens of thousands of innocent people have been sacrificed, because Mussolini and Hitler have supplied the mercenaries of the rebel armies with arms, airplanes and money.

How long will the peace-loving people of the world continue to let the war racketeers go unchallenged, terrorizing the weaker nations, and pursuing their policy of blackmail and robbery upon an international scale? How long will the American people, who have so convincingly shown their unmistakable desire for peace, continue to keep aloof from collective efforts for peace which alone can check the war plans of the Japanese militarists in the Far East and of their ally, Hitler, in Europe?

The drums of war are beating ever more loudly. Unless the peace forces of the world marshal their strength and build an unbreakable wall of resistance against the fascist war-makers, death and barbarism will soon ride the heavens as the fascists rain destruction from their fleets of bombing planes, equipped with every conceivable device for mass destruction and murder.

The United States is not immune from the contagious infection of war. It is in danger of being drawn into war in the Far East which the Japanese militarists are provoking. President Roosevelt has shown that he is aware of the imminent threat of a second world war. In his Chautauqua speech, he hinted at that when he said: "We must remember that so long as war exists on earth, there will be some danger that even the nation which most ardently desires peace may be drawn into war."

As a matter of fact, the peoples of the whole world desire peace. The war danger comes from the fascist cliques in

every country which are willing to sacrifice millions on the altar of greed and profits. To maintain peace, we must check the drive of these war-makers, and that includes our own would-be Hitlers like Hearst and the Liberty Leaguers.

Good intentions and a horror of war will not stop the fascists. We cannot appeal to men who have no scruples, to gangsters who murder their opponents and herd them by the thousands in concentration camps. Good intentions will not stop Hitler or Mussolini, our own fascist, Hearst, dragging us all into a new slaughter. Our consciences revolt at their unspeakable deeds, but only actions, real actions for peace, will stop their drive to war.

President Roosevelt has made many correct statements about the need for peace. But he hangs on to a policy of so-called neutrality or isolation which in practice has encouraged the fascist aggressors, instead of stopping them dead in their tracks. It was this policy of isolation which contributed to Mussolini's victory in Ethiopia. It was this failure to take effective steps for peace which emboldened Hitler to remilitarize the Rhineland and to prepare for war against the Soviet Union and France. It was this ineffective method which emboldened the Japanese militarists to advance their war plans against China and the United States. It was this policy of neutrality which played into the hands of our own jingos, giving them more arguments for a big armaments program by the United States. It was this policy of neutrality which enabled Hearst to cloak himself and his support to the German and Italian fascists behind a demagogic appeal for isolation.

Hearst is openly on the side of the war-makers. He has published attacks in his newspapers upon the English government for not aligning itself with Mussolini and Hitler against France and the Soviet Union. At home, he carries on the most bare-faced propaganda to place the weight of

the United States upon the side of Hitler, Mussolini and the other fascist dictatorships. His support of the war-makers is part of his whole plan to establish a fascist dictatorship in this country.

This is shown by the campaign carried on in his newspapers, first the charge that America is being communized through the Roosevelt administration; and, second, his campaign against Communism as man's enemy and God's, something that must be outlawed, placed outside the pale, and destroyed by any possible means. These tactics are typical of the first stage in the rise of fascism.

This is exactly the propaganda that preceded Hitler's assumption of power in Germany. This is precisely the propaganda that prepared the fascist revolt in Spain. This propaganda, carried a step further in its logical development in America, would call for an attempt by those interests which are responsible for this propaganda to cancel the results of our coming elections if they should go unfavorable to them.

Landon, who was privately nominated by Hearst months before his public nomination, is trying to get away from the hatred which millions of decent people have for Hearst. Hence, Landon finds it convenient to attempt to dissociate himself from the taint of Hearst. He does not openly support the isolation policies of his master. He talks of peace, but, in effect, the few concrete statements on the subject which have come from the candidate of Wall Street are but a restatement of Hearst's policy which gives aid to the fascists.

With Hearst openly fighting for the fascist dictators, with Hearst right now in Europe conferring with Hitler and Mussolini, it is not difficult to foresee what Landon would do if elected to office. Landon and Hearst do not object to Roosevelt's policy of neutrality, since it enables them to

sidetrack the adoption of a real peace policy based on collective security. Similarly, Father Coughlin also uses the neutrality policies of the administration to preach isolation, while urging armed intervention in Mexico.

The Communist Party, alone of all political parties, has worked out a program which will keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world. Our platform declares that peace must be maintained and defended at all cost. We favor the United States participating in all measures to strengthen collective security and peace, including collaboration with the League of Nations. Instead of ever greater armaments we believe that the United States should adopt a true peace policy, work in collaboration with the Soviet Union, France, and the other peace forces of the world.

We are for an American peace policy which will prohibit the sale or delivery of goods, or the granting of loans to nations engaged in a foreign war contrary to the provisions of the Kellogg Peace Pact. The huge funds now spent for armaments should be turned to the support of the suffering people.

We demand that the entire munitions industry be nationalized and be put under public control. We demand an end to American intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries. We are for the adoption of a true peace policy in the Americas which will abolish the Monroe Doctrine and end all unequal treaties.

We demand the strict non-recognition of the Japanese conquests in Manchuria and China and the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. We support the Puerto Rican demand for independence. We support the complete independence and self-determination of all oppressed people.

We say that the American people should demand that the government come out actively against the present fascist intervention in Spain. The democratic Spanish republic

has friendly relations with us. We must support the Spanish people against the fascist barbarians. It is the duty of the Roosevelt administration to support the Spanish government and thus help support democracy and peace.

This, in brief, is the foreign policy advocated by the Communist Party. It is a policy which works for the maintenance of peace and for collective action by the peace forces of the world against the fascist war-makers.

Let us unite to forge an American peace policy which will really keep us out of war and really work for the peace of the world in collaboration with all those forces striving for peace and progress against war and fascism.

## **A LABOR DAY MESSAGE**

*Broadcast over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company, September 7, 1936.*

**T**HIS Labor Day the workers have many gains to chalk up on the positive side of the ledger. A progressive spirit runs high in the labor movement. Millions of workers are taking steps to ensure their economic and political emancipation from the rule of the economic feudalists of capitalism. Great organizing drives are taking place in the mass production industries.

