

When do WE FIGHT?

By EARL
BROWDER



10



EARL BROWDER



WHEN DO WE FIGHT?

By **EARL BROWDER**

ALMOST ten months after the United States is fully committed to the war against the Axis, we are being told that "the United States is losing the war, period."

Loss of this war means destruction of our nation and slavery for our people. Yet we are told that we are losing this war. That would seem to be a matter to get excited about, something to call for action.

We are losing this war before we have well begun to fight.

Would it not be more accurate to say that we are losing this war *because* we have not begun to fight?

What is the matter? Whence comes this seeming paralysis which keeps our tremendous military potential idle at the moment our fate and the fate of the world is being decided?

Copperhead Lies Paralyze War Effort

Roy Howard, Hearst and the Patterson-McCor-micks, the chief newspaper spokesmen for the modern Copperheads, give the double-barreled answer that the people are not behind this war and that the

This pamphlet is based on a speech delivered by Earl Browder at the huge Second Front Rally, Manhattan Center, on October 2, 1942, sponsored by the New York State Young Communist League.

President is bungling it. But they are liars, and they spread the lies that please Hitler. The people are behind this war to the end, they are ready for every necessary sacrifice, they are impatient to go ahead. The President is doing the best he can with advisers who keep jogging his elbow and holding back his arm; he can only be criticized for hesitating to sweep these mischief-makers out of his councils, and for failing to crack down on the defeatist newspapers.

Let us frankly face the facts, however, that the defeatist poison penetrates and tends to paralyze the war policies of our government in Washington. We must learn how to locate the seats of this poison, in order to eliminate them.

