
ELECTION PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A., 1940

BASIC POLITICAL OUTLINE FOR THE PLATFORM*

BY EARL BROWDER

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

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

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

imperialist adventures abroad cancels out the program for "a far higher standard of living for the masses."

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

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

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

Industrial and agricultural production for a war market gives immense fortunes to a few men; for the nation as a whole it produces

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

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

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

Therefore, the people's platform must call for a united struggle together with the peoples of Latin America and the Philippines to re-

sist and curb the power of American big banks, trusts, and speculators abroad, to eliminate their dictation of American policy, to secure full independence to Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and jointly to resist and defeat those who would drag the Americas into the war.

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

The capitalist bankers and financial experts may be able to confuse the minds of the people, when they discuss the problem in terms of the hocus-pocus of monopoly finance capital. But go behind the banker and his ledgers. Look at the country and its people. We have a broad and rich land, and competent farmers on it, capable of producing enough food each year to feed 300,000,000 people instead of 130,000,000. It has unlimited reserves of almost every raw material needed for our economy, and skilled workers begging for the opportunity to produce twice as much as they now do. We have the highest-developed industry in the world, with power, machinery, and capable workers, the product of which could be doubled or tripled within the year, if only it were called upon for such production. We have marvelous scientific laboratories and scientific workers, whose latest discoveries and inventions, now languishing unused and undeveloped because of

the crisis, could transform the whole life of the people and again double their productive capacities. We have everything conceivable in the mind of man that is necessary to provide a life of comfort and plenty for the whole population.

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

Explain this riddle if you can, you statesmen and intellectual servitors of the capitalist class. Perhaps, if we can force you to try to explain this riddle to the workers and farmers of America, they will begin

to see that there is nothing wrong with the productive resources of our country, there is nothing wrong with the workers and farmers of our country, but that the whole trouble arises from you and your masters, the monopolists, the economic royalists, who stand as a barrier between the people, the workers and farmers, and the country's economy, and refuse to allow them to come together for the enrichment of the country, because you first must have your profit, a constantly increasing profit which is dragging the people deeper and deeper into unemployment, misery, poverty—and now into war!

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

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

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

The People's Platform for Democracy and Civil Rights

We speak very much of the people. When we say "the people," however, we do not mean each and every one of the population taken as a whole. That would be nonsense, because it would be to say that "the people" are poor and "the people"

are rich; that "the people" want peace and "the people" want war; that "the people" are exploited, and "the people" are exploiters, and so on. *So, in order to make any sense, to find any path, we must distinguish between the people and the enemies of the people.* First of all, who are the enemies of the people? I turn for a quotation to a formerly very popular authority:

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

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

1937 describes the Roosevelt of 1940.

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

Even before the latest war hysteria, however, and as a long-standing part of "the American democratic way of life," our country has suffered from the effective cancellation of democracy through the disfranchisement of the great majority of the Southern people, white and Negro, workers and farmers. This is done through poll-tax laws and direct franchise limitations, as well as through direct violence and lynch law. . . .

Therefore, the people's platform for peace and prosperity must be buttressed by a broad and well-organized struggle for the protection and extension of civil liberties and

popular rights. Definite goals must be set for this struggle, such as:

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

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

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

Secure the franchise to the Southern masses, white and Negro, by immediate federal legislation prohibiting and penalizing all poll-tax laws, and other limitations on the franchise, as a *national issue*, not a regional Southern issue, without the solution of which there is no effective democracy for the whole nation.

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

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

Defeat the attacks against the Communist Party, which constitute a knife at the throat of the Bill of

Rights for the whole population.

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

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

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

*Possible Future Extensions of
the People's Platform*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ELECTION PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

THE life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness of the American people are now endangered as never before since our revolutionary forefathers one hundred and sixty-four years ago proclaimed these rights to be inalienable for all mankind.

For the flower of American youth, the right to life itself is challenged by those who claim the privilege to conscript them and to throw them into reactionary wars for the benefit of the propertied classes.

For the American people as a whole, their liberty is challenged by projects of conscription of even the civilian population, of tens of millions of workers of factories and farms—ostensibly for the security of the country, but really for the purpose of setting aside the sacred guarantees of our Bill of Rights and placing the civilian population under military law, to free the hands of ruling financiers for military adventures and conquest abroad.