But there are ominous clouds on the economic and political horizon. In this Presidential year labor has the problem of how to organize the unorganized workers in the big open-shop industries. It must meet the danger of growing political reaction.

The answer is a unified powerful labor movement. This is the first essential, if American working men are to protect and raise their living standards, if they are to beat back and destroy the Hearst-Liberty League menace to their civil liberties and democratic rights. Without a strong and unified labor movement, reaction cannot be defeated. We have learned this lesson from other countries: in Germany a disunited labor movement brought the victory of fascism; in France a unified labor movement has been able to beat back the fascists.

That is why Wall Street directs its hardest blows against labor's efforts to organize the unorganized. A successful organization drive in steel, in rubber, in auto, in all the industries where the monarchs of monopoly keep the workers in

economic serfdom, would mean higher wages, a shorter working week, a higher standard of living for everybody. The Liberty League and its spokesman, Hearst, seek to paint labor as the enemy of the middle class and the farmers. At the same time, they tell the workers that the farmers and middle class people wax fat at their expense. This is their scheme to divide and rule. It is the Liberty League, Hearst, Wall Street and their little man, Landon, who are the enemies alike of labor, of the farmers, and of middle class people. It is they who have grown rich by foreclosing on our homes, by throwing us out of jobs. Wall Street gives the farmer three cents a quart for milk, while they get fourteen cents a quart in the city. Wall Street pays the farmer two cents a pound for wheat and charges the housewife twelve cents a pound for a loaf of bread. It is Wall Street which loads taxes on the middle class, while the millionaires cheat the government and pay nothing on the millions which they have taken from the poor.

It is to the interests of everyone except the rich that labor be strong and unified. A strong working class, a powerful united labor movement—this is a necessity for democracy, for progress and for higher standards of living. In turn this means better living standards and more security for the farmer, and the middle class people. Together the 95 per cent of our people, who toil while Wall Street lives off our backs, can defeat the fascist plans of the reactionaries, can maintain and extend the traditional rights of our country. Together we can really build a free, happy and prosperous America, instead of an America in which Hearst is bloated with wealth while babies die of starvation.

It is the duty of every progressive person in this country to support those trade unionists who are valiantly battling the steel trust, the auto trust, the rubber trust. Our progressive people have always hated and fought the trusts since first they established their stranglehold on our country.

Today, it is the duty of all of us to help labor haul down the black flag of Wall Street piracy which flies over our basic industries.

The heart of the progressive fight against reaction today lies in the right of labor to organize without interference from employers. One cannot speak of democratic rights when workers are coerced and murdered by company thugs, when the trusts are permitted to rule their company towns with spies, blacklist, gun and blackjack.

It is against the dictatorial rule of the corporations that labor is fighting. Labor seeks a living wage, and the restoration of those traditional American liberties which have been nullified by the trusts. The fight of labor is the fight of everyone who strives for a decent and happy life. The victory of labor is a victory for progress. A defeat for labor means opening the doors wide to the hell of fascism, to the rule of Lucifer Hearst.

The Communist Party stands squarely for the right of labor to organize and strike. We stand for federal legislation which will establish labor's full right to collective bargaining, which will outlaw the company unions, the spy and stool pigeon systems, and all other coercion by employers. Employers guilty of discharging workers for union or political activities should be punished with heavy penalties up to imprisonment. Wretched working conditions must be abolished throughout industry. Every working man and woman must be guaranteed a minimum annual wage by law. We must establish a thirty-hour week without reduction in earnings at trade union rates and conditions, in private industry and on public works. In this way we can achieve a real American standard of living in line with the great productive capacities of our country. A real charter of liberty for labor should be written into the law of the land. So long as labor is denied its rights, so long will there be no real democracy in the United States.



Every working man and every progressive must, therefore, test the presidential candidates and their programs by their attitude to union labor. About Landon there can be no doubt in the minds of any thinking person. He stands on the platform of the Republican Party whose labor clause was written by the open-shopper T. E. Weir of the Iron and Steel Institute and other such "friends" of the working men. We all know that the notorious declaration of war by the Iron and Steel Institute against the American people contained precisely the same anti-labor clause as the plank of the Republican platform which would outlaw genuine trade unions. Landon is the candidate of those who seek to perpetuate the sweatshop, the candidate of those who would destroy the trade unions. Only a reactionary, or a radical of the type who rushes in where angels fear to tread, could write letters to Mr. Landon which help whitewash his Wall Street anti-labor policy. Landon's stand on labor is best shown by his record in Kansas. He sent troops to break the strike of the miners of Treece County. Five thousand of these miners and their families are affected by silicosis. Four hundred of their children have died from the dread disease during the Landon administration. Another fifteen hundred children are dying. The mine inspector, appointed by Landon, has not lifted a finger to enforce the state laws for safeguards against silicosis.

President Roosevelt's attitude to labor is indecisive. The Democratic platform maintains that workers should have the right to organize without interference from the employers. But labor has learned by experience that it cannot depend upon Roosevelt. He hesitates and yields to pressure; he yields to pressure from the reactionaries as well as labor. This was seen in every major struggle of labor during the Roosevelt administration. The only way to make Roosevelt move even a little more in the direction of labor is through

the independent activity of labor on the economic field combined with independent action of all progressives in a Farmer-Labor Party on the political field. This is the only guarantee for a higher standard of living, for effective checks against reaction.

Let us all on this Labor Day pledge ourselves to build a fighting labor movement which will make human rights supreme over property rights. Let us pledge on this Labor Day once and for all to strike the shackles of economic serfdom from the unorganized workers of this country. Through organizing the unorganized workers, we lay the basis upon which labor, united with the farmers and the middle class, can build a Farmer-Labor Party, that political instrument of the people which alone can defeat the plans of the reactionaries.

Labor Day this year has been darkened by the unlawful suspension of the unions comprising the Committee for Industrial Organization by the reactionary members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. This is a stab in the back against labor and the progressive movement generally. This illegal action can only serve the interests of Wall Street and labor's enemy No. 1—William Randolph Hearst.

This illegal action by the Executive Council is a colossal crime against the true interests, the further growth, and the all-embracing unity of the American working class. It is illegal because the constitution of the A. F. of L. specifically forbids the Executive Council to suspend or expel an international union unless granted authority by a two-thirds vote of a national convention.