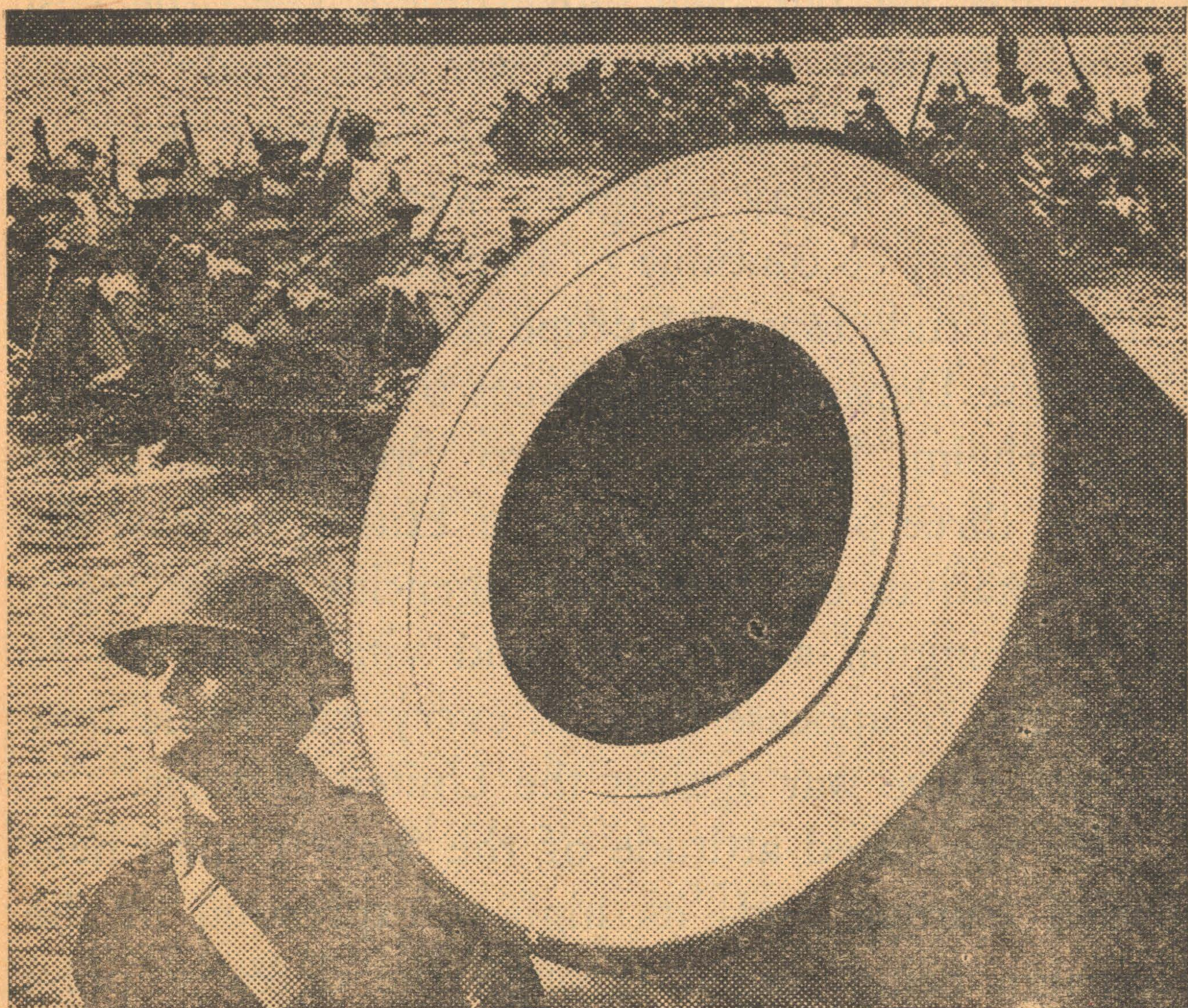
America's Fighting Spirit Demonstrated

Look first of all at the Pacific front. Our armed forces in the Pacific have already demonstrated that they have a fighting spirit fit for any task given them. But what about the policies which direct that fighting spirit? They are not yet serious fighting war policies!

I charge that powerful appeasement forces in the State Department in Washington are deliberately withholding one million of the most effective Chinese soldiers in Asia, keeping them out of the fight against the Japanese, and thereby releasing that many Japanese soldiers for action against our boys in the South Pacific.

I charge that it is on the advice of reactionary offi-

cials in the State Department that Chiang Kai-shek is keeping his best armies out of the war. The army under General Hu Chung-nan, with 440,000 troops, is engaged not in fighting the Japanese, but in blockading the Chinese Eighth Route Army in the north and northwest, and hampering that army in its fight against the Japanese; the army under General Tang En-po, with 500,000 troops, is engaged not in fighting the Japanese but in blocking the Chinese New Fourth Army in central and eastern China, and hampering that army in its fight against the Japanese. These two Chinese Armies, the best equipped and trained in all China, totaling almost a million men, are being confined to blockading the Chinese



Communist armies and territories, because the State Department in Washington has informed Chungking's representatives that our Government would be *displeased* if complete unity was established in China between the Kuomintang and the Communists. These officials continue the old policy of "war against the Communists" in China, they tell Chungking it must continue to fight the Communists if it wishes U. S. friendship, and they thereby accept responsibility for withdrawing a million Chinese troops from the war against Japan, and keep China back from full unity in this war.

Defeatist Cliques Block Military Offensive

What suicidal nonsense is this, by which persons who speak for our own Government keep the best Chinese fighters out of the war and create a gap which must be filled by a million American boys?

This is not a way to fight a war of survival, this is a sure way to continue to lose the war.

Our attitude toward Europe is equally ambiguous. Our State Department continues to do business with Mannerheim Finland, Franco Spain and Vichy France, three puppet regimes of Hitler, to feast the representatives of these Nazi agencies in the highest Washington society, to send vital materials to them, and to appease them in every way while they conduct active war against the United Nations.

This two-faced attitude of the State Department toward Europe finds its highest expression in the campaign being waged through the defeatist press

against the opening of the Second Front in Western Europe. Of course it is impossible to carry on a policy of appeasement of Hitler's agents, Mannerheim, Franco and Laval, and at the same time energetically prepare the immediate Second Front in Europe. Find those figures in our Government who push through this appeasement policy, and there you will find the high opponents of the Second Front. They are the men who keep our men, guns, planes and tanks in idleness while our fate is being decided at Stalingrad, where men, women and children hold off the full might of a Nazi-occupied Europe without counting the cost to themselves.

