

## XII. ONLY THE WORKING CLASS CAN BUILD A NEW WORLD

DAY after tomorrow the national election campaign comes to its conclusion. Truly it has been the most peculiar campaign in the history of the republic. Even Roosevelt recognized its peculiar character Friday night, in his own way, when he said this is a "funny" campaign. It may be "funny" for those who play with the lives of the people as an interesting game, but it is not "funny" for the working people; it is tragedy, the tragedy of the collapse of the prevailing social and economic system, before the masses have found the path to the future.

America has already been deeply involved in the imperialist war, has been led to the very brink of belligerency, and may be pushed over the edge at any moment. This has been done against the will of the people. Never at any stage of this development have the people been allowed a voice in determining this course. Both the major parties, Democratic and Republican, both the major candidates, Roosevelt and Willkie, bear joint responsibility for this course toward imperialist war for America. The outstanding peculiarity of this election is that the majority peace sentiments of the people are denied expression through either of the dominant parties. To vote for either is to approve a joint policy of both, which heads our country into the very center of the worldwide bloody scramble for empire.

How close America has come to belligerency in this war has been obscured in this campaign. I wish, in this final election rally of the Communist Party, to make clear the immediacy of this menace to the lives of our people.

## IMMINENCE OF WAR

If you knew that next week, for example, the Japanese imperialists would seize the Philippine Islands, you would know that our country would probably be soon at war. Perhaps you might be ready to blame the Japanese for it, and absolve American imperialists from such blame, but the imminence of war would be clear.

I am not predicting a Japanese seizure of the Philippines. But I am calling your attention to the fact that the United States navy is at this moment all set to seize the French West Indies. This act may be an accomplished fact before the week is over.

United States seizure of Martinique will be as definite a war initiative on the part of our Government, as would be the seizure of Manila on the part of the Japanese Government. Yet, with all the radio channels filled with protestations of peaceful intentions by our "statesmen," this war act has been placed on the calendar of imminent events. By the thin threads which hold back this action—fear of the people's reaction to it in the elections—and by this alone, are we still separated from war.

It is this imminence of war that explains the desperate moves of the ruling class to remove the Communist Party from the ballot, at all costs, in this election. They are determined not to permit the possibility of a big peace vote, because they expect quickly to take our country into war. The suppression of the Communists is further a warning to labor of coming repressions of its rights. In this question, there is unity between the Democratic and Republican parties.

Yet despite this unity there is a bitter struggle for power between the two parties, which two days before the voting are so evenly balanced in strength that no one can be certain of the outcome. Roosevelt's enormous advantages of entrenched power, ruthlessly wielded, are offset by Willkie's bold gathering of the accumulated grievances against an Administration grown arrogant through long tenure of office. The two rivals for power, standing on identical platforms, representing two branches of the same War Party Coalition, intensify the ruthlessness of their factional warfare even as they

emphasize the absence of any principle difference between them. Both sides appeal to the electorate with extreme demagoguery.

Willkie has bid for the anti-war vote, in order to split Roosevelt's following: Roosevelt has emerged as chief red-baiter, trying to split Willkie's upper-class following with the slogans of anti-Communism. These are the new features of the last ten days of the campaign, together with the trimmings of eggs, onions, knees, and hooliganism generally, with workers being sent to prison for sentences up to fifteen years for daring to attempt to engage in the sacred game of politics without a license from either Roosevelt or Willkie!

We warn the workers and farmers of America that neither of the major parties, nor their candidates, are worthy of the slightest confidence. Both are pledged to spend the life-blood of American youth and the sweat of American labor for the aggrandizement of Wall Street's profits and imperial world power. The turning of old rascals out will only put new rascals in. Whichever one holds power will be the immediate enemy which labor must fight and overcome, if labor would defend its rights, its living standards, and its peace. That is the dilemma posed by the two major parties.

