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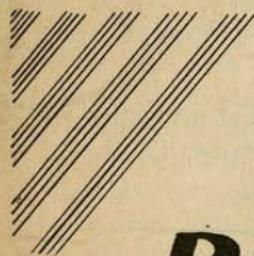
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**BY**  
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GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

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# SOCIAL AND

# NATIONAL SECURITY

P.P. 31-34

A PROGRAM FOR A UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

By EARL BROWDER

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

## I. The Munich Betrayal and Its Consequences

**N**AZI pogroms against the Jews, and their violent assaults against the Catholics, have awakened the American people, more than anything else, to the world significance of the Munich conspiracy. The tremendous all-embracing sweep of the protest movement against the pogroms lit up the world scene for the people of the United States; in its light there stood out for a new evaluation the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. That last democracy of Central Europe is now seen to have been a front-line trench in the defense of world peace. Its betrayal is seen as the betrayal of peace and democracy all over the world, including the United States.

Against the background of Munich our people now begin to understand the new Japanese aggressions, and the insolent Japanese demand that the United States accept its closed door in the Far East. Chamberlain's boasted "peace pact" with Hitler is seen in its true light as the removal of the British fleet as an obstacle to Hitler's plans for conquest of Latin America. The Munich Pact, unloosing the floodgates of reaction over Europe,

strengthening Japanese aggression in China, threatening Latin America with large-scale fascist penetration, moving through the Empire ties to bring Canada into its orbit, clearly envisages the encirclement of the United States by the new coalition of the fascist powers with the imperialist ruling circles of Britain and France.

Clearly the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis is now an enormously multiplied menace to democracy and peace, and especially to the United States, since Chamberlain has allied with it and brought into the combination the new dictatorship which Daladier is proposing to establish over the French people.

Projects for a new "Munich" settlement for Spain now being hatched in Paris by Chamberlain and Halifax, in conjunction with Daladier and Bonnet, according to the dictates of Hitler and Mussolini, thus strike clearly against Latin America in the first place; they constitute a dagger at the heart of American security against the fascist madness flooding Europe, Africa and Asia.

The political face of the world has been transformed by the Munich Pact. Every problem and every international relationship must be re-examined in the light of the new situation.

The Munich surrender was not inevitable; both Czechoslovakia and peace could have been saved.

Before Munich both Hitler and Mussolini were tottering on the edge of the abyss. Fascist economy was strained to the breaking-point; the middle classes, being wiped out by the crisis, were moving toward common action with the oppressed working masses; the army itself was on the point of revolt; the very apparatus of fascist power was torn with increasing conflicts. All that was necessary to halt the fascist advance was a firm and unyielding front of the democratic powers of the West standing with the Soviet Union—that unshakable fortress against fascism in both Europe and Asia. Such a firm front, demonstrated as possible, would have guaranteed not only the halt of Hitler, but the quick destruction of fascism as a threat to world peace.

After Munich the fascists have their shaking powers again propped up. The front of the anti-fascist peoples has been broken through, fascism has won new positions from which to

launch a wider offensive, and the fascist attacks are more insolent than ever: the fascist dictatorships have been strengthened against their own people, the fascist front has been united and extended for a new series of aggressions that embrace all continents.

The direct lie was given to all protestations that the Munich Pact was an achievement for peace when, directly afterward, all governments announced vast expansions of their armed forces as their first response.

The full depths of the Munich treason were revealed when, with startling speed, it was followed by the most insolent, bestial, bloodthirsty, indecent assaults upon the rest of the world by all the most reactionary forces.

Fascism, reaction and war are advancing against the whole world as the result of the Munich betrayal.

Against this menace there is a rising movement of the working class and of the peoples to oppose the Munich treason and its consequences.

In this world movement, there stand out before the peace-loving peoples of all the world two centers of resistance to the fascist flood, two points from which leadership and inspiration can be given to the majority of mankind struggling for democracy and peace, two rallying grounds for the hard-pressed forces of progress and culture—the Soviet Union and the United States.

Today, as never before, the fate of the world depends upon the role that will be played by these two greatest powers in the world; more than ever, this *depends upon the collaboration of these two powers for their common aims.*

The Soviet Union and the United States have common problems, common interests and common enemies.

This is a central fact in the new world situation.

Upon this foundation it is necessary to find a *program of collaboration* which can effectively unite these two greatest world powers, a program based upon the full recognition of the national interests of all peoples, and uniting them in a *minimum international policy* required for their orderly protection, as these interests are understood today by the preponderance of opinion of the cooperating peoples.

This is the key to the struggle for world peace, and to prevent the spread of the already developing world war.

Can we realistically pose this cooperation as something that can be achieved?

The consequences of the Munich Pact force this question to the front, demanding an immediate answer. The answer cannot any longer be postponed.

So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the answer is easy to give with full assurance. The Soviet Union, firm and calm in a world of storms, confident in its own strength, has never wavered from its oft-expressed policy of full cooperation with all peoples and governments which, from whatever motives, oppose aggression and uphold orderly international relations. The Soviet Union is one government which has not a single record of breaking an agreement or violating an accepted responsibility.

If there were any persons who listened to the fascist-inspired whispers that the Soviet Union was itself likely to be swung to the side of the Munich Powers, their answer is to be found in the thorough house-cleaning which swept all the spies, wreckers and diversionist agents of the fascist powers into the wastebasket of history. If any listened to the fairy tales spread by Hitler's messenger boy, Lindbergh, that the Soviet Union cannot be trusted because it is weak, they can find their answer in the pathetic eagerness of the Japanese militarists to settle the Changkufeng "incident" last summer on the formula given by the Soviet Union, and in the obvious fact that Hitler (who loves nothing better than a weak enemy) moves in any and all directions rather than across the Soviet border, and even reserves his most unbridled insolences for the British and American peoples.

Yes, we can state with complete assurance: the Soviet Union is not only willing but is fully able, in every respect, to give that unwavering collaboration of a great power which is the supreme need of the United States as it rides into the storm of the world crisis.

Can the United States be depended upon for such collaboration for world peace? To this the answer is more difficult, because the United States is not yet united and of one mind.

The great majority of our people are deeply and firmly determined to resist fascism, they are profoundly anti-fascist. This sentiment of the people has been well expressed by President Roosevelt, in a whole series of declarations and actions more and more pointing toward a cooperative world policy that includes the Soviet Union in the field of cooperation. But against the positive peace policy of our President, there are being mobilized powerful forces, the strength of which can be symbolized in the name of their chief spokesman, Herbert Hoover, and the widespreading insidiousness which can be indicated by mentioning their aides, Norman Thomas and the Trotskyites-Lovestoneites. Reactionary forces within the United States, taking the Munich Pact as their banner and "*peace a-la Chamberlain*" as their slogan, move forward to new positions in the November elections, and prepare a major struggle for power in the Presidential elections of 1940.

Thus the answer to the question about the role of the United States still must be found in struggle, in the great battle shaping up between the coalition of all reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the coalition of everything progressive and democratic in our country, on the other hand.

The issue of a positive peace policy for America more and more becomes dominant and all alignments upon domestic issues readjust themselves to the larger line-up.

## II. Results of the November Elections

**T**HE national balloting on November 8 resulted in a shift of governmental power in the direction of the reactionary camp, "toward the Right" as the popular phrase has it. It would be dangerous to gloss over this fact, and even more dangerous to fail to probe fully into the causes and the significance of it. Only thus can a Bunker Hill be made the prelude to a Yorktown, defeat made to contribute to the final victory.

The Republican Party, main instrument of the reactionary camp, doubled its representation in Congress and extended its control from seven states, before the election, to eighteen

states, including such key points as Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The transfer of Ohio from an anti-New Deal Democratic to a Republican administration provided incidental gains by clarifying issues and alignments. Only the resounding victories of the progressive camp in New York, California and Washington (one might also add, with reservations, Illinois), stand out to temper the appearance of advancing reactionary forces.