Sweep Out the Munichmen in High Places!

The only way to stop losing this war is to begin seriously to fight it. And to fight it we must overcome the influence of Munichism, of appeasement, of defeatism in the United States itself. This Munich influence is not among the people, and it does not proceed from our Commander-in-Chief; it is entrenched in some high officials of the State Department, some members of the Cabinet, in a disorganized Congress, dominated by a clique of Vandenberg, Wheelers, Brookses and Dieses, several powerful industrialists, and above all in the newspapers of Patterson-McCormick, Hearst and Roy Howard which poison the mind of the country with defeatism day after day. The people must be roused and organized in support of the President against this cabal of the Munichmen.

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY
OF NEWFOUNDLAND

MANHATTAN CENTER FOR GOVERNOR

Conquer YOUR FUTURE

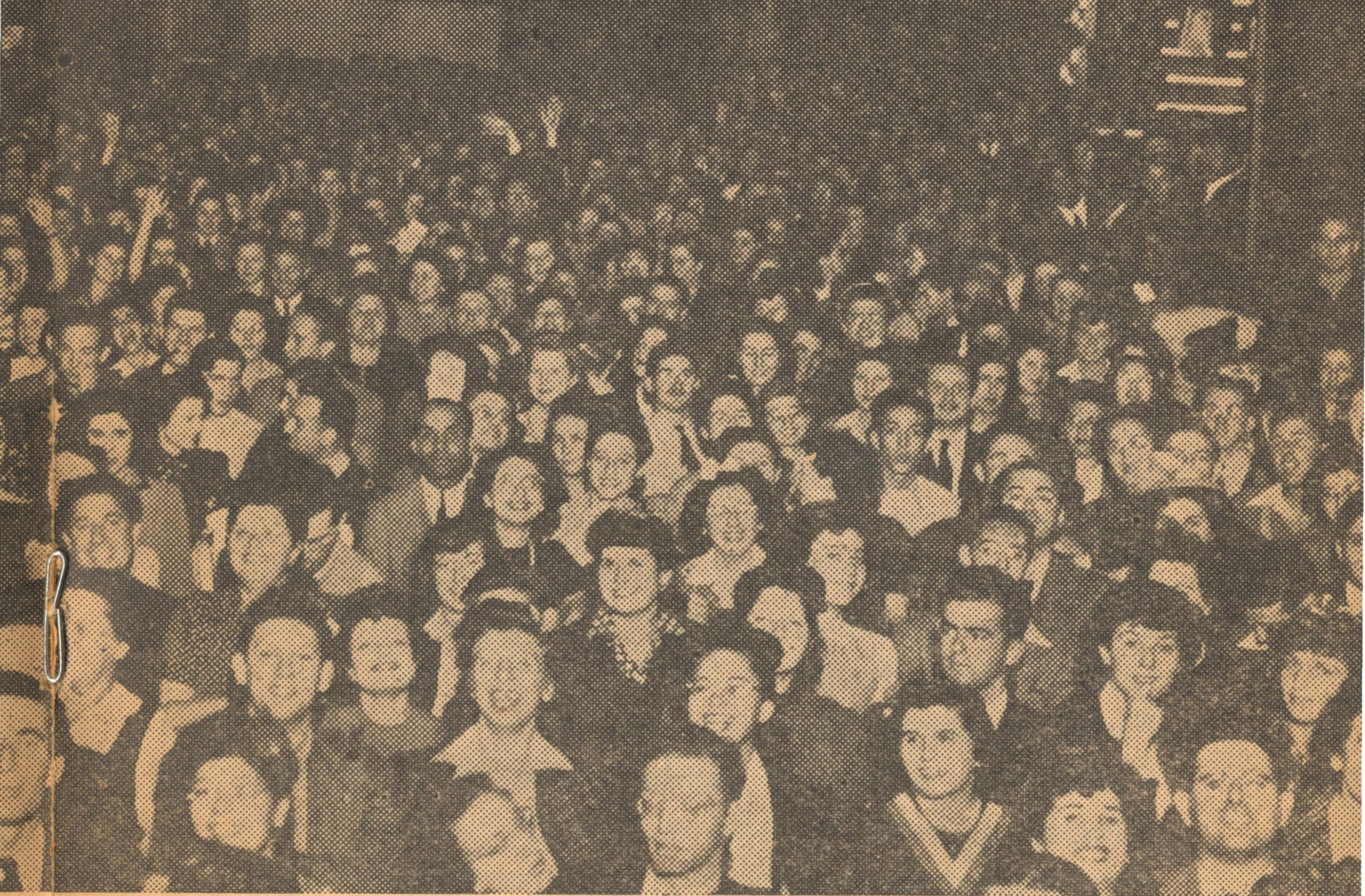
LE MAN -- NOT AN IDLE MACH



Five thousand youth at Manhattan Center, in New York Ci

JOIN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

CHINE -- NOT AN IDLE



...rk City, cheer Earl Browder's call for a Second Front Now.

These days we are being shown the most astonishing depths of depravity to which the defeatist newspapers will descend in their fight against the Second Front. I wish to impose upon you for a few moments to turn the microscope upon an example of this moral and intellectual rottenness. I pick up Roy Howard's newspaper for Sept. 29, where this defeatist speaks through his hired scribbler, William Philip Simms. At the moment of crisis of the battle of Stalingrad, this miserable voice finds it possible to whine that he "would appreciate a little more cooperation from the Russians." In that phrase we can see the spirit of a Laval or Doriot, the spirit that rotted out the heart of the French Republic and delivered that nation over to Hitlerite bondage.

Role of the Defeatist Press

"A little more cooperation from the Russians," cries Roy Howard through the pen of Mr. Simms! At such a sound, every decent American should vomit, in revulsion at the monstrous thought that this could be America's answer to Stalingrad. "A little more cooperation from the Russians," while certain gentlemen in high places in the United States and Britain carefully calculate the last and final buttons on the uniforms of our boys which will make it "safe" to throw them into the battle.