On Friday night Roosevelt disclosed that which he had long kept a secret, namely, that he reads the *Daily Worker*. That is, of course, nothing to hide; all really well-informed people read the *Daily Worker*. But what is interesting is that Roosevelt found there the evidence of something very terrible, a political advertisement paid for by supporters of the Republicans. "Something evil is happening in this country," he said, when such a thing could take place.

Now this is a very interesting problem, indeed, which the President has raised. We are justified in examining it in some detail, because it registers the fact that Communism is now an issue of the day for America.

As to whether the *Daily Worker* should accept political advertising at all, this is a question to be settled among supporters and readers of that paper and its management. There are two opinions on that, but since the paper is no longer the official organ of the Com-

unist Party, it was clearly within the province of the management to accept advertising if it saw fit. Just as newspapers supporting Roosevelt accepted and printed the advertisement, so the *Daily Worker* supporting Browder and Ford printed it, as a matter of business policy, not of politics. But of all papers, only the *Daily Worker* printed a refutation of its arguments in an equally prominent position. So, if Mr. Roosevelt was worried about preserving the purity of Communist principles, we can set his mind at rest.

Of course, Roosevelt had something quite different in mind. He is angry because Boss Flynn blundered in trying to steal the Communist votes for him. He was trying to set up a new rule in American politics, namely, that anyone even remotely associating with the Communists in any way, even to advertising in their papers, shall be registered as suspect and deprived of public office. And then he demanded the application of this rule to his rival, Willkie. This is a strange proposal from the Democrats who, in the State of New York, hold power as against the Republicans, only by the margin of votes gives them by the Communist Party in 1938. And it was the Communist Party which terminated that association—Democrats were still vainly soliciting our support in New York as late as July, 1940, with the knowledge of Roosevelt. Since they couldn't reach the grapes for themselves, they now warn the Republicans that the grapes are sour.

On the question of the Communist votes, let me console both Democrats and Republicans. We are not going to allow our votes to strengthen either of you. We will use our votes to undermine and defeat both of you, your war plans together with your whole system of private ownership of the country by a handful of monopolists. And we will know how to accomplish this even though you have illegally and arbitrarily removed our ticket from the ballot in New York, in Ohio, in Illinois, and in twenty-one other states, even though you have railroaded forty-three of our best workers to prison in Pennsylvania for daring to put our Party on the ballot, even though you sent Oscar Wheeler to prison in West Virginia for fifteen years for soliciting signatures to our petitions!

For you can neither intimidate nor corrupt the Communist Party. This is the reason why Democratic and Republican politicians fear the Communist Party. And that is why growing hundreds of thousands of working people respect and love our Party.

The immediate perspective for American working people is a dark one. Regardless of who wins the elections, war and reaction will ride the seats of power, and only the most fearless and resolute struggle can put any check upon them. For this struggle we must prepare; for this struggle we must gather and register strength in the voting on November 5.

Hard struggles, ever more severe trials, lie ahead for the working class and for the Communist Party. There is no place today for a facile and shallow optimism, which promises easy victories, at little cost. There is nothing of the sort in prospect.

Yet we face the future with serene confidence. In the broadest and deepest sense we are enthusiastically optimistic. And this optimism is based not upon faith alone, but upon concrete facts and experiences.

In this election campaign, we have seen the struggle for political independence of the working class go ahead a big step in the beginnings of the mass breakaway from the Roosevelt illusion; a Willkie can never rebuild for 1944 the old obstacle that prevented the Labor Party from appearing in 1940.

In this election campaign the masses of the labor and peace movements, even though faced with the Willkie-Roosevelt agreement on policy against them, have made their influence felt, have registered their will to peace, have prepared a storm for any government which overrides that will and takes America into the imperialist war.

These are the signs of approaching maturity of the American working class, which alone can build a new America as part of a new world, a world of socialism.

Roosevelt and Willkie join in denouncing the Communists as "foreign agents," as "representatives of an alien way of life," as

"agents of Stalin." It is significant that they find Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party no danger to the capitalist "way of life."