For our country, as for the peoples of all the world, the pursuit of happiness can be realized only with work, with security against unemployment, against poverty in old age, with guaranteed education for the youth—and with a genuine policy of peace. But with 11,000,000 Americans unemployed, the Democratic Party Administration is sacrificing all social legislation, unemployment relief, unemployment and old-age insurance, and educational guarantees for the youth, in order to pour all resources of the nation as

well as the blood of our people into the scramble of monopoly capital for domination of the world.

Wall Street Wants War

The predatory war unleashed by the imperialist ruling classes of Berlin, London, Paris, Rome and Tokyo is a worldwide struggle for the division of the world among imperialist bandits—a struggle for the right of capitalist imperialist exploitation of the world by sacrificing the freedom of all peoples and the national independence of all nations.

Therefore the richest and most predatory of international bankers and trust heads of the whole world—those of Wall Street—are determined to enter into this worldwide, military contest in order to claim for themselves a share in proportion to their gigantic wealth. While their war profits pile high they deliberately seek to prolong the war and feverishly prepare to enter it. They have already transformed our country into an arsenal for one side of the predatory European conflict, and into a chief source of war materials for the Japanese adventures in Asia—thus making the United States, while still a non-belligerent, nevertheless a participant in the worldwide military conflict.

The warmongers of Wall Street are feverishly preparing to establish through military might the exclusive role of American finance capital over the two American continents

at the sacrifice of the independence of twenty republics of Latin America. They are striving to strengthen their imperialist positions in China and aim toward control of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) in struggle for mastery of the Pacific.

Aspiring for world domination, the American finance capitalists strive to drag the American people into the European war on the side of Great Britain. They work for a continuation and extension of that war and share guilt for the fate of those countries already conquered in Europe, Asia and Africa. But the same American imperialists have not closed the door to possible temporary agreements with the German and Japanese conquerors for establishment of the "new orders" in Europe and Asia, if only the terms be advantageous to the bankers of Wall Street.

Just as the American imperialists applauded and supported the betrayal of the democracy of Europe in the Pact of Munich, so are they ready now, on the promise of a gain to themselves, to betray the people of the United States, the peoples of the twenty Latin American republics, and those of Asia and of all of Europe and Africa to new imperialist agreements—if only they can secure their monopolist domination through the suppression of American democracy under blanket conscription and M-Day laws.

The Democratic and Republican parties—twin parties of the financiers of Wall Street—are seeking in this election to goad the people into a war hysteria, into panic and con-

fusion, and to induce the people to agree to a surrender of constitutional democracy to a virtual military dictatorship in time of peace. All war plans are dressed in the disguise of peace plans. All plans for dangerous military adventures are given the gentle name of "national security." All projects for military aggression are entitled "national defense plans." All imperialist ventures for subjecting the Latin American republics are entitled "protecting the Western Hemisphere." Every prospective imperialist venture and "Munich" arrangement designed to throw the American people into war and to sacrifice the independence of Latin American peoples are brought forward under slogans of "peace" and "democracy" as was the treaty of Munich.

The People Want Peace

All domestic policies defended or proposed in this election by the Democratic and Republican parties are domestic policies subordinated to and completely dominated by the common purpose of American finance capital, the economic royalists, to plunge this country into a worldwide military struggle for conquest. This fundamental and decisive agreement between the Sixty Families of Wall Street that control both the Democratic and Republican parties, on a foreign policy of aggressive and militaristic imperialism, has brought the Democratic and the Republican parties to strangely harmonious positions on

domestic policies. Both have common class interests and objectives. The differences between the two parties arise from specific secondary rivalries and conflicts among great financial interests as to division of the spoils, as well as from the traditional rivalry between the Ins and the Outs, and from partisan bureaucratic interests incidental to the two-party system of American capitalism.

The bogus Socialist Party and other Social-Democratic groups and leaders, like their counterparts in Europe, Blum, Citrine and Tanner, play the role of treacherous agents of the warmongers in labor's ranks. They beat the drums for war and strive to paralyze labor toward this goal, they lead the reactionary pack for a "holy crusade" against the land of socialism and peace, the Soviet Union. They perform a special task for reaction in its assault upon the democratic rights of our people.