Taking the total national vote outside the South (where the Republican Party vote is small and reaction functions within the Democratic Party) the two major parties appeared almost equal, in contrast to the overwhelming majority cast for Roosevelt in 1936. The Republican vote was slightly above the 1936 total, while the Democratic vote fell far below. Making all allowances for the enormous efforts of the reactionaries to poll their full strength, as contrasted with the divided and chaotic organization within the democratic camp, it is still clear that there was a shift of votes, perhaps two millions or more, away from the New Deal to anti-New Deal candidates.

What social strata or class groups participated in this shift? First of all, we have the testimony of the Gallup Poll (which maintained a surprising degree of accuracy in forecasting the results), which revealed a decisive shift to the reactionary camp of the "upper income group" that obviously includes, with the capitalist class as a whole, the well-to-do farmers and more prosperous city middle classes; a much smaller but important shift (4 per cent) in the same direction of the "middle income group" that obviously includes, with small business men and a large section of the farmers, the more highly-skilled workers and professionals; while in contrast to the other groups, the "lower income group," obviously the main masses of workers and farmers, with a large part of the city middle classes, revealed a growing support of the President and the New Deal policies.

In this analysis is revealed the increasing class regrouping, the polarization of social forces, which we signalized as the decisive feature of the 1936 elections. That is, in short, that the Republican Party and its allies within the Democratic Party have become even more than before the instrument of monopoly capital, of Wall Street, of the economic royalists, while around

President Roosevelt and the New Deal gather more than ever the masses, those whom the President identifies as the "under-privileged," upon whom lies the main burden of economic and social crisis.

But if the two main camps thus, more than ever, represent monopoly capital on the one side and the masses of the people on the other, how can we understand the reversal of trend in the balloting of 1938, after the unbroken advances from 1930 to 1936?

First, the explanation lies in the fact that, while the basic issue of progress versus reaction was sharper than ever, the *appearance* was not so clear, because the reactionary camp had, on the whole, adopted *a new strategy of the progressive mask*—a development we predicted and warned against at our Tenth Party Convention. After a long record of defeat of their head-on attacks against the New Deal, the reactionary camp had finally decided to go over to the *flank attack*, to appear to accept the main features of the New Deal and attack only its shortcomings and weaknesses, its methods, and the corrupt local political machines carried over from the past, and even to pass over to outbidding the New Deal in promises of all things to all men, to unbridled demagoguery.

That this strategy confused and deceived a considerable number of voters is certain. Republican Stassen in Minnesota wanted the voters to forget what ticket he was running on, and claimed the mantle of Floyd B. Olsen, first Farmer-Labor governor; he outbid Governor Benson in his promises, so much so as to make Benson look conservative. Republican Saltonstall in Massachusetts kept the Townsend Plan in the forefront, with its promise of pensions of \$200 per month to all over sixty years of age. Generally throughout the country the Republicans endorsed or flirted with the Townsend Plan, and received the heavy end of Townsend support. Even the reactionary Taft in Ohio donned the sheep's clothing of progressiveness, and the Grundy-Pew machine in Pennsylvania came forth as the angel of civic righteousness, anxious to rescue the New Deal from a corrupt Democratic Party. Only in California did the Republican Party show its true face in all its reactionary ugliness, with a ticket headed by Merriam and Bancroft,

and there it took a terrific beating for its pains, ending a forty-year Republican misrule.

This is the main item in the explanation as to why an increasingly New Deal electorate cast an increasingly big opposition vote against the New Deal candidates. Wanting more of the New Deal, and a more consistent New Deal, they were yet diverted into supporting their own worst enemies.

Of course, the Republican strategy would not have worked even as much as it did, if there were not serious discontent among the masses. The farmers especially were in ferment over the collapse of agricultural prices, while industrial prices kept up or even increased, and the monopolies registered big profits. The unemployed were excited about the scandalous inadequacy of W.P.A. jobs and wages, and the paring down of direct relief. The organized workers were burning with resentment at the insolent machine politicians who pushed them in the face when they demanded some political representation of their mass of votes.

The mass of citizenry were outraged by the arrogant crimes of the Hague machine in Jersey City, and the silence and open condonation of the official Democratic national leadership. The corruption of Tammany in New York and the Curley gang in Massachusetts was smeared over onto the New Deal, although these machines are sworn enemies of Roosevelt inside the Democratic Party. There was treason within the Democratic Party high command, and while Farley wielded the stiletto, Jack Garner sent forth his henchman, Sheppard, to swing the mace of the Senatorial Committee on Elections, and Martin Dies to swing the ax of the un-American Committee, each primarily against the Democratic Party, of which they are nominal members. The daily press was almost unanimously willing recruits in the reactionary game, and in those few newspapers which nominally supported the New Deal, ineptitude and special interests combined to render them largely ineffective. There was not even the appearance of a concerted national campaign on the side of the New Deal, except to the degree that the President himself contributed by his national radio broadcasts. All these factors played into the hands of the Republican Tory strategists, and made possible their inroads

among voters essentially committed to progressive policies, and deepened the apathy among even broader circles.

Seriously damaging also were the divided national councils of the organized labor movement. The crassest example of this was the effort of William Green to divert the labor vote to reactionary candidates, although this splitting work was largely overcome in labor's ranks, with the A. F. of L. in state after state openly repudiating Green's endorsements. The labor vote was probably more united than ever before in most states. But the effects of the split in labor were especially felt among the unorganized and among the middle classes, including the farmers, upon whom the fratricidal warfare of the A. F. of L. leaders against the C.I.O. had a demoralizing effect, which was not overcome by the unity of labor achieved by its lower ranks.

Other splitting activities, of special damage in certain localities, were those conducted by Phil LaFollette and his vest-pocket "National Progressives"; by the Old Guard Social-Democratic Federation; by the Norman Thomas Socialists; and by the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite grouplets. LaFollette, by his attacks against the New Deal which echoed the reactionary battle cries, by his fascist-like trimmings, by his intrigues within the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, undoubtedly helped the Republicans considerably to win their victories over the only two "third party" state administrations, and in thus removing some of the best progressive Representatives from Congress. The Old Guard Socialists handed the state of Connecticut over to the Republicans, despite their distinct minority position in the state; while in New York they damaged the American Labor Party by their splitting appeals against some of its outstanding candidates, including Vito Marcantonio and Oscar Garcia-Rivera, who contributed to the A.L.P. its only victories.

Norman Thomas in New York and his party everywhere made its main campaign against Roosevelt and the New Deal, and echoed all the cries of the reactionary camp; it is true that, by this course, the Socialist Party reduced its own vote almost to the vanishing point, but its damage cannot be reckoned by its vote, for hundreds of thousands of its former supporters were not rallied, but rather dispersed and demoralized. The

Socialists, with their Trotskyite and Lovestoneite allies, did damaging work against Governor Murphy in Michigan; Lovestone doubtless claims credit with his patrons for defeating Murphy with his intrigues and wrecking among the auto workers. In Minnesota the unexplained murders among the leaders of the Trotskyite-dominated teamsters' unions doubtless helped to turn many farmers and other citizens including some workers against the Farmer-Labor Party, which they blamed for not cleaning up that mess.

Wherever the splitting and disruptive groups were isolated and their efforts defeated, wherever the two main camps of labor were brought into parallel or united action, and wherever the New Deal progressives boldly stood forth to do battle with the reactionaries and to tear away their masks, consistently defending the New Deal measures which have benefited the masses and promising their further development—in such places the progressive camp, with united forces and enthusiastic following, smashed through the Republican strategy and won the victory.