Mr. William Green and Mr. William L. Hutcheson dare to prate about democracy as the issue. What kind of democracy is it when they illegally suspend unions with a membership of over 1,000,000? As head of the Carpenters' Union, Mr. Hutcheson has prevented that union from holding a

convention for eight years. At this moment he denies voting rights to 100,000 lumber worker members, and yet he dares to raise the false issue of democracy. The members of the craft unions have expressed in innumerable resolutions and in meetings that they are against the splitting action of the Executive Council which serves the interests of Wall Street, of Landon, who broke Kansas strikes with state troops, of Hearst, that arch enemy of labor.

Is it any accident that it was William L. Hutcheson, the chairman of the so-called labor committee to support the Hearst-Landon candidacy, who introduced the motion to suspend the C.I.O. unions? This reactionary who is openly campaigning for Landon, who supports the open-shop labor clause of the Republican Party, who stifled democracy within his own union—it was this Liberty League agent within the ranks of labor who was instrumental in suspending the C.I.O. unions.

The destructive action of the Executive Council is applauded by the reactionaries. They call it the zero hour; they would make it the zero hour for a frontal assault of all reactionary forces against the labor movement. We must unite every central labor council and state federation to refuse to carry out this split. We must not permit Wall Street to take advantage of the treacherous action of the Executive Council. The answer of all labor and of all friends of labor to suspension order must be a ringing cry for *unity* which will defeat all those who seek to weaken or destroy the labor movement. With unity, labor will conquer.

Every vote for the Communist Party strengthens the organization of the unorganized workers, the building of the Farmer-Labor Party, the gathering of all labor and progressive forces, young and old, white and Negro, men and women, in a People's Front against reaction, fascism and war.

## **PARTIES AND ISSUES**

*Broadcast over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company Before the New York Herald Tribune's Sixth Annual Forum on Current Problems, Sept. 23, 1936.*

**T**HE fundamental issue of the 1936 elections, according to the Communist viewpoint, is the choice between progress or reaction, democracy or fascism. We Communists place ourselves unequivocally on the side of progress and democracy, against reaction and fascism. We see the entire population being stirred by this issue, beginning to realign itself accordingly. The old party system is meaningless; we are repeating today the experience of 80 years ago, when new problems and issues gave birth to a new system of political parties.

It is the desire of the Communists to contribute to this realignment, to find our own proper place in it, to help the mass of the population to find their proper place.

The two poles of this re-crystallization of our political life are, on the reactionary side, the forces gathered around Landon and Knox—Hearst, the Liberty League, the Jeffersonian Democrats, Wall Street, all the forces of organized wealth and monopoly; on the progressive side, all the mass organizations of the people, which are moving in the direction of a new party, a Farmer-Labor Party.

Roosevelt and the Democratic Party do not represent either of these sides in the basic realignment. Roosevelt tries to take the middle-of-the-road course, tries to satisfy both sides of an irreconcilable struggle, and therefore satisfies neither. In the Solid South, traditional base of the Demo-

cratic Party, the ruling class still votes Democratic but already prays Republican. In the border states, the wealthy best families march openly into the Landon camp bearing the banner of Jefferson. Senator Glass announces that his own election on the Democratic ticket will be a victory for the Republican Party. The Democratic Party is a house divided, two souls struggling for possession of one body, a political Hamlet moving inexorably to its tragic end.

The camp of progress, of the people's mass organizations, of the Farmer-Labor Party, is still not fully formed, has not completely won its political independence, and is supporting the re-election of Roosevelt while refusing to endorse the Democratic Party. In a growing number of states, it is politically independent; in others it is on the verge of emerging as an independent force. We Communists support fully the building of this independent political force of the people, this Farmer-Labor Party movement, even while we disagree with its present reliance on Roosevelt. Especially do we agree with its determination to defeat Landon and Knox as the representatives of Wall Street, reaction, fascism and war.

Great efforts are being made to confuse the issues, and especially to bring forward Landon as a "progressive" and "man of the people". It is certainly true that Landon is no Mussolini or Hitler; he was chosen for that reason, to be the answer to the inevitable charge of fascism against such a collection of du Ponts, Hearsts, Liberty Leaguers as sponsor his candidacy. A perfect choice, from this point of view, the most negative and colorless candidacy ever seen in American politics in the memory of living men, a blank sheet for each voter to write in his own desires—at least the many former and contradictory writings have been covered with whitewash. Where the world expected to see a spearhead, it was presented with a figurehead.

That the Republican campaign should represent the extreme of unprincipledness flows from the essential character of reaction moving towards fascism. While raging against President Roosevelt's miserly social security program, the Republicans are effectively wooing the Townsend movement, sometimes using Lemke for the role of John Alden to its Miles Standish, sometimes courting directly, as in Colorado, where the Republican State Convention, with the participation of the Honorable John D. M. Hamilton, endorsed officially the Townsend Plan.

The Republican Party, directed by the fascist-minded men of Wall Street, is ready to promise all things to all men, anything to get votes, anything to get power in their hands.

But the main strategy of the reactionary camp is the same as that of the fascists of Europe, to raise the Red scare, the bogey of socialism, of Marxism, the red flag, Moscow, "orders from Stalin", the menace of "Jewish Bolshevism". This is the song of Hitler, of Mussolini, of Hearst and the Liberty League, of the dominant forces supporting Landon. They say the choice is between capitalism and socialism; that they are the only exponents of capitalism, that all others, including Roosevelt and his administration, stand for socialism. They make the same accusations against Roosevelt that they made against President Azana of Spain to justify the present fascist uprising against the government only recently elected by an overwhelming majority. The open advocates of the overthrow of democratic republican government by force and violence are, in the first place, the Hearst newspapers supporting Landon. All this propaganda is based on lies. In fact, Roosevelt stands for capitalism, not socialism; the Communists advocate socialism but say this is not the issue in 1936, but rather the issue is democracy or fascism. The Communists are not supporting Roosevelt, but put forward their own candidates. The Com-

munist Party of the United States makes its own decisions and does not receive orders from Moscow.

The nonsense of the Jewish dominance in the New Deal, or in the Communist movement, is, of course, pap for morons; the Jews, like every other racial or national group, are divided among all the different classes and political groupings in about the usual proportions.