The top leadership of the A. F. of L., the Hillman wing of the C.I.O. leadership and the leadership of the Railroad Brotherhoods have committed themselves to the "defense" program of the Roosevelt Administration and are attempting to subordinate the labor movement to Wall Street's war program.

All these parties are in opposition to the will of the majority of the American people. The overwhelming majority of our people are opposed to the entrance of our country into this predatory war. The overwhelming majority stand for the preservation and enlarging of social and progressive legislation,

for unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, public works, farmer and youth aid, and for full civil liberties.

Only the Communist Party, among the political parties participating in the 1940 elections, fights on the side of and in harmony with the deepest desires of the majority of the people. The Communist Party alone of all political parties fights against the imperialist war, combats its prolongation and spread, and seeks to bring an end to the war.

Only the Communist Party opposes the imperialist policies of the economic royalists, their government and parties. The Communist Party is for a people's peace, and opposed to an imperialist peace based upon terror, annexations and oppression.

We want to keep our country out of the imperialist war. We want to ensure jobs and social security for all. We want to protect the Bill of Rights. We are opposed to imperialist ventures abroad, against M-Day plans and the militarization of our country.

The economic royalists once again have full domination over the Republican and Democratic parties.

In the name of "national unity" and "national defense" the Roosevelt Democrats have surrendered to the economic royalists. The ruling class is attempting to suppress the people's opposition to its war program through terror, attacks upon organized labor and with vicious alien and sedition laws.

The Roosevelt Democrats make

every effort to retain support of the people on grounds of progressive labor and social legislation enacted in the past seven years, but the Roosevelt Administration has thrown overboard even the meager popular gains of the New Deal and has embraced the program of the Liberty League which was roundly rejected by the people in the 1936 election. This has been done on the ground that all national resources must be poured into war preparations, and in order to put through this unpopular war they find it necessary to fight the people's demands.

While playing for popular support with ambiguous phrases about differences, the Willkie-Hoover Republicans have joined hands with the reactionary Democratic Party leadership in championing the pro-war foreign policy and undemocratic domestic measures of the Roosevelt Administration. Republican advocacy of the interests of Wall Street may be more open and outspoken, but it is not more effective than that of the Roosevelt Democrats.

The gains which labor and the American people won by organization and struggle during the New Deal period are now under a concerted attack.

After eight years of New Deal "liberalism," just as in 1933 after twelve years of Republican "rugged individualism," the misery and poverty of the working people under capitalism is growing.

Eleven million Americans are denied the right to work. A huge

armaments program for imperialist conquest and war has been substituted for the former meager work and relief program.

Millions of small farmers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers are impoverished, and are being driven from their land by banks and insurance companies, and by the Federal and state governments.

Big business strives to crush the labor and anti-war movements by F.B.I. and Dies Committee persecutions, by attacks upon the National Labor Relations Act, the Wages and Hours Law and through a renewed open-shop offensive.

The youth of America, deprived of a decent education and the right to work, face conscription and being turned into cannon fodder by the merchants of death.

The Negro people, most exploited of the toilers, suffering from lynching and Jim Crowism, robbed of their constitutional rights, are being prepared to fight another war for "democracy" in order to further enslave them.

Millions of innocent and industrious foreign-born immigrants, who have given their all to the development of America, are being harassed and persecuted with fingerprinting and registration as if common criminals.

Wall Street girds for war by striving to destroy the Bill of Rights, by attacking the civil rights of Communists and other anti-war fighters, by promoting red-baiting, labor disunity and religious prejudices, by smearing as "fifth columnists" and "foreign agents" all who

love peace, liberty and democracy.

This is the plight of the common people under the rule of the Sixty Families. This is the type of "democracy" represented by the Democratic and Republican parties.

A People's Program

In this grave hour of crisis, the Communist Party calls upon the working class and toilers to close ranks, organize and unite around a common program of action to protect and advance the peace, liberties and welfare of our people, to defend the interests of our nation, the interests of the American people.