The elections took place in the first weeks after the stunning impact of the Munich betrayal. There is not the slightest doubt that Munich acted as a stimulus to the reactionary camp and threw a wet blanket on the hopes and enthusiasms of a large part of the progressive camp, especially its unorganized sections which were without any immediate antidote to its effects. Herbert Hoover, who is rapidly regaining his former position of chief leader of the reactionaries, came out boldly as the champion of Munich. President Roosevelt in carefully formulated but unmistakable terms placed himself on record against Munich. But it must be noted that many supposed close lieutenants of the President spoke in a sense to cancel the President's positions, and contributed harmfully to the confusion among the masses. The speeches of Sumner Welles, claiming for the President a share of Chamberlain's "laurels," served to hide from the public that Munich was also a slap in the face of Roosevelt, ignoring his proposal for an international conference of all interested governments in a neutral place—a proposal the opposite of Munich, which would certainly have produced opposite results. Ambassadors Bullitt and Kennedy per-

formed the same sort of services for the Munich powers, and the same disservice to the President. If the mass of voters had had another month to assimilate the lessons of Munich, its effect would have been greatly to strengthen Roosevelt and all his supporters before the country, but with the time element as it was, Munich contributed to the electoral victories of the reactionary camp.

Summarizing the results of the election, we can say that they proved the progressive and democratic electorate, demanding an active governmental policy to strengthen social security, safeguard and extend civil rights, establish the beginning of democratic control over the national economy, and limit the powers of monopoly capital in both economic and political life, did not change its course or suffer any loss in its majority, but rather extended its numbers. But this growing majority of the people was not sufficiently united and organized to be able to meet and repel the flank attacks of the reactionaries. The reactionary camp gained new positions of power by breaking the unity of the progressive majority, due to its lack of organization.

The lessons of the election are, therefore, the lessons of unity and organization. The basic majority of the people must be consolidated and organized for the maintenance and further development of the progressive and New Deal program. At the same time the vacillating elements, particularly among the farmers and city middle classes, must be clarified and confirmed in their adherence to the progressive camp, by more systematic attention to solving their problems, more consistent unfolding and administration of the relief and security policies to meet their needs. All the forces of disruption within the democratic front must be more thoroughly exposed and isolated. And, above all, the forces of progress must find the road to more organizational unity, leading toward a real national leadership representing, leading and uniting the majority of the people.

These tasks, however, can only be solved by the working class in the first place, and the working class can act effectively as the unifier and organizer of the people only to the degree that it itself is organized and united.

### III. Problems of Working Class Unity

THE task of uniting the working class is complicated and difficult. We have nothing to gain by hiding or glossing over its complexities and difficulties. Only by facing them frankly can we find the quickest and soundest road to surmounting and eliminating them—and organizing the overwhelming forces that demand unity, for the realization of which the conditions are growing more favorable. It may be of value at this time, when working class unity becomes the supreme and key question in deciding the destiny of the world, to review the task in its broadest outlines, and to analyze again its chief component parts.

Unity of the majority of the people in the democratic front requires, as its foundation and main driving force, unity of the working class. But that does not mean that we must first achieve perfect working class unity, and only then take up the task of welding the democratic front. On the contrary, the two tasks are solved in practice simultaneously, and every step in progress in either field helps and strengthens the work in the other. Every factor that forwards the general democratic front makes easier the achievement of more working class unity, and every step to unite new and larger strata of the workers pushes forward the democratic front. Thus, an essential feature of the struggle for working class unity is the establishment of a correct and consistent attitude toward all the allies and potential allies of the working class in the democratic front. A cooperative relationship with the farmers and city middle classes, and especially with the politically most active groups of progressives, is a basic necessity in the struggle for working class unity.

Georgi Dimitroff has given us a penetrating analysis of this question in a few words, when he said:

“It would be difficult in post-war political history to find another moment when the interests of the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, when the interests of the small nations, of the independent and colonial countries, when the interests of culture and science, the interests of peace and democracy, coincided and

merged in a common current against fascism, the worst enemy of mankind, such as the present moment. *This is quite a real foundation for the establishment and consolidation of the united front of the working class and of the peoples of all countries against fascist barbarism and the incendiaries of imperialist war.*"

Trade union organization is the foundation of working class unity in all fields. We must emphasize two main problems here: first, the extension of trade union organization more and more until it includes the overwhelming majority of all wage earners, but especially of the basic and mass production industries; second, the unification of all trade union organizations into a single national federation. The first aspect is, in the main, in practice today, the extension and consolidation of the unions of the C.I.O. and to a certain extent also of the A. F. of L. The second aspect is the healing of the split between these two main centers and also bringing into the unified movement the railroad brotherhoods. Here also the two aspects cannot be approached separately, they go together, and a positive and active attitude toward each simultaneously is the precondition of any serious progress in either.

In the recent conventions of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. the issue of working class unity in its basic form of uniting the two trade union centers was shown in its main outlines quite clearly. The dominant A. F. of L. leadership approached the question as to the suppression of a rebellion, and placed as the condition for unity the unconditional surrender of the rebels. The C.I.O. unanimously adopted, as part of its basic program, the achievement of peace by agreement and unity upon the basis of guaranteeing the essential interests of all organizations involved. Between these two contrasting views of unity, there is not the slightest doubt as to the choice of all progressives—the C.I.O. gave the only direction along which peace and unity in the labor movement are possible. There is not the slightest doubt that the great majority of A. F. of L. members approve of such an approach to unity. The problem of unity is therefore, above all, to bring the A. F. of L. membership into active struggle to force their reactionary leaders to abandon

their splitting policy. At the same time, it is necessary to reinforce the C.I.O. unity position, and to guard against resentment at the outrages against the C.I.O. from bringing about any weakness in this position.

The C.I.O. convention's platform on unity we can fully approve and make our own. It will be criticized only by such people as Dubinsky and the Lovestoneites, who for their own special purposes make obstacles to unity. The C.I.O. greeted the message of President Roosevelt with enthusiasm and acted upon it, in contrast with the A. F. of L.'s negligent and contemptuous attitude. Thus was recognized that the whole democratic movement has a stake in labor unity, and the right and duty to speak up for it. The C.I.O. emphasized that it bears no responsibility for the split when it congratulated the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress for maintaining unity despite the orders of Green. And when Lewis, speaking for the resolution defending Bridges and Pritchett from the Red-baiting attacks of the reactionary forces demanding their deportation, declared the confidence of the C.I.O. in these two men and their leadership on the Pacific Coast, the significance of this declaration went far beyond the immediate issue under discussion. It was a declaration of the fundamental unity of the entire C.I.O. against all the efforts to split it; and it was further a declaration of approval of the unity efforts on the Pacific Coast, led by Bridges and Pritchett, which have already brought *de facto* peace and cooperation between the two labor movements in facing their common enemies, a unity largely responsible for the splendid victories for progress in the elections. Consequently it is necessary to intensify all efforts to extend cooperative actions between the unions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in all fields.

John L. Lewis made a brilliant formulation of the problem of unity, when he declared that the C.I.O. wanted peace and unity with the A. F. of L., but that the C.I.O. must draw the line at becoming another Czechoslovakia, to be carved up among predatory neighbors as the ostensible price of peace. That placed the issue sharply and precisely, and at the same time it was a fundamental judgment of the labor movement condemning the Munich Pact and the whole policy of "appease-

ment" of the fascist powers, the chief issue before the world today.

For international working class unity is necessary, as well as unity on a national scale. No one has placed the question better than our great Dimitroff, when he said:

"The entire international situation imperatively demands that the international working class, despite the existence of various ideological viewpoints and party-political trends, find a common language as soon as possible in the struggle against fascism, and put into operation a *single international policy* barring the way to the fascist plunderers and incendiaries of war, and guaranteeing the cause of peace between the peoples.

"The fulfillment of the idea which is maturing in the ranks of the labor movement, regarding the calling of an *international labor conference* of representatives of the organizations of the working class of all countries, would be an exceptionally important and practical step on this road. Such a conference is necessary for the defense of Spain, China, and the social gains of the working class and democratic liberties, so as to rally together all the forces of the international proletariat against fascism's Munich conspiracy."

Unity is gained by struggle and victory, never by surrender and defeat. That is the lesson for the working class of all recent events, as it is for all democratic and progressive mankind. We must conduct the struggle for working class unity with accelerated energy and new determination. We are much further advanced toward its achievement than at any other moment in our history.