It is unfortunate that the Socialist Party has seen fit to carry on a campaign which, conceived in the rare atmosphere of pure abstraction, fits exactly into the practical schemes of the Landon camp when it is brought to earth. Accurate judgment of this fact was expressed by Mark Sullivan, Republican columnist, when he warmly recommended all Republican writers to "follow" my friend Norman Thomas' writings as very useful in their task of drumming up votes for Landon. How this course is wrecking the Socialist Party is shown in the straw votes indicating a majority of the Socialist voters of 1932 now voting for Landon or Roosevelt.

The Communist Party is campaigning, first of all, with the aim to help bring all progressive people and their organizations into a People's Front against Wall Street, against reaction, fascism and war, in a new political alignment—the Farmer-Labor Party. Despite the fact that the progressives in their great majority have decided to rely upon Roosevelt nationally this year—a decision which we think was a mistake—yet inevitably they are moving in the direction of a Farmer-Labor Party on a local, state, and national scale, which will soon be one of the first parties of the land. We Communists are supporting, we are a part of, this Farmer-Labor Party movement, reserving our independent role in the presidential elections. Our election platform proposes, not socialism—which can only come through revolution—but a progressive platform of aims to be fought for

under the present capitalist system by such a Farmer-Labor Party with our support and participation, expressing the general slogan of "Democracy or fascism, progress or reaction".

A brief summary of the eight planks of the Communist platform will illustrate this. Plank one is the demand for jobs and a living wage for all. When private enterprise fails in providing this, then the government must step in to fill the breach. Plank two provides for social security through unemployment insurance and old-age pensions from 60 years up, at rates equal to former earnings but not less than \$15 per week. Plank three demands educational opportunities, vocational training, and part-time work for the youth from 16 to 25, guaranteed by the government. Plank four establishes the obligation of the government to guarantee the farmers in possession of the land, with an adequate income, through moratorium on debts which threatens dispossession, governmental refinancing of mortgages at nominal interest, provision of land for the landless tenants and sharecroppers, and prompt and adequate relief for the drought-stricken. Plank five, dealing with public finance, condemns inflation and all methods of financing at the expense of the suffering millions; such as sales taxes, and demands that public finance shall be raised from the accumulated wealth and surplus income of the country, through a sharply-graduated income tax beginning at \$5,000 per year, repeal of tax-exemption now effective on \$35,000,000,000 of government securities, and taxation of corporate surpluses, gifts, and inheritances; with tax exemption to be granted to operating farmers, small home owners, and small property-owners generally. Plank six demands the protection of civil liberties, and extension of popular control of government; supporting a Constitutional amendment to finally curb all attempts of the Su-



preme Court to usurp legislative powers, it demands the immediate re-assertion by Congress of its Constitutional prerogatives in relation to the judiciary. Plank seven proposes the strict enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, providing complete equality for the Negro people; in this respect the Communists are the only party in America standing squarely on the basis of the Constitution. Plank eight, dealing with war and peace, demands that we keep America out of war by helping keep war out of the world; it calls for an American peace policy, based on prohibition of sale or delivery of goods, or granting of loans, to nations conducting a foreign war contrary to the Kellogg Peace Pact; on the basis of which America can cooperate with the peace forces of the world to restrain the war-makers, and eliminate the enormous expenditures for war preparations, diverting these funds to social expenditures.

Because we are advocates of a future socialist system, which as yet is supported only by a small minority of the population, we Communists declare that it is the duty of adherents of socialism to join hands with all progressives not ready for socialism, on the basis of such a platform of democratic and progressive measures, which will guarantee our country from the horrors of fascism and war, and make the future social transformation less difficult and painful.

# **OLD-AGE PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE**

*Broadcast over the Blue Network of the National  
Broadcasting Company, October 2, 1936.*

**O**UR country is the richest in the world. It has as much accumulated wealth and productive resources as the rest of the world combined. Yet millions of people are divorced from all means of livelihood except a precarious and degrading relief system, or a still worse system of charity. Millions of skilled and able workers are no longer needed in our industrial system, and constantly more are being dispensed with, due to new machinery and speed-up. Millions of our young people, with never an opportunity to acquire experience and skill, are facing a future without hope. Millions of the older generation, prematurely aged by the devastating speed-up, are thrown penniless upon the streets to drag out their last years in slow starvation and the destruction of all human dignity. Insecurity, the heritage of everyone under our insane economic system, becomes for these millions the certainty of disaster.

The cause of this social plague, under our present social order, arises out of the very riches of our productive forces. Millions must be deprived of a decent life, because our society has too much wealth. The more rapidly we multiply our wealth and productive forces, the more widespread is this social plague of misery, unemployment, starvation.

Until we are ready to reorganize our social and economic

system upon different lines, which will produce different results, that is, until we Americans are ready to go forward to socialism, the first stage of communism, until that time it will be necessary to adopt emergency measures to keep our people from social poisoning and degeneration.

It is this field of emergency measures which has been given the high-sounding title of "social security".

Certain timid and utterly inadequate beginnings toward such emergency measures were taken by the Roosevelt Administration in the so-called Social Security Bill.

The positive features of this bill are, first, that it establishes the principle of federal legislation for old-age pensions and unemployment insurance; second, it recognized that to leave the question to the initiative of the separate states means to guarantee that nothing at all would be done. Its negative features are, first, that it adopted an unworkable compromise with the states-rights doctrine, refusing a clear-cut federal system; second, that it adopted a vicious method of financing, placing the tax-load upon the masses of people least able to bear the burden, by the tax on wages and payrolls; and, third, that the benefits are so limited in amount, so hedged about with limitations, so postponed to the future, and so circumscribed in application to only about half the suffering population, as to make a mockery of its title of "social security".

Governor Landon in Milwaukee a few days ago made the Republican criticism of the Roosevelt bill, and added his own proposals. What did he tell us? He proposes, if elected, to remedy the inadequacies of the present bill by destroying its two strong points. He would repeal the principle of federal responsibility altogether, and hand the whole problem over to the separate states for "experimentation", which in practice is a guarantee that nothing effective will be done at all.

This practical rejection of all effective old-age pensions and unemployment insurance by Governor Landon was headlined in the newspapers as a promise to give the old people and the unemployed something better than the Roosevelt bill. This is an election fraud on a colossal scale.