The Communist Party calls upon all opponents of imperialist war and capitalist reaction to establish unity of action, under labor's leadership, around a people's program to defend our country, for peace, jobs, security and civil liberties. Towards this end the Communist Party enters the election campaign with the following program of action:

Keep America out of the imperialist war!

Halt the war preparations and imperialist adventures of Wall Street and the Government!

Against the militarization of the nation!

For a people's peace!

1. Combat the imperialist policies and acts of the President, the State Department, Congress, the Democratic and Republican parties to spread the war and involve the United States in it. No aid to the

imperialist war-makers in London, Berlin, Tokyo, Rome or to their satellites. Oppose all war loans and credits to the warring imperialist powers. Stop the sale and shipment of munitions and armaments to the imperialist belligerents.

2. Defeat Wall Street's imperialist policy of economic and political domination, and military adventures in Latin America, China, and the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). Full solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of Mexico, Cuba, and all other Latin American countries. For the immediate and complete national independence of the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Maximum support for the great Chinese people in their heroic struggle for national liberation. Halt the anti-Soviet policies and incitements of the government and Wall Street. For friendship and collaboration for peace between the two great peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union.

3. No armaments or American soldiers for imperialist wars or adventures. Democratize the armed forces. Protect the freedom and independence of the trade unions. Make the rich pay the costs of the war preparations and the economic crisis for which they are responsible. Fight against war profiteering.

4. Against a peace of "appeasement." Against an imperialist peace of violence and oppression. For solidarity with and support to the peoples in the warring nations in their struggle for a democratic people's peace.

*Protect and Extend Civil Liberties!
Full Rights for the Negro People!*

1. For the unrestricted freedom of speech, press, radio, assembly and worship, and the full right to organize, strike and picket. Defeat the anti-labor drive under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Pass the La-Follette-Thomas Oppressive Labor Practices Bill without reactionary amendments. Stop the attacks upon labor by the F.B.I. and the Department of Justice.

2. Pass the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill to give the vote to the Negro and the white masses in the South. For full civil rights and the right to vote for all men in the armed services, migratory workers and seafaring men.

3. Guarantee the Negro people complete equality, equal rights to jobs, equal pay for equal work, the full right to organize, serve on juries and hold public office. Pass the Anti-Lynching Bill. Demand the death penalty for lynchers. Enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution.

4. End the dictatorial powers of the Dies and other Congressional anti-labor investigating committees. Repeal the vicious anti-alien and sedition laws that are a blot on the statute books of a free people. Put an end to anti-Semitism. Guarantee the traditional American right of asylum to all victims of imperialist war and oppression, especially to the refugees from Franco Spain.

5. Guarantee the civil rights and freedom of action of labor, includ-

ing the Communists, and all other anti-war, anti-imperialist organizations. Against all reactionary measures requiring the registration, incorporation or Federal control of working class political organizations, trade unions and other popular organizations. For the freedom of all working class political prisoners now languishing in Federal and state prisons. Defend the Bill of Rights against the reactionaries and war-makers.

Jobs, Security and an American Standard of Living for All Toilers!

Protect the Farmers From Wall Street!

Protect the Rights and Interests of the American Youth!

Curb the Monopolists!

1. For the organization of the unorganized. For higher wages and the thirty-hour week without reduction in pay. For equal rights for Negro workers, the foreign born, women and youth labor. Abolish the wage differential between North and South. Abolish child labor. Cancel all government orders to those employers who fail to comply with labor legislation.

2. For a Federal housing program providing for building a minimum of a million homes annually for the low-income groups. Expand W.P.A. to provide work for all unemployed with a minimum of 3,000,000 jobs to be provided immediately on socially beneficial projects, at union wage rates. Increase the present wage scale by 30 per cent and make as minimum payment for any classification \$70 monthly. Extend unem-

ployment insurance to cover domestic, agricultural and all wage earners not now covered by the law. Increase minimum benefit payments to \$10 weekly. Increase maximum payments from one-half to two-thirds of wages earned. Extend the period of unemployment compensation payments from the present maximum of thirteen weeks to twenty-six weeks.