#### IV. The Democratic Front in the 1940 Elections

**A**LL forces are shaping up for the epochal struggle of the Presidential elections of 1940. All signs indicate that the majority verdict in 1940 may determine whether the United

States will be dragged onto the path of Chamberlain, the path of catastrophic decline of living standards, mass starvation, denial of civil rights, and submission to the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, with eventual fascism, or whether our country, on the contrary, will become one of the chief centers of world progress by maintaining and extending its democracy, raising its living standards, curbing the power of monopoly capital, and organizing American and world resistance to fascist aggression.

Previous party labels and organizations have been fast losing their significance, and by 1940 they will mean less than ever. Even the Republican Party, on which monopoly capital holds a firm grip, and which seems inevitably destined to be Wall Street's main instrument in 1940, finds rapidly growing progressive sentiments and demands among its followers, which it can keep in line only with unlimited demagoguery. On the whole, the attempt to preview the alignments leading to 1940 can best be done, not in terms of existing parties, but in terms of issues and leading personalities.

Who are the outstanding personalities summing up the dominant tendencies of the two main camps, the reactionaries and the progressives (or liberals)?

Herbert Hoover is clearly the chief figure in the camp of reaction. While it is extremely doubtful if he will be the Republican candidate for President, because he is too well known and therefore well-hated, it is almost as certain as anything can be in politics that the 1940 candidate will be some person whom Hoover can and will endorse. The reactionaries will search high and low for a "colorful" candidate—they are not likely to repeat their mistake of 1936 with Landon. But it must be a "protective coloration," the candidate must be entirely "reliable" to Wall Street, and yet surrounded with an aura of civic righteousness and humanitarian sympathies gained in fields of innocuous activity and oratorical efforts, preferably some one who has really been useful in minor and non-controversial matters.

That is why the name of Thomas Dewey is almost a "natural" for the bosses of the Republican Party, those who wield power for Wall Street. His political past is a blank sheet, there

is nothing on it whatever. His role as a prosecutor of corrupt local political rings in alliance with the underworld received general approbation among all strata of the population. And yet, at the same time, Herbert Hoover can with full confidence place his hands on Tom Dewey's shoulders, and say: "This is my boy!" Even though, for campaign purposes, they may encourage him to extravagant liberalism, and even verbal attacks against "the interests," there will be such supreme confidence that he will "never go wrong" in important practical issues, that the propertied classes will not waver for a moment in their support of such a candidate as Dewey, when he is selected, promoted, and surrounded, by the "right people."

Franklin D. Roosevelt is clearly the chief figure in the progressive or liberal camp. Regardless of who will be the 1940 candidate behind which the forces of the democratic front will unite, it is clear that Roosevelt has become the symbol which unites the broadest masses of the progressive majority of the people. The reactionary camp can be defeated in 1940 only if the Roosevelt following is firmly united to include the organized labor movement, the really progressive Republicans, and the Negro people; and only if the New Deal forces, firmly uniting their basic following, win back the vacillating groupings among the farmers and city middle classes. The outstanding personalities, beside the President, who play a key role in building this united majority of the people, are in the first rank Fiorello LaGuardia and John L. Lewis. The candidate who will lead the liberal and progressive camp to victory in 1940 will certainly have to be such a person as would be fully acceptable to Roosevelt, LaGuardia and Lewis, and their supporters. This is the way to the organized single democratic front which will include the unions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., the farmers, the New Deal forces, the progressive followers of the Republican Party, and all independent progressive movements of the people. We are not interested at this time in discussing who that personality might be, or in debating the question whether Roosevelt himself will be the candidate. *We are interested only in the combination of forces which contains the guarantee of victory against the reactionaries.*

Such unity of all the progressive and democratic forces can

only be secured by the further unfolding and development of the New Deal program. We fully discussed this program question at our Party's Tenth Convention last May, and embodied our fundamental opinions on the question in the main resolution there adopted. The views we then expressed remain fully valid for the next period leading up to 1940. We need to change nothing in our convention discussions and decisions. But we do need much more decisive and energetic progress in concretely developing that program among the masses and in registering the mass opinion in governmental policy.

What are the key points in the unfolding of such a program in the light of the problem of strengthening the fundamental unity of the majority of the people? Where must the greatest emphasis be laid? We have a few important suggestions to make on these questions.

First are the group of issues involved in social security legislation, government work projects, and relief. The mounting mass movement for more adequate old-age pensions must absolutely be satisfied in federal legislation, which will remove this problem from its present chaotic condition in which it becomes the football for every reactionary demagogue. The principle of unemployment insurance must be extended to cover the large sections of the working class excluded from the present act. The government works program, W.P.A. and P.W.A., must not be curtailed, as has been the disastrous procedure in the past, while there are still millions of workers ready and anxious to work but without a chance of private employment. The oft-repeated promises that "no one shall starve" must be translated into a relief program which finally covers the terrific gaps in the present administration of relief. A federal health program must be adopted. Failure of the progressive camp to make good in any of these fields will result only in providing serious openings for reactionary demagogy to turn the disappointed and desperate unemployed, youth and aged, away from their natural affiliations and into fascist channels.

The heart of any serious program of public works must, quite evidently, be a large-scale housing program. Here it is necessary to go far beyond the timid experiments launched so far. The United States must begin to act on housing in a large

way, with a program running into billions of dollars. Especially in this field the benefits are so obvious, the resulting increase in national wealth and well being so much greater than elsewhere that there can be no excuse for further delay.

The second point of greatest emphasis probably should be further development of measures to curb the power of the monopolies in our country's economic and political life. Even before the committee investigating monopoly gives the country its findings, we are fully acquainted with the main outlines of the problem. Tremendous aggregations of capital effectively monopolize the basic economy of the country, and operate in such a way as to draw into their hands an ever-increasing share of the national wealth, at the expense of all other sections of the population, including the lower ranks of the capitalist class itself. They skim off the rich cream of American economic life ever more completely. They choke the advance of the national economy. And, above all, they represent a growing monster of political power, divorced from and antagonistic to the democratic masses of the people.

Whatever may be the detailed program for curbing the power of monopoly, it is clear that it must include, beside strengthening existing stock-exchange control and federal development of water power, measures directed toward nationalization of the banking and credit system, and probably nationalization of the railroads. And further, in connection with the greatly-multiplied problem of armaments, the necessity of nationalization of the munitions industries is placed on the order of the day if monopoly is not to make new strides forward in domination of both economy and government. The nationalization of these branches of the nation's economy is a basic and vital measure in the struggle for recovery, for breaking the sit-down strike of big business, for democracy, and for curbing the powers of the reactionary monopolies.

Thirdly, and directly connected with the monopoly question, is the agricultural crisis, which is throwing probably a majority of the farming population into the deepest distress they have yet known. While monopolies maintain the prices of all manufactured and processed goods, the prices of agricultural raw materials and unprocessed foodstuffs paid to the farmers are

entirely at the mercy of the free play of world market conditions. This sharp divergence, between industrial prices butressed by monopoly, and agricultural prices which all expedients have so far failed to bolster up, constitutes the famous "scissors" which are cutting down disastrously the income of the main group of middle and small farmers. Restrictions on production of the mass of small farmers, intended as a means of price control, are being transformed into an additional burden on the farmers. Governmental guarantee of the cost of production, for individual farmers cultivating their own land, coupled with control over capitalistic large-scale farming, together with federal marketing of surplus crops abroad through credits to Spain and China, offer the only immediate prospects of serious relief to the main mass of American farmers for next year. And without serious relief, revolt among the farmers will be exploited by the reactionaries to split still more the progressive and liberal forces of the people.

Finally, and with extreme sharpness, we face the question of the peace policy of the United States, of its role in international affairs. The progressive or liberal camp receives its supreme test on these questions; it is on this field that Herbert Hoover, championing the Munich Powers and proposing a "Chamberlain" policy for the United States, leads the reactionary camp in what they hope will be the crucial issue to break up the progressive majority of the people.