In truth, Landon and Knox are the chosen candidates of the most irreconcilable enemies of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. They represent the Liberty League, Hearst, Morgan, the du Ponts, Mellon, the wealthy families of our land, whose central policy is to prevent the government from taxing their mounting profits and billions of capital, by so much as a single penny. Landon gave a broad hint that if elected he would finance such federal relief as he could not immediately cut off by a federal sales tax which would fall upon the whole population.

With such a policy, what a cruel hoax is being perpetrated upon the unsuspecting Townsend followers, who are being wooed by Landon with the song that this means the substantial fulfillment of their demands! And what a vicious conspiracy, when in Colorado the Republican State Convention, in the presence of the Honorable John D. M. Hamilton, made the explicit promise that a vote for Landon is a vote for \$200 per month to all old people over 60 years!

All the monopolists of Wall Street will vote for Landon, believing that he will carry out their policy of slashing to the bone all governmental expenditures for social legislation of all kinds, and shift the tax burden even more over onto the poor people. Millions of workers and farmers, including deluded Townsend followers, will vote for Landon believing the newspaper headlines that Landon has promised that our country's wealth will be used for social benefit payments much greater than those of Roosevelt. Some people will have been fooled. Does anybody really

think that it is the Wall Street bankers who do not know their Landon?

We of the Communist Party have a program of our own for social security, that is, of emergency measures to rescue the victims of the breakdown of a rotten capitalist system. We have written it into our official platform with the utmost of precision and clarity.

It is common knowledge that our Party played no small role in rallying the unemployed and winning the support of the entire labor movement to force recognition of government responsibility for unemployment. We helped develop the first unemployed organization in the country. Later we helped unite all organizations of the unemployed into one united national organization of the unemployed—the Workers Alliance of America.

First of all, we declare that when private enterprise can not or will not provide employment at a living wage, then it is the obligation of the government to step in and fill the breach. Work provided by the government shall be in the production of things the people need—food, clothing and shelter. Public construction shall in the first place provide low-cost housing, schools, recreational centers, hospitals, and parks in the workers' districts, etc.

Second, we would provide a guaranteed income to all able-bodied men and women, denied work through no fault of their own, as well as for all unemployed through sickness, and pensions for the aged from the age of sixty years upward. Such compensation, to provide against the deterioration of the American standard of living, should be equal to previous average income when fully employed, in no case falling below \$15 per week. It should apply to all categories of workers without exception, to the farmers, and to the self-employed professions whose employment is wiped out by crises and depression. These principles have been

embodied in the Frazier-Lundeen Bill, introduced in the 74th Congress, which is an elaboration of the bill first worked out by the Communists several years ago.

Thirdly, we would save the young generation from their present demoralization which arises from a situation where they are not needed, and who now face a future without hope. We support the American Youth Act, introduced in Congress by Senator Benson at the request of the American Youth Congress, which provides opportunity for education and vocational training, with part-time work, for all young people from 16 to 25 years, at government expense. The present inadequate Youth Administration must be extended and improved.

There is but one serious argument made against these proposals. Everyone will agree that nothing short of these measures will stop the serious social deterioration inflicted upon the American people by the crisis and depression. But, it is argued, these measures will cost too much, the country cannot afford it!

America must choose between two ways of paying the bills of crisis and depression. One way is to preserve accumulated wealth at all costs, and pay the bill in the destruction of life and happiness of millions upon millions of our people. That is the way of Landon, Hearst, the Liberty League and Wall Street. The other way, the way we propose, is to preserve at all costs the life, health and happiness of our people, and pay the bill out of surplus income and accumulated wealth. The Roosevelt Administration tried to find a third way, but this turned out to be only an unworkable compromise between the two fundamentally opposite paths, a compromise which arouses the wrath of both the rich and the poor.

Social security can be approached only through drawing upon the material wealth of our land. Sales taxes only cut

the flesh from the poor in order to feed the same poor. Inflation and currency manipulation only further enrich the speculators, and impoverish the people; credit and currency should be firmly controlled by the government, which can be done only by nationalization of the entire banking system. The budget should be balanced, not by cutting social expenditures, but, on the contrary, by increased taxation of the rich. While exempting small home and property owners from taxes, the present tax exemption of the rich, on thirty-five billion dollars of securities, should be abolished; a sharply graduated income tax, beginning at \$5,000 per year, supplemented by taxes on gifts and inheritances and corporate surpluses, should take what is necessary from the surplus income of the country which now goes to the rich.

America must choose: shall the people pay with their lives, or shall the wealthy pay with their money? We say, make the rich pay! Everything else is only illusion and fraud. This is the only way to give any measure of social security to the American people.

# MESSAGE TO YOUNG AMERICA

*Broadcast over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company, October 9, 1936.*

**T**ONIGHT I shall speak about the problems of young America and the nation. I shall pose no problem with which you yourself have not been confronted in your own painful experience.

What you seek is simple, and by right belongs to you. You seek education, you want jobs, you hope to live a happy and fruitful life. These are not unreasonable demands. Our country is the richest in the world. It has more than enough to allow every young man and woman a chance to work and study, to marry and raise a family, to make the best of his or her creative ability. We Communists merely propose that young people be given the full opportunity which the ample riches of our land make possible.

The question uppermost in your mind is: what is responsible for the wreckage of your hopes, for the denial of jobs, for the wastage of your years?

In response to my radio broadcasts I have received hundreds of letters from young people between the ages of 18 and 30. These letters come from all sorts of young people and all quarters of the nation, but they all come finally to the same question. Here is a letter from a young man in Missouri. He graduated from a technical high school, but has spent the past six years wandering over the country looking for a chance to work at anything. Here is a letter from a young woman, a school teacher, a college graduate in New York City, whose training is being wasted,



who cannot find an opening for a job which would be useful to society and herself. Here is a young Negro worker employed in a sweatshop, working long hours, unable to study or better himself. All of them, in school and out of school, employed or unemployed, ask the question: is there no hope, no future?

Your parents are also intimately concerned about these problems. They had hopes that you would have a rosy future in our great land. That is why they toiled so that you could be educated. That is why they made sacrifices so that your way in life should be easier than theirs. And now their hearts are heavy as they watch you pacing the floor, walking the streets, everlastingly in search of those elementary needs of life denied you by a decaying social order.