Nothing could be further from the spirit of America's youth, in and out of the armed forces, than the rotten defeatism, appeasement and cowardice expressed in this slogan of Roy Howard.

The spirit of our boys in the Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force is expressed in opposite slogans:

“Let’s give some fighting cooperation to our heroic Russian Allies!”

“When do we begin to fight?”

“Open up the Second Front in Europe *now!*”

Let us not drop Roy Howard’s man Simms, however, without looking deeper into the cesspool of his mind. What kind of cooperation does he want from the Russians that he is not getting in the most magnificent battle for freedom in all history? “Perhaps this may require explanation,” remarks Mr. Simms. Indeed it does. And what is Mr. Simms’ explanation? He explains that he wants the Russians to teach the Americans and British how to fight. “The one place really to learn war is in war,” says Mr. Simms, and “Moscow still refuses” to permit Americans to learn how to make war in that “one place.” That, says Mr. Simms, is why we have no Second Front. Our officers and soldiers don’t know how to fight and the Russians refuse to teach them! Therefore there is nothing to do but wait until Timoshenko gets time and leisure to open up a school for us!

The Way to Fight Is to Fight!

I wonder what American Army officers think of this kind of argument? I think I know. I think the vast majority will “give the works” to anybody who tells them they cannot open up a Second Front because they do not know how to fight. They have

already learned the great lesson the Russians have taught the world, that the way to fight is to fight, to push aside all the hesitators and appeasers and if necessary to shoot them, to go to battle and put everything you have into it, to engage the enemy, to kill him, to get into the battle without delay, to fight, fight and fight again until the Hitler Axis is crushed.

Yes, it is true, the one place really to learn war is in war. But who is holding us back from learning war by making war? It is the Roy Howards, the Hearsts, the Patterson-McCormicks and all their fellow-appeasers and one-time friends of Hitler, who now join together in their obscene outcries against the Second Front. The Second Front is the practical school in which British and American soldiers will learn how to smash Hitlerism. We are all learning and will learn from the mighty achievements of the Red Army and the Soviet people, but we will not allow the worthy idea of learning from them to be used for the purpose of delaying our *joint action with them* in a two-front war.