In order to defend even its own narrower national interests, the United States must assume a leading role in organizing all the peace forces of the world. That is the key to the unfolding of a really democratic and progressive foreign policy for the United States. The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo powers driving toward world conquest, with Chamberlain and Daladier already in their orbit, are obviously and swiftly moving to the encirclement of the United States and the conquest of Latin America. There can be no serious defense of the national interests of the United States that is not planned on a world scale, utilizing all present and potential allies, and organizing them for joint resistance to fascism and, immediately, help to Spain and China.

This leading thought for an active foreign policy is one of the first necessities of the platform for building the democratic

front looking to the 1940 elections. Many detailed features of this question, which require deeper analysis since the Munich betrayal, I will take up later in this report.

The new Congress meets in January. It would be the biggest mistake to look upon its deliberations as the mere registration of the relation of forces established in the November elections. No, Congress will itself be a most intense continuation of the electoral struggles. And whereas in the last Congress the reactionaries were undermining and splitting off forces from the New Deal, while their own forces were presenting quite a solid front, in the coming Congress the reactionaries themselves are bringing in new troops, enlisted under the flag of "liberalism" however false and demagogic the motives of the Republican chieftains, and open to inroads by the New Deal which will perhaps compensate for some of the losses to reaction in the past. The struggle within Congress for the enactment of a really progressive program will be fruitful to the extent, and little further, that the whole country is mobilized to watch and advise Congress, with the people in each district speaking directly to their own Congressman. There will be plenty of reactionary pressure groups working upon the Congressmen, and this pressure of special interests can only be, and must be, *offset by mass pressure from the people*. We must be ready to cooperate most energetically in every effort in that direction.

The year 1939 will also be marked by municipal elections throughout the nation, including many of the most important cities, and large numbers of industrial towns and smaller centers, occurring from early spring to late fall. These municipal elections must be approached with the same deep seriousness with which we took the Congressional elections, with the same determination to secure the unity of the broadest progressive and labor camp against the forces of reaction. The results of the municipal elections will not only determine the nature of the local governments, with all the consequences that flow therefrom, but will also exert their influence on the line-up for the great national struggle of 1940.

Throughout the coming period we must be searching for ever broader and more effective forms of organization for the democratic front, and for labor's participation within it. It

must be admitted that, while Labor's Non-Partisan League did excellent work in some states, nationally and in many localities it often exerted an influence toward narrowing down, toward a harmful sectarianism, toward setting up barriers between labor and other sections of the population instead of organizing their closer collaboration. We must be alert to throw our influence against all such narrowing policies and give all assistance to the drive for a broad sweeping mass movement in which organized labor furnishes the firm backbone and the driving force. California provided in the late elections the best example of that broad democratic unity, with united labor in the center of it, which we must strive for everywhere and on a national scale for 1940.

## V. Building the Communist Party Within the Democratic Front

**W**E CANNOT afford to forget for a moment that the Communist Party is itself our first and most effective instrument in the struggle for the most immediate and the most far-reaching demands and aims of the working class and of the majority of the people. Our Party, together with the Young Communist League, uniting itself with the broadest masses in their daily struggles, must learn better than ever how to build itself stronger and stronger within the democratic front.

Our Party is as yet not officially recognized and accepted as an organic part of the broad democratic mass movement, although there is a growing tendency to such acceptance, which we warmly welcome. But we will find it to our advantage not to press this issue any faster than the great majority of our associates in the democratic front are willing to go with full conviction that it is in the general interest, and not as any concession to the Communists. As a matter of fact, the admittance of the Communist Party officially into the general organs of the democratic front, when it takes place, will present us with many new problems and circumscribe our freedom of action much more than at present. Our present relative free-

dom of action must be carefully utilized to promote always the general welfare of the whole movement, together with the most energetic building of our own Party.

Next year will be the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International (March), and also the twentieth anniversary of our own Communist Party (in September). We are now engaged in preparations to make the whole year a period of study of our history and the deeper understanding and mastery of Marxism-Leninism. This will be a planned campaign for the ideological rearmament of the whole Party, simultaneously with another big step forward in recruiting new members, that we may become really a mass party.

Our great brother Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which gave to the world the supreme example of the Communist program translated into life, has also now provided us with a great instrument for our ideological rearmament. It is the new book, *A Short Course in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, prepared under the direction of its Central Committee, with the personal participation and leadership of Comrade Stalin. We do not yet have the authentic English translation but from what we have already learned of its character, and of its role in the Soviet Union where a first edition of six million copies was sold in a few days, we know that it will be of equal importance for us in America and for our brother Parties of all lands.

Allow me to give you some idea of this supremely important book by a few quotations from its Introduction. We read:

“The history of the C.P.S.U. is the history of three revolutions: the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February, 1917, and the socialist revolution in October, 1917.

“The history of the C.P.S.U. is the history of the overthrow of tsarism, of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists, the history of the routing of the foreign armed intervention during the Civil War, the history of the building up of the Soviet state and of socialist society in our country.”

What do we gain from the study of such a history? The Introduction tells us:

"The study of the history of the C.P.S.U. enriches us with the experience of the struggle of the workers and peasants of our country for socialism.

"The study of the history of struggle of our Party against all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, against all the enemies of the working people, assists us to master Bolshevism, raises our political vigilance.

"The study of the heroic history of the Bolshevik Party arms us with the knowledge of the laws of social development and political struggle, with the knowledge of the driving forces of the revolution.

"The study of the history of the C.P.S.U. strengthens our confidence in the final victory of the great cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the victory of Communism throughout the entire world."

Will such a book be of special value also to us here in America, a book written and edited under the personal direction of our great teacher Stalin? Of course, it will be of the most inestimable value.

I think you will all agree with this judgment without hesitation. And therefore I think you will also agree with the proposal which the Political Committee decided to place before you, that we make use of this book on a large scale, in a really organized manner, as a basic feature of our Party's work and education.

We expect soon to have in our hands the authorized English translation, carefully checked and verified for accuracy by a commission of experts. We will be rushing it to the printer as soon as it is ready. We had to estimate how many copies of this book we need really to make use of it seriously. We recalled the fact that our Party, together with the Young Communist League, has considerably more than 100,000 members. We therefore judge that we should print a minimum of 100,000 copies.

The history, although called "A Short Course," is not a small book, containing as it does some 450 pages. Such a book, in the usual course of publishing and distributing, would have to sell at a price of about three dollars per copy. Clearly such a price would enormously increase the difficulties of distributing the number we consider necessary. We therefore

turned our minds to the problem of eliminating every unnecessary expense, and placing the book in the hands of every Party member and close sympathizer, *at the physical cost of production*, without any of the normal costs of distribution being added to the price. We decided that we would ask every branch of the Party to order as many copies as they have members, plus as many copies as they think they can immediately sell to close sympathizers at the reduced price. The National Committee will absorb the cost of distribution to the Districts. The Districts and Sections will be asked to absorb the cost of distribution to the branches. The branches will distribute the book as a central political task of their members and sympathizers. Every copy of the book will represent a fixed price, from top to bottom, exactly the cost of printing and paper and no more. Thus, with this special distribution, we will distribute the book through the Party itself at a price of about forty cents per copy instead of three dollars. Copies to be distributed through the ordinary channels of book stores and so on will be sold at one dollar per copy.

That, briefly, is the plan which we submit for your approval. We think it is a practical one, within the powers of our Party to fulfil completely and with dispatch. We hope you will agree with our judgment.

Once the book is in the hands of the readers, widely distributed, it will be a political task of the first magnitude to insure, in organized fashion, that it is made the best possible use of. That requires study and discussion. This is no ordinary book to be skimmed through and then laid aside on a bookshelf. It is a scientific textbook to be studied and mastered, not a collection of dogmas to be memorized, not for mechanical quotation of extracts, but to understand the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that it can be *applied to the most varied and different problems and situations*, so that this theory can be enriched with the new experiences of the revolutionary working class movement also of our country. This most important phase I will leave to Comrade Bittelman for further elaboration.