The present social order long ago lost its youth. It is now losing the faith of its young people. In terms of jobs, opportunity, happiness and culture, the present social order offers our young people nothing but the vague hope that if they live long enough they can take the jobs vacated by their elders as these die off in the natural course of events. This philosophy of resignation and despair is the best that can be offered the young people of America by Herbert Hoover, the real head of the Republican Party.

The Republican Party tries to win the votes of young people by expressing a hypocritical concern for the future well-being of the youth. It holds up the specter of future tax payments while, at the same time, it would deny, in the name of these future tax payments, the niggardly crumbs given the young people by the present administration.

What brazen hypocrisy this is! The Morgans, Rockefellers, and du Ponts, all the princes of privilege, have suddenly become interested in lifting the burden of taxes from the shoulders of the youth! But these same people did not hesitate one moment before plunging America into a war

whose bill will be footed not only by the present generation but by many future generations to come. These same people do not say one word about the present billion-dollar war budget for which the present young generation will have to pay taxes, as will their children, and their children's children after them.

The Communist Party, and the youth of America, agree with those who say that the youth should not pay the cost of social legislation. We say to these people: You are right. The youth should not pay. But we propose that the Morgans and du Ponts shall pay! We propose to make the rich pay to balance the budget.

Just think! The Morgans, du Ponts, Rockefellers, Fords, who by their stranglehold monopolies have closed the door of opportunity for all but a chosen few—these grave-diggers of hope and aspiration—have suddenly become the apostles of opportunity!

They oppose opportunity to security. But there is no contradiction between the two. We Communists insist on such a degree of social security for the young people of America as will make it possible for them to exercise their traditional right to seek for opportunity. Opportunity through security—that is what we want.

That is what our young people want. They cannot be and are not satisfied with mere waiting until their elders die. They do not think that the militarized C.C.C. establishments are the answer to their cry for vocational training and jobs. The meager benefits of an inadequate and undemocratic National Youth Administration are not enough for the youth of America. It is out of this dissatisfaction that mighty mass movements of the young people themselves, initiated by young people and led by young people, have been created.

These are progressive groups such as the Christian Youth

Building a New World, the American Youth Congress, the American Student Union, organizations striving to win economic, educational and political rights for our young generation. We Communists are proud that our Party, and especially our Young Communist League, have good working relations with these organizations of young people. In practical work, done shoulder to shoulder with us, they have come to realize that we Communists have no interests apart from any of theirs, that our Party is truly a party dedicated to the welfare of our American young people.

These movements are guarantees that Gerald K. Smith and his type of fascist demagogue will find it very difficult to enroll our young people as the storm troops of reaction.

I accuse Father Coughlin, the man behind Gerald Smith, of conspiring with William Randolph Hearst to prepare a fascist attack against American democracy. I hereby challenge Father Coughlin to come up to the platform of the Olympia Stadium in his own city of Detroit, when I speak there on October 27, and answer our charges.

Out of the progressive activities of our young people have grown two basic documents comparable to the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. These are the now famous Declaration of Rights of the Young Generation, which was both a challenge and a rallying call to all youth, and the American Youth Act, which is the expression of the most vital needs of our young people for jobs and education.

The most splendid thing about the American Youth Act, introduced into Congress by Senator Benson and Congressman Amlie, is that it is the creation of the young people themselves. It is a beacon of hope, pointing a way out of the dark present to a future where our young people can raise families and make use of their creative abilities. Young America is on the march and their banner is the American Youth Act.

The Communist Party supports wholeheartedly the American Youth Act. We have as one of our main planks in our platform the demand "Save the young generation". We have written its principles officially into our platform which declares:

"Our country can and must provide opportunity, education, and work for the youth of America. These demands of the young people as embodied in the American Youth Act—the Benson-Amlie Bill—must be enacted into law.

"This bill provides for jobs, educational opportunities, and vocational training for all young people between the ages of 16 and 25.

"The National Youth Administration budget must be maintained and enlarged.

"Military training in the C.C.C. and schools must be abolished.

"Free educational and financial assistance to the youth and the children must be guaranteed by both federal and state appropriations.

"Child labor must once and for all be abolished and made unconstitutional."

We make this our program because our aim is to help the young people find the best road out of their difficulties, and because we champion the interests of all those down-trodden and oppressed by our present social order.

Of course, we believe the problems of our young people, like the problems of their elders, will be fully solved only by the abolition of the present order which is responsible for all their troubles, and by taking the socialist path which will open up the gates of progress to all humanity, and especially our young people. It is our firm belief that as our young people unite to win jobs and education, unite with their elders to defeat the cavalry of capitalism, hun-

ger, fascism, and war, they will come to understand the necessity of the socialist path.

President Roosevelt said that our young generation has a rendezvous with destiny. We say to our young people "Do not make this a rendezvous with death". Do not allow the fascist-minded men of Wall Street to sacrifice you on the altar of greed and profits. The future of America is in your hands, my young friends. You can play your part in making our country great and progressive; or you can stand aside and permit unscrupulous demagogues to drag us to tyranny, war, and fascist barbarism.

I am confident that the young generation, the flower of our people, in this grave crisis, when the balance hangs between democracy and fascism throughout the world, will put their young energies and their fresh minds to work on the side of progress. Young people of America, if you organize yourselves, if you join the trade unions, the farm organizations, if you build mighty organizations of youth, if together with the working class, the farmers, the middle-class people, you fight for democracy, then you can achieve those aims which are your hope and dream.

Young people, first voters, think hard about the problems of today. Reject the reactionary program of the Republicans who would pit the young and old against each other. Do not be satisfied with the inadequate, half-hearted measures of the Roosevelt Administration. Vote Communist for the use of American riches to serve American life, for opportunity to work, for the chance to study, for the right to live a happy and normal life.

## **WHAT SPAIN MEANS TO AMERICA**

*Broadcast over the Red Network of the National  
Broadcasting Company, October 23, 1936.*

**W**HAT is taking place in Spain today is not something which we Americans can view as foreign and unimportant to us. For in Spain the great issue of our day, democracy or fascism, has come to a head. The dark forces of reaction, aided and abetted by the fascist governments of Italy, Germany and Portugal, are destroying cities, blowing up factories, uprooting what was built up by the Spanish people through centuries. The forces of democracy in Spain, if sufficiently aided by the workers and all progressives of the world, will defeat the fascist rebels, and thus deal a blow against the offensive of fascism all through the world.