#### SOVIET UNION'S EXAMPLE

No, we Communists are not agents of Stalin. We are, however, emulators of Stalin. The achievements which Stalin has led in gaining for the Soviet Union, we would strive to gain for the United States and its people.

The Soviet Union has maintained peace with its neighbors, has kept neutral toward the imperialist war, has defeated all attempts to draw it in—to the great benefit of its people. America, on the contrary, has abandoned neutrality, has become deeply involved, and is in imminent danger of becoming a belligerent. The Communist Party would save America from catastrophe by emulating the policy of Stalin.

The Soviet Union has multiplied its industrial production tenfold since 1929, made its defenses impregnable, and at the same time raised the general standard of living by 500 per cent. The Communist Party would do the same for the United States, emulating the policy of Stalin, which achieved these history-making figures.

We Communists have the deepest confidence in the American people. We say that Americans can accomplish anything that other peoples can. If the Russians can increase their national income by one thousand per cent during eleven or twelve years, we say that Americans could do the same thing once we adopted the corresponding policies and leadership. If the Russians can maintain peace and security, in a warlike world, so could we Americans.

But that would require that we understand the cause and origin of our present troubles and disasters, and remove it. That cause and origin is the decaying and broken-down system of capitalism, which Mr. Roosevelt describes as a system of "private profit and private enterprise," which for Mr. Willkie is "the American way of life." That is the system of monopoly, in which a small fraction of the population owns most of the national economy, in which the masses must find work as wage-labor, a system which is the negation of

democracy, which can no longer feed the people, which inevitably breeds crises and wars.

Twenty-three years ago next Thursday, the workers and farmers of the former tsarist empire under the leadership of Lenin overthrew the power of their capitalists and landlords, established a new regime of their own, which they called Soviets, or Councils, and began to build the new system of socialism out of the ruins of the old society destroyed by the war. That was the beginning and the foundation of the tremendous advances and achievements of the Soviet Union today under the leadership of Stalin.

America has much to teach the Soviet Union in the way of technique, but the Soviet Union has more to teach us, in the matter of finding the social and economic forms which will put technique and science in the service of all the people.

No people is free or can maintain peace unless it owns and controls its own economy, the material foundation of society. If that economy is in the hands of a privileged class, the people are not free, there can be no democracy, there can be no peace.

The only way the masses of the people can own and control a modern economy of power-machine production is through collective ownership and operation, that is, through socialism.

The Soviet Union is showing us the first practical working out of socialism. Its achievements are the proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Therefore we must learn from the experience of the Soviet Union if we wish America to go forward, to increase its wealth and the well being of its people, to maintain peace.

Only the working class, when it has gained its independence from the capitalists and their agents, from the bourgeoisie, can bring socialism into existence, can build a new world.

This is the message of the Communist Party of the United States to the American people.

This is why the Democratic and Republican parties, Roosevelt and Willkie, unite in persecuting the Communist Party and denouncing communism before the country, because both of them

represent the monopolists who hold the private ownership of American economy, who make private profits from it, and who rule the American people by this means, and who are driving us into imperialist war.

This is why the capitalists, the bourgeoisie, fear and hate the Communist Party, because they know they can never meet its challenge, because they know their old system is dying, because they know the Communist Party represents the inevitable future.

This is why the Communist Party can never be suppressed, can never be defeated, can never be destroyed, no matter how fiercely or ruthlessly the present ruling powers may attack it.

This is why the Democrats and Republicans, the more desperately they fight against us, only the more surely and effectively educate the masses in the truth of our program.

This is why we can say that no matter how the ballots are cast on November 5, only the Communist Party has strengthened its hold among the people, has deepened their confidence, has prepared them for the solution of their problems.

This is why we can claim that it is the Communist Party that is emerging as the victor, that all other parties are registering their decay, the preparations for their demise.

For the road to life, to prosperity, to peace, to the future, is the road to socialism. And this road is charted only by the Communist Party.

*Speech delivered at Madison Square Garden, November 3, 1940.*