Fundamental to Party and Youth League building is the constant increase of our membership. At our Tenth Conven-

tion, when we had about 75,000 members on our books, we set ourselves the task to increase the number to 100,000 by the end of the year. We estimated our recruiting powers on the basis of what we had accomplished the year before during our special recruiting campaign. We wanted to establish that rate of growth as the normal rate, rather than a mere campaign figure. We have not been succeeding in the task we set. Today we have only some 82,000 members on the rolls, an increase of but 7,000 since the convention. Clearly we have not yet learned how to make recruiting a constant feature of all Party work without special campaigns.

That is the picture of the Party recruiting as a whole. But some state organizations have done much better than this, which means that other states are far poorer in recruiting than even this average. California and Washington, for example, have done brilliant recruiting, which if emulated in the whole Party would have put us over the 100,000 mark. Illinois has made a splendid showing, with Ohio not so far behind. But with these we exhaust the list of states with really significant growth since the Tenth Convention. True, this was the period of feverish election campaign activity everywhere, which engaged all energies. But could we say that California or Washington neglected the election campaign in order to make good on recruiting? The election results prove otherwise, for they were precisely the states with the best successes in the elections. We are justified in believing that *because* they recruited seriously that is one of the reasons, and an important one, for their electoral success.

It is not my purpose to propose now the establishment of new tasks, and figures for Party recruiting in the coming months. But I think this problem should be seriously debated in this plenum and its commissions, and upon the basis of our collective experience we should arrive at some realistic proposals which are within our power to carry through in the coming period. Firm and steady growth of membership is one of the basic necessities for the execution of our political tasks and our responsibilities to the working class and to the whole country.

Studying the problems of growth and consolidation of our

Party in the midst of a rising democratic mass movement in the country, our attention is more and more turned to the Party branch as the key to the solution of all questions. We have some 3,000 branches, which display the widest variation of effectiveness in their work. Some of them, many in fact, work very effectively among the masses of their territory, have a rich and varied Party life which is closely tied up with their community; these are the branches which are responsible for much the greater part of the Party's growth. But the majority of branches do not come up to this standard; they tend to drift, remain comparatively isolated in their communities, and conduct on the whole a routine and listless Party life. And then there are the "problem branches," which are unable even to stabilize themselves, which meet irregularly, have a high turnover of membership, and by their barren and hostile sectarian attitude repulse the people with whom they come in contact. The problem of Party growth and consolidation among the masses is, thus, largely one of spreading the influence of the well-functioning branches throughout the whole Party.

What are the characteristics of our best branches which bring them success? They always have their attention fixed upon the community in which they operate; they find the clearest and most concrete answers to the questions about which the community is thinking, whether these be unemployment relief, a community school or playground problem, national political issues, or international questions. They make their influence felt through their members working modestly but energetically in the mass organizations of all sorts, as well as collectively through the Party branch, which makes itself well and favorably known as a militant and constructive influence. They systematically circulate Party pamphlets, magazines and newspapers not only among Party members, but among sympathizers, systematically cultivating selected individuals and groups. Within these branches the work is organized, to distribute it among as many members as possible, according to their abilities; every good branch has an Executive Committee which leads the work, giving it organized form without hampering the full inner democracy of the branch, and without stifling the individual initiative of the members. Branch meetings are

never allowed to degenerate into dull routine, but are made lively and interesting, with planned educational and social features. And, above all, in the good branches we always find a growing number of members who are conducting systematic self-study of theoretical and practical questions, consciously improving their own capacities and enlarging their sphere of usefulness to the Party and to the community, and providing the priceless treasure of leadership which binds the Party in unbreakable solidarity, and firmly connects the branch with its community life.

The majority of branches, the mediocre ones, fail to develop some of these essential features of the good branches. And when they fail to develop all or most of these attributes, then they fall into the lower category of "problem branches."

Study of the branches, in order systematically to help them all to become well-functioning and virile, is the chief task of our Party leadership, from each Branch Executive Committee, through the Section Committees, to the State Committees and their Bureaus and the National Committee itself. This is the only path to that growth and consolidation without which our tremendous political tasks cannot be met and solved.

In order to develop well, a branch must have a well-defined community as its field, with a certain degree of homogeneity and common interests, social and economic. This may be a shop or factory, or a department in a larger institution, in which case the common interest of the productive unit provides a solid foundation. Or it may be a residential neighborhood, in which case particular study must be made of the social and national composition of the population. It is especially the various national groups which become decisive in the success or failure of the neighborhood branches—and, of course, also of the Section organization that combines many neighborhoods.

During the past year we have begun to awaken the State Committees and the National Committee to the decisive importance of the national groups in the political life of the country. But we are barely beginning to solve the problem, and especially we have hardly even the beginning of an approach to the question by the branches throughout the country.

The question of finding the proper approach to the national

groups is only incidentally and partially a language problem. It is first of all a question of understanding these groups as *communities* bound together by ties of custom, tradition and culture, organically bound up with the *community as a whole*, but having its own special characteristics and problems. It is by no means identical with the *foreign-born* section, which in fact constitutes a distinct minority. The national groups persist even into the third and fourth generations of native-born Americans. Almost the entire population of our country is descended from immigrants, and only in the course of many generations do they dissolve the communities based upon their national origins. This basic truth has long been well-known and well-considered by the old political parties.

Both the Republican and Democratic Parties have long had their organizations of the national groups—Irish-American Democratic Clubs, Italian-American, German-American, Polish-American, and so on. And these organizations of the national groups are a necessary feature of any effective democracy in a nation of such varied origins as our own. Any branch or Section of our Party which fails to take this fully into account, to give the problem the most careful and detailed study, will surely fail to make the most of its opportunities. The national groups and their problems are a major feature of the political and social life of the United States.

Our Party has, from the time of its foundation, correctly recognized the question of the Negro people as being of the same decisive significance in the history of the United States as that of the Irish people has been for Great Britain. Karl Marx, whose bold and fundamental treatment of the Irish question laid the foundations for the modern Leninist-Stalinist policy on the national question, clearly recognized the position of the Negroes in America as occupying the same historic role, when he declared: "Labor with a white skin cannot be free while labor with a black skin is branded."

Our Party is justly proud of its role as "inheritor of the tradition of the early Abolitionists." We have blazed the trail for the modern liberation movement of and for the Negro people, to wipe out the last shameful relics of slavery. It is a matter of pride to us that we are no longer alone, that this

movement is rapidly involving the whole democratic camp. Not only has the great majority of the Negro people itself been aroused, notably through the work of the National Negro Congress, but the white masses, not only in the North but in the very heart of the South, have been awakened to the basic necessity of Negro equality to the health and progress of the whole nation. The recent Southern Conference for Human Welfare, involving the best representatives of all progressive strata of the population, did not shrink from frankly facing and speaking out on the South's key problem of "human welfare" as a part of its rounded-out program for solving "the nation's No. 1 economic problem," as President Roosevelt characterized it. And the Pittsburgh gathering of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, by its energetic actions and future plans for organizing the Negro workers on the basis of complete equality, finally closed the old and shameful chapter of labor's indifference to this question. We of the Communist Party can never forget our pioneer role in this great modern movement for Negro liberation.

We cannot, however, consider that our special tasks are now compelled. There still exist, not only in public life generally but in the labor movement, remnants of the old resistance to the promotion and advancement of the Negro to his proper place of complete equality. We must be eternally vigilant and sensitive to this problem, and while the new developments of the mass movement make progress much easier, and make much less necessary the old tactics of head-on collisions and open struggles, yet it is only the form of the problem that has changed, while the essence is still with us. We must continue in every phase of social and political life to press persistently and stubbornly for the *detailed* working out of an ever-increasingly satisfactory adjustment upward of the position of the Negro people. This problem has by no means been practically solved even in the progressive trade unions, nor in our own Party.

There are some disquieting signs of a relaxation of vigilance within our Party on the Negro question during the last period. We must call for a full reawakening of all our sensitiveness.