That is why the reactionaries have carried on a campaign of lies about what is happening in Spain. That is why Hearst has outdone his notorious past in fabricating untruths about the heroic fight of the Spanish people for a better and more secure life under their democratically elected government.

The issue in Spain is very simple. Last February the people of Spain democratically voted in the present government by an overwhelming majority. They are trying to establish principles which we Americans hold dear, namely, separation of church from state; elimination of the stranglehold of a feudal aristocracy which was throttling the future development of Spain; the liberation of the peasants from semi-slave conditions; the granting of democratic rights

to a population held in bondage by tyranny, superstition and illiteracy; the right of labor to enjoy higher living standards, collective bargaining.

These rights we Americans understand and cherish. We fought to free our country from the tyranny of the British crown in 1776. We fought for the separation of church from state and the freedom of individual worship. We fought for the destruction of feudal hangovers which would have kept America in perpetual backwardness. We fought for democratic rights against the special privileges of the American Tories and the British aristocracy.

You will remember that, although the overwhelming majority of the American people in 1776 were for democracy, the Tories of that day did not allow them peacefully to solve their problems. They waged war against the American people, brought over foreign mercenaries in their ferocious attempt to keep America in chains.

At the polls the Spanish people voted for democracy, for an end of that tyranny which had kept Spain in economic and cultural darkness for centuries. Just as our Tories in 1776 refused to accept the mandate of the people, so did Franco and the other generals, the nobility, the big monopoly capitalists, all those who realized that their special privileges would be curtailed under democracy, rise in armed insurrection against the democratically elected government.

Let me draw a parallel for you. Suppose here in America the people were to elect a government by an overwhelming majority. And then the reactionaries in the Liberty League, with the aid of generals and paid mercenaries, and with the active support of Hitler and Mussolini, tried to establish fascism here. That's what happened in Spain.

Our reactionaries understand the issue very clearly. When Hearst visited Italy and Germany last summer, he and his fascist friends came to an understanding about Spain. That is why the Hearst press, day in and day out, manufactures

atrocities stories, weeps crocodile tears about the persecution of the clergy, tries to cover up the real issue in Spain by dragging out their shopworn Red herring. And that is why it is the duty of every American worker and every progressive to help the Spanish people defeat the fascist invasion. A defeat for Spanish democracy would embolden our own reactionaries to hatch fascist plots against our own democratic rights, and we would be a step nearer to facing the kind of horrors the Spanish people are enduring today.

The American press has reported how the Spanish fascists openly receive munitions and airplanes from Germany and Italy, how German and Italian fascist aviators bomb and murder innocent people. General Franco, in return for munitions from Hitler and Mussolini, has promised them strategic territory on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts. Thus, the fascists are selling the independence of Spain. This knowledge is beginning to break through the propaganda of the reactionaries. They try to cover up the fascist invasion as a crusade for God, a crusade, mind you, by Mohammedan mercenaries who murder innocent Christian men and women.

The truth is that the Spanish government was taking first steps towards separating church from state, an American tradition which is written into our Constitution. It is not true that the Catholic masses of Spain support the fascists. The majority of government supporters are Catholics.

There are members of the church hierarchy, big landowners, who cruelly exploited the peasants on their vast holdings of land. It is these church landowners, the upper hierarchy, who are fighting with the rebels and Mohammedan mercenaries against their own people. On the other hand, there are Catholic priests fighting shoulder to shoulder with their parishioners against the fascist rebels and their mercenary troops.

The reactionaries try to portray the Spanish Communists



as people who are fighting for a socialist revolution right now. But the Spanish Communist Party has stated to the whole world that it is fighting loyally to save the republic and save democratic Spain.

Hearst and Landon raise the false issue of Communism in the United States elections, in the same way as the fascists raised that issue in Spain. We are justified in warning the American people that such propaganda here is also preparation to discredit the election results in November and prepare for an effort to change those results by undemocratic methods.

The Communists do not hide their aims. They want to win the majority of the people for socialism everywhere. But now, when the majority of the people are not yet ready to take the socialist path, the Communists are in the forefront of the fight to preserve and extend democracy, so that the working class and all exploited people can learn and prepare for the revolutionary transition to socialism.

Spanish democracy has sent a delegation to our shores. Its members are, first, Isabel de Palencia, a noted artist, who on occasions represented the Spanish republic before the League of Nations; second is Marcelino Domingo, President of the Left-Republican Party, a well-known Spanish democrat and former Minister of Education; third is Father Luis Sarasola, a Catholic priest representing the loyal section of the Catholic church fighting on the side of the Spanish government.

Let us give these representatives of Spanish democracy a true American welcome. Just as Benjamin Franklin went to France to rally the French people in support of American democracy, so does Spanish democracy today send its representatives to the American people, appealing for our support against fascist tyranny. We cannot fail these fighters for democracy. We must give them great meetings of welcome and support, so that they can go back to Spain and tell the

Spanish people that America hates fascism and will not permit it to destroy a friendly democratic nation.

All progressives and liberals, all trade unionists, all labor, must realize that their fate is a common one with that of Spain. We who believe in progress must come out openly in support of the Spanish people. We must expose the infamous blockade against the Spanish government as one which is helping the fascist insurrectionists. We must demand of our own government, whose so-called neutrality policy gives aid to the fascists and hampers the fight of the Spanish people, that it sell arms to this friendly democratic government which is fighting for its life.

I appeal to working class leaders and parties in the United States, to the trade unions, to progressives everywhere, to join us in united action to help save Spanish democracy. I appeal to the Socialist Party, as well as to Right-wing Socialist leaders in New York, Connecticut and elsewhere, to work out an independent program of action against the Spanish fascists.

We must lift the unlawful blockade against the Spanish people and their democratic government. We must support the action of the Soviet Union in exposing the criminal actions of the fascist dictators. Men and women, old and young Americans, no matter what your political or religious beliefs, I appeal to all of you who believe in civilization and the further progress of humanity, I appeal to you to help the heroic Spanish men, women, and children and their government. Collect all the money possible in your organizations and among your friends to buy munitions, food and clothing for the defenders of Spanish democracy who are laying down their lives so that democracy will not perish from the earth. Send your donations to one of the committees working in contact with the Spanish government. Our call must be: The people for Spain—Spain for the people.