America's Youth Demands Chance to Fight

Young people of America have no part or parcel of the appeasement conspiracies. Defeatism is the property of old and corrupt reactionaries and their hired men. No young person could possibly live in their stifling atmosphere. Young people are particularly immune to the counsels of cowardice and capitulation. A thousand times they prefer to risk their lives in combat with Hitler's hordes than to risk

the living death of a Vichyified America, the slavery of a Hitlerite world. Our young people are demanding the chance to fight. They are the front lines of the movement for a Second Front *now*. They will not permit their future and the future of the world to be gambled away by the Munichmen of appeasement and defeatism. They want to know: When do we begin to fight?

The Young Communist League, dedicating tonight its service flag, has as high a percentage of its members in the armed forces as any group of Americans. And this is not the first time the Young Communists have given their best members to the armed struggle against the Axis. Not less than one-third of the Lincoln Battalion, composed of Americans who gave their lives to stop the Axis in Spain in 1936 to 1938, were from the Young Communist League. This first American expeditionary force against the Axis, defending the Spanish Republic from the Hitler assassins, gave their lives in order to prevent the present war; if their warnings and their example had been heeded and followed, the Axis would have been broken before it could challenge the entire world. But their blood was not spilled in vain. They left an imperishable and glorious tradition, fully in the spirit of the Stalingrad of today. They helped to hold the Axis hordes outside the gates of Madrid for 32 months. They were fully representative of the youth of America today, a youth which is ready and eager to strike Hitler's gangs *now* in Western Europe, and guarantee that

they will not have to stop them on American soil later on.

Central Issue Before Nation—Second Front Now

There is no room for any issue in our country today except the issue of how most quickly and effectively to crush the Hitlerite Axis. There is no room for partisanship or special interests. There must be national unity of all men and women regardless of race, creed or class, who are ready to subordinate all else to victory. There must be international unity among all the United Nations, who win or lose, stand or fall, together. And at this moment all this is summed up in one issue, whether our country can meet the crisis of war with honor, whether we win through to freedom or go down to slavery, whether we have the quality of victors or whether we shall be shamefully defeated without even having fought—all this is summed up in the one issue of the immediate opening of the Second Front in Europe.

We ask our Commander-in-Chief: When are we going to fight?

Read the
DAILY WORKER
AND THE WORKER
50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.
5 Cents at your newsstand

Write for free sample copy and subscription rates.



Published by WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC.
P. O. Box 148, Station D (832 B'way), New York, N. Y.
October, 1942



209

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

Victory—And After

By EARL BROWDER

Earl Browder's new book, *Victory—And After* which will be published in October, represents the first rounded-out and complete statement of the Communist position on the most vital questions of the war. *Victory—And After* is addressed to the entire nation, not primarily to confirmed Communists.

Because close to four million Americans—and scores of outstanding working class leaders of Europe, Asia and Latin America—petitioned for the author's freedom; because he is the leader of a Party which is playing an increasingly decisive role for national unity and victory, this book by the foremost spokesman of the Communist Party will receive public attention far beyond the circles of his own minority party, and will be read by most open-minded thinkers of all shades of political opinion in the United States.

Victory—And After is a basic Marxist work, applying in a living manner the Leninist theory and method to the solution of the most pressing problems arising from the war, and in its analysis of the conditions required for victory and what to do with victory when we have won it. The nature and character of the war; the strategy required for victory; problems of national unity and the attitude to the war effort of the Communist, Socialist, Republican and Democratic parties; the problem of the colonial and smaller countries such as China, India, Africa, Latin America; industrial production and the role of labor in a war economy; the question of relations between the capitalist countries and the socialist Soviet Union for the war effort and the post-war reconstruction, all these are dealt with authoritatively in this new work.

Special Popular Edition, 50c.

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D (832 Broadway), New York, N. Y.