In this field a special review must be made of recruiting among the Negroes, and of our promotion and training of Negro leading personnel. On the question of Negro leaders, local, state and national, we must give equal attention to two phases of the question: first, promotion of Negro leaders without mechanically weighing their qualifications for posts of leadership, technically and educationally, as compared with the qualifications of white candidates; and second, having promoted Negroes to leading posts, to give every possible assistance to raising their technical and educational qualifications to the highest level, never to be satisfied until our Negro cadres have gained *not merely formal but actual equality in every respect*.

There is to be seen, in some places among us, a shrinking away from the second phase of this task of promotion which threatens damage also to the first phase. There is too often a tacit exemption of the Negro comrades from the essential process of critical and self-critical evaluation of their work, which is the foundation of all Party advance in every field, and a relegation of this task to small closed circles of the Negro comrades themselves, separate from the rest of the Party. Comrades, let us speak boldly and frankly about such a tendency and call it by its right name—an inverted white chauvinism. When we allow this tendency to develop, we are denying to our Negro comrades the most precious thing the Party brings and must bring to all its members—the constant drive to ever higher levels of accomplishment and achievement. It is true that criticism must always be tempered to the occasion, and that self-criticism is but the measure of the political maturity of the individual exercising it; we must not set up universal standards of criticism to be applied indiscriminately to all without distinction. But the critical process itself is equally necessary for all without distinction, and it is only the form and intensity of criticism that must be adjusted to each particular problem. It is damaging to all of us to slip into a cowardly abandonment of responsible accounting and criticism, according to carefully adjusted standards, of the work of even a few Negro comrades, and damaging most of all to the Negroes themselves.

We have examples enough, and constantly more of them, of the excellent work of our Negro leaders in all fields, to establish

the healthiest socialist emulation to spur the development of all, and to avoid all trace of personal jealousies and groupings. When we express our joy at the outstanding achievements of Comrade Ford, for example, can there be a single Negro comrade or sympathizer who fails to see in this the registration of an achievement for the whole Negro people? When we demonstratively establish the authority of Comrade Ford's words for the entire Party with those of any other leader, and place upon him the same strict responsibilities borne by every other Party spokesman, can anyone fail to recognize in this the actual realization of equality, not only formally and in words, but in fact and in deed, an equality not presented to Comrade Ford but earned by him? And when we speak thus of Comrade Ford, we use him as representative of the dozens and hundreds of rising leaders of American democracy and the labor movement, who will write some of the most brilliant pages of our nation's future history. We have high standards for our Negro comrades and brothers and we will never lower them. Our response to the fact of oppression of the Negro people does not consist in lowering standards, but in recognizing our special duties to make up for long-denied opportunities, and in vigorously breaking down all remnants of the old barriers against the Negro people.

There remains to be briefly noted the pressing problem of making better use of our Party and democratic front newspapers. I will speak but briefly on this, because everyone knows what must be said, but the Party as a whole is not acting effectively according to the plans we have many times discussed and adopted. The newspapers are our most effective weapons among the masses. We cannot possibly consolidate our many gains unless we spread their circulation among all the people among whom we work, and especially among our own members. Additional words from me cannot solve the problem. I raise it for your consideration and action. What do you propose we shall do concretely in the next months to secure a serious increase in our newspaper circulation? We need the answer in specific plans for each state and Section of the Party.

We have all been deeply pleased, in the past few months,

to learn of the progress being made by some of our fraternal parties with which we are in closest practical relations. I will mention a few of these developments.

Our brother Party in Canada has increased its representation in the Toronto city government, won some new positions in Winnipeg in the past few days, and is standing forth as one of the serious factors in Canadian national life. We congratulate our Canadian comrades, and are encouraged in our own work by their achievements.

In Mexico our brother Party is playing an increasingly constructive role in organizing the workers for participation in their national revolution, and in welding the firm unity of the Mexican masses to carry it on to completion. We give them our warmest greetings and best wishes for their continued growth and success.

In Chile, the People's Front initiated by our brother Party registered a magnificent victory in the presidential election on October 25, and has established the first People's Front government on the American continents. Our congratulations and admiration to the comrades of the Communist Party of Chile for their achievements.

In Cuba, our brother Party has emerged from a long-continued and difficult period of illegality, and stands in the forefront of a broad and deep democratic renaissance, which is opening a new day for the Cuban people, and contributing greatly to the anti-fascist unification of all the Americas. Our joyful felicitations to the comrades of the Communist Party of Cuba.

In the Philippine Islands, the Communist Party has emerged from a long existence of illegality, merged with the Socialist Party into a single organization, and held a great convention, adopting a program of national independence, social legislation, and democracy, and cooperation to these ends with the Party of President Quezon. Warm congratulations to our comrades of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands.

Our deepest sentiments of solidarity are with our French brother Party, and the working class of France, in the midst of their historic battle against the treason of Munich and fascist offensive within their own land. By our close relations with

the French Party in the last period we have learned to admire their firm leadership and the iron cohorts of their rank and file, which guarantee victory for French democracy.

We are profoundly moved by the glorious heroism of our brothers in China, and by the magnificent Chinese Communist Party which knew how to forge the unity of the people of their country in the fires of the hell of Japanese military banditry and destruction, a unity which guarantees the final destruction of the aggressors and the victory of Chinese liberation. We will never rest until the whole American people are in effective solidarity with the Chinese people.

Words fail to express the warmth of the greetings which we would send to the Communist Party of Spain, and through it to the whole Spanish people, who stand against superhuman odds holding back the flood of fascist terror from the European democracies and from the Americas. The blood of our own comrades shed on Spanish soil, mingling with that torrent still being shed by our Spanish brothers, has irrevocably bound us together until victory.

With such brother Parties over the world, how could we possibly falter or fail in our own tasks, how could we ever lose confidence in the inevitability of victory? How can we lack the deepest confidence and enthusiasm, when we see and feel the mighty rise of the land of socialism, under the unfaltering leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin? I am sure that I speak for a great and growing section of the working class and democratic masses of our country, and not only the unanimous Communist Party of the United States of America, when I express the warm affection, the deep admiration, the profound trust, which we hold for our teacher, Stalin.

With such brother Parties, with such teachers and leaders, we cannot fail.

## VI. Our Nation and Internationalism: Next Steps in Building the International Front Against Fascism

WE ARE an American Party, composed of American citizens. We view all our problems in the light of the national interests of the United States. The national interests are not the interests of the pro-fascist circles of monopoly capital, of imperialism; they are the interests of the great majority of the people, the workers, the farmers, and the toiling middle classes, whose labor and efforts and sacrifices have formed our nation and built it into the richest and technically most advanced in the world. Our national interests harmonize with those of all other peoples in the world, and clash only with fascist governments and those which capitulate or surrender to fascism. Therefore the national interests of Americans go in the direction of the internationalism of the most advanced thought of mankind.

In the current issue of *The Communist*\* is an article in which I discuss some aspects of this question of the relation of our nation to internationalism. For the sake of saving time, I ask you to consider this article a part of my report, and proceed to consideration of some practical problems.

As an immediate result of the Munich Pact, every important government in the world, including our own, has announced big expansions of the armed forces. Armaments constitute a central question of the day. What must be our attitude toward it?

Prior to the Munich Pact, we declared that a correct peace policy by the United States, which would organize the overwhelmingly preponderant peace forces of the world, could quickly halt and remove the menace of fascist aggression without the necessity of a big armaments program for our country. We opposed the Naval Bill on those grounds, and because it became a substitute for a correct peace policy, and an obstacle

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\* "Concerning American Revolutionary Traditions," *The Communist*, December, 1938.

to the adoption of the correct policy. Now, the failure of the United States to adopt and follow energetically the policy we proposed has borne its fruits in the Munich Pact. Munich enormously increased the fascist menace and brought it to the American continents in an immediate sense.