## **THE ISSUES OF 1936**

*Broadcast over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company, from Madison Square Garden in New York, November 2, 1936.*

**A**S THE election campaign closes, as America prepares to ballot tomorrow in the most important election since 1860, it has become clear to millions that only the Communist Party stated the main issue correctly and sharply from the beginning. Shall America begin to move definitely on the road of progress and democracy, or shall we allow our country to be dragged down the bloody path of reaction, fascism and war—this is the issue which can no longer be postponed of decision.

But if the main issue is clear, the line-up of forces is not yet so definite. True, the camp of reaction and fascism stands forth unmistakably gathered around Landon and the Republican banner. Landon's campaign, directed by Hearst from Rome and Berlin, raised every slogan of international fascism, was modeled closely on the example of Hitler. Most characteristic in this respect is the fantastic charge, placed in the very center of the campaign by Hearst and Landon, that the New Deal is leading America to communism, the implication and even direct charges that President Roosevelt is some kind of secret Communist. This absurdity is the infallible sign of the madness of fascism. Everywhere that democracy has been destroyed, it has been done under the smoke-screen of the Red scare. It is known today to all intelligent Americans that a victory for Lan-

don will be cheered by every reactionary force in our own country and throughout the world.

President Roosevelt is trying to follow the traditional course of the middle-of-the-road. Standing squarely for the maintenance of capitalism, he has gained the hatred of the big-money families, of monopoly capital, by his insistence upon some measure of restraint to their short-sighted greed for mountainous profits and unlimited exploitation of the people. It is the unbridled ferocity of the Wall Street-Hearst hatred of Roosevelt that has frightened the American people so much that even the Farmer-Labor Party movement, and the progressive trade unions moving toward a Farmer-Labor Party, abandoned their plans for an independent national ticket this year and rallied to the re-election of the President.

The Communist Party has not been able to agree with this decision of the broad progressive movement, even though we can understand it, and though we are more and more reaching fruitful collaboration with the progressive movement on the questions of the day. We would have been glad to withdraw our own candidates in favor of a national Farmer-Labor Party ticket, and worked in this campaign as one sector in a broad People's Front against reaction. But we cannot follow the progressives when they abandon their political independence, and place full reliance upon President Roosevelt's re-election as the solution of our problems. In the absence of a People's Front, or Farmer-Labor national ticket, the Communist Party has campaigned for its own ticket as a means of building and strengthening the foundation for that People's Front which must arise nationally after this election, just as surely as the morning must follow the night.

President Roosevelt's re-election will be a rebuke to the worst reactionaries but is no guarantee against the further

progress of fascism in America. And above all else, the American people need a *guarantee* that our country shall not be dragged down the bloody path of Hitlerism, that we shall not be forced to protect our democracy through such desperate heroism as that required of the Spanish people as the price of their liberty. We must learn the bitter lessons of Europe's sorrows. We must fashion new safeguards for our future security. We must build certain guarantees that fascism shall not come to America, that in full truth "It Can't Happen Here".

Such a guarantee can come only from the joining together into a firm alliance of all progressives, the trade unions, the farmers' organizations, for independent political action, in a Farmer-Labor Party.

Let us be very clear as to what kind of a new party we need. My friend Norman Thomas said yesterday that his party will welcome "the right kind of Farmer-Labor Party"—but he explains that he means a party that will adopt his program. America does not need a new party which is merely another name for the Socialists or Communists—there is not the slightest value in another "third party" in this country. There is only one justification and value in a new party, that is, if it unites not only the million or so voters ready for socialism, but also with them the tens of millions of workers and farmers, not ready for socialism but sick to death of the two old parties and ready and anxious to unite for progress and democracy. Such a party will not give us socialism, but it will be a guarantee against fascism—provided it really organizes now the tens of millions.

That is why we, who are the best advocates of socialism, who really know how socialism can and will be built in America, rejected the slogan of Norman Thomas that the main issue this year is socialism or capitalism. We say No, this is not the main issue, because this would divide and not

unite the American people in face of the danger of fascism and war. We say the issue is progress and democracy, against reaction and fascism, because on this issue we can unite the majority of the American people in the immediate future, for a People's Front government in locality, state and nation.

Reaction and fascism in domestic affairs are always accompanied by increased danger of war internationally. Everyone knows that the imminent danger of war, now menacing the world, comes directly from Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese fascists. So, too, our own reactionaries in this election campaign have revealed their intention to enmesh America in the fascist war camp. Only a Farmer-Labor Party in charge of our government can fully align America with the peace forces of all lands and keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world. A really democratic and progressive America, working with the French People's Front government and with that most developed democracy and stronghold of peace in the entire world—the Soviet Union—could so unite the peoples as really to curb the war-makers and maintain world peace.

In this campaign America has seen the real face of the Communist Party. America has seen the Communists as front-line fighters in defense of the people's material interests and their democratic rights. America has seen how false are the charges against us, that we are bogey men eating babies for breakfast, enemies of the family, the church, democracy, and all things valued by men and women. America has seen how it was the Communist Party, small as it still is, that already performed a vital service for the whole population in clarifying the issues of this campaign, and keeping those issues clear amidst a fog of lies, slanders, and misrepresentations. America has seen the Communist Party as the most consistent fighter for democracy, for the en-

forcement of the democratic provisions of our Constitution, for the defense of our flag and revival of its glorious revolutionary traditions. America has seen that Communism is twentieth-century Americanism.

For the Communist Party, tonight is not the end of our campaign. It is only the beginning of a new campaign to build and strengthen the Communist Party—in order that we can give our full strength and loyalty and steadfast effort to the building of that broader unity of all progressive people, of the tens of millions, in the Farmer-Labor Party which will enable the people to gain control of their government, to build a bulwark of peace, freedom, happiness and prosperity for the whole population.

This is our message to America as our people prepare to ballot on the next course of our government. On this basis we call for a decisive defeat to those who thought the Red bogey man was enough to frighten our country to surrender to Wall Street. On this basis we call for your support to the Communist Party, tomorrow, and every day to follow until organized greed and monopoly capital are only memories.

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