3. Establish an *old-age pension* system providing \$60 monthly for all over sixty. Enact an adequate Federal health program and a system of maternity insurance. Guarantee free education to all youth and children, Negro and white, by extending Federal and state appropriations.

4. Guarantee to all farmers their land, equipment, and livestock free from seizure. Free the working farmers and sharecroppers from debt, tax burdens and foreclosures. Provide a high homestead tax-exemption and heavier taxes on large farms. For a Homestead Act for Today to return all lands confiscated by the Federal, state, and local governments, by the banks and insurance companies to all small farmers, tenants and sharecroppers dispossessed from the land and who wish to engage in farming. Develop an adequate program of tenant rehabilitation, soil conservation and drought relief. Guarantee the cost of production to the family-sized farm. Provide Federal funds for direct farm relief so that no farm family shall lack the necessities of life. Establish a ten-year debt moratorium for the small-income

farmers.

5. Extend the N.Y.A. and the C.C.C. under civilian control and on civilian projects at trade union standards. Adopt the American Youth Act.

6. Prosecute the trusts and monopolies for profiteering, monopoly practices, nullifying labor legislation, evading taxes and violating the laws of the land. Establish a heavy excess profits tax and a steeply graduated income tax on the higher brackets. Abolish tax-exempt securities. Confiscate all war profits. Repeal the provisions of the new tax laws hitting the low-income groups. Abolish all direct and indirect taxes on articles of mass consumption.

For a National Farmer-Labor Party

This is an anti-imperialist program of struggle for peace, real national defense, and social security. It can be realized by labor and the toiling people through organization and united struggle, by building and strengthening the trade unions, and other progressive organizations of labor, and by promoting independent political action of labor and the common people, leading towards the building up of a united mass party—a national farmer-labor party, an anti-imperialist third party of the people.

The struggle for such a united people's party for peace, security and civil liberties can be actively promoted in the November elections by voting for and supporting the

Communist Party. It can be effectively developed by establishing unity of action by the workers in all unions and industries in defense of their immediate economic and political demands. It can be strengthened by supporting tested anti-war and labor candidates for Congress and state legislatures.

Capitalism has brought our people only tyranny, hunger, degradation and war. Capitalism has given us an ever-deepening crisis, with millions permanently unemployed. Capitalism is destroying the cultural achievements and constitutional guarantees of freedom provided in the Bill of Rights. Under capitalism the people face a hopeless future. Only when capitalism is abolished, when socialism is established, as today in the U.S.S.R., will there be no wars, no unemployment, no social retrogression. Under socialism there will be abundance and security for the toiling people. To make our country really free, united and prosperous—to make it possible for all the people to benefit from the tremendous resources of our country—demands a new social order in which the national economy will belong to the people—a socialist society. Only in a nation free from its monopoly and financial overlords and freed of bondage to the few who have seized its wealth and oppress its people can our people live and flourish.

The Communist Party fights for the immediate interests of the working class, as well as its socialist future. We pledge to continue our struggle for our socialist aim, the common goal of all progressive

mankind, already triumphant over one-sixth of the earth.

Vote Communist!

Workers! Toilers! The Democratic Party is the party of the Roosevelts and Dies, of the Garners and Woodrums, of the du Ponts and Cromwells, of the Boss Hagues and Kelleys, of Tammany and the K.K.K. It is the party of "liberal" promises and reactionary deeds.

The Republican Party is the party of the Willkies and Hoovers, the Vandenberges and Fords, of the Insulls, Weirs and Girdlers. It is the party of the Associated Farmers and the open shoppers.

The Morgans, Rockefellers and du Ponts are the Interlocking Directorate and Holding Company of both the Democratic and Republican parties. That is why *both parties* are war parties, M-Day parties, parties of imperialism, reaction and hunger.

This is why labor and the people cannot and must not vote for nor support the Democratic or the Republican parties, or their little brother, the Socialist Party.

That is why the working class and toilers should vote for and support the Communist Party.

A vote for the Communist Party is a vote against the imperialist war, against Wall Street's imperialist adventures and war preparations, for safeguarding the peace of America and defending the national interests of the American people.

A vote for the Communist Party is a vote for peace, freedom and socialism. Vote Communist! Vote for Browder and Ford!