This argument on armament that was valid before Munich loses its force afterward. Munich is an accomplished fact, with all its awful consequences. We can no longer dismiss the armaments question with the old answer. We cannot deny the possibility, even the probability, that only American arms can preserve the Americas from conquest by the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance. The Munich betrayal shattered not only the possibility that relatively unarmed United States, by material and moral aid, could organize the rest of the peace-loving world to halt the fascist offensive, but also destroyed at one blow the sheltered position of the Americas. The Atlantic Ocean is transformed from a barrier to a broad high-road for the aggressor powers. The Pacific may soon be the same.

An unarmed people stands today as helpless victims for fascist conquest.

A fascist world can be prevented only, in the words of the Manifesto of the Communist International on November 7, *"with the aid of such governments which are ready to use armed force in the defense of the liberty and independence of their peoples."* Only on this basis *"it will be possible for a firm front of the peoples to arise which will compel the fascist aggressors to respect frontiers and keep the peace."*

It will be necessary to clear away all remnants of the pacifist rubbish of opposing war by surrender to the warmakers. Because for so many years the revolutionary working class consistently opposed, and correctly so, all appropriations for armaments and military establishments of all sorts, we inevitably were associated with the pacifist elements in some common actions, the peace-at-any-price individuals and groups who have today become Hitler's best allies. Some of their ideas seeped into and poisoned small circles of the labor movement for a time. The time has come to clear away all remnants of this degenerate influence.

Norman Thomas, in common with the most reactionary

ideologists in the country, propagates a most vicious form of this pacifist degeneracy, when he argues that a democracy is incapable of defending itself against aggression, that faced with war it must choose between surrender to the fascists without or the fascists within, that in the very effort to defend itself democracy is transformed into fascism. This pacifist defeatism was made to order for the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance; if they could only persuade the rest of the world to agree with Norman Thomas, their job would be done.

Fortunately, the influence of Thomas and all his kind is rapidly melting away, instead of increasing, so there is still hope in the world. The fundamental instinct of democracy is toward peace, it abhors war, but when it must fight for its life it is more capable of sustained struggle than any reactionary dictatorship, struggle simultaneously against its enemies within and without, at home and abroad. That is the main lesson of our own nation's history, not to go further afield for historical examples. The War of Independence, 1776-1783, was not chosen by the American people, but when it was forced upon them, they founded the first great modern democracy as a result. Despite Norman Thomas' sneering remarks to discredit the United States in the War of 1812, and the national anthem that was born in it, that was another defensive war for the **maintenance of democracy and national independence**, without which American progress would have been stultified. American democracy did not choose the Civil War, but when it was forced by the slave-power, its outcome in victory for the North was a victory for freedom all over the world, while a surrender to the South would have been a crushing blow against progress here and everywhere. And, today, the Spanish and Chinese peoples are giving a remarkable demonstration of how democracy can expand and grow in the very fires of a just war for national independence. No, the arguments of Norman Thomas are a vicious falsification of the lessons of history, arguments whose only practical conclusions are answers to the most fervent prayers of Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado.

Our first conclusion must be, therefore, that in the world situation after Munich we cannot adopt a negative position to the question of armaments.

Neither can we, however, meet the new situation with a simple affirmative. No matter how much the situation has changed, it still remains true—more true than ever—that armaments are no substitute for a positive peace policy, for a correct approach and active role in organizing the world against the war-makers and therefore for peace. The question is not: are we for armaments, yes or no; it is the more complicated question, "Armaments, for what?" If it is for the defense of the liberty and independence of our own and other peoples, yes, emphatically yes! But the people must learn to make its "Yes" a power for securing guarantees that the armaments will be for that purpose and for no other.

Armaments in themselves provide no safeguard against fascist conquest. Spain had arms and an army, but it was precisely this army which was seized from within by the agents of the fascist invaders, and turned into the executioner of the Spanish people. Let us not too quickly congratulate ourselves in the United States that the same thing "can't happen here." It is only a few weeks since the Secretary of War of our own country found it necessary to note as "treasonable" the public utterances of an army general who had just retired from active service and begun to talk publicly for the first time. It would be very interesting to know how many of the general's brother officers agree with his treasonable views. But we have no way to find out. And the thought makes us very uneasy of increasing the powers of these officers. It is necessary to find democratic guarantees for our armed forces, if they are to be relied upon in meeting the fascist menace. It is necessary to cleanse the armed forces and governmental apparatus of all fascist agents and sympathizers.

To stand up against the advancing fascist alliance, to call it to a halt, is a much bigger and more dangerous job after Munich than it would have been before. Perhaps there are persons who will raise the question: is it worth while? Could we not, by following Chamberlain's policy, come to an acceptable bargain with the fascist powers?

Of course the great mass of the people, the workers, farmers and middle classes, cannot and will not even ask such questions. For them the issue is settled that they will resist

fascism to the last breath. But some sections of our upper classes *are* asking themselves these questions, and seriously leaning toward surrender to foreign fascism, while the most reactionary circles still dream of a native American fascism. Even these gentlemen, however, should begin to understand that if Hitler's hordes once get their foothold in rich America, their voracious appetites will grow with the eating and with little delay they will come to have less respect for an American bourgeois than they now show for a Jewish doctor in Germany. It will do no good for the American bourgeoisie to plead with Hitler that they are good "aryans"; the Nazis long ago learned to provide Jewish pedigrees for anyone who either resists them or holds any property they want to take; they have impartially presented both President Roosevelt and myself with Jewish family trees and what they can do for us they can do also for a Rockefeller or a Morgan or even a Ford. For by that time they will be world conquerers.

It is the purest humanitarianism, therefore, to point out even to the American bourgeoisie that self-interest does not lie in accommodation to Hitler; accommodation must be followed by surrender, and it is not pleasant to visualize what would happen to soft and flabby American millionaires when they are at the mercy of Hitler's gang of hardened cutthroats. But then, I'm afraid that American upper-income groups have an invincible prejudice against accepting advice from the Communists, so there is very little we can do for them directly, except to do everything we can to guarantee that the United States will not go their road, but rather the democratic and anti-fascist road of the majority of the people.

When the United States has thoroughly made up its mind to stand out against the fascist alliance, the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis and its Chamberlain-Daladier annex, then the question is, how to do a quick and thorough job of it. Do we want to do it alone, or do we want all the help we can get?

The simplest kind of common sense seems to require that the American people gather all the assistance possible. Most people will agree to that.

Who will be willing to stand with the United States?

Following the steps of thought of American spokesmen of

the day, we turn first to the Americas. The Lima Conference that opens soon is openly discussed as the first step to organize the Americas against the fascist invasion. Good, so far as it goes, and every anti-fascist must wish the conference well. But we must warn that it will not go very far unless a few points of policy are thoroughly established: (1) that every trace of the old "dollar diplomacy," of the old "Yankee imperialism," be washed out of the "good neighbor policy" which Roosevelt has been developing; (2) that we do not forget that we need *unity of the American democracies*, while in many Latin American countries the *democracies* are suppressed and their leaders in jail or exile, which is the main reason for Hitler's successes there; (3) that the United States diplomatic and consular staff in Latin America, which is the instrument for executing United States policy in practice, shall be cleansed of its fascist sympathizers, notorious perverts and simple incompetents. If these three points are considered and acted upon, the Lima Conference could be a serious beginning to organize the world against the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis.

Canada is a separate question. That nation is orientated mainly upon the United States in the biggest questions of world policy, but is still closely bound to the Empire, and therefore to Chamberlain, by economic interest and political tradition. And Chamberlain, profoundly uneasy at the repercussions of President Roosevelt's promise of protection to Canada, is hustling off the King and Queen for a hurried trip to Canada to revive the "Empire spirit" that began to droop after Munich. But geography is more potent than titles, and Canada is more American than Imperial, and it is not too optimistic to expect our Northern neighbor to join the United States in the anti-fascist front—once we demonstrate that we are organizing it in earnest.

Once the Americas are lined up against "peaceful penetration," intrigues and conspiracies, the next question is: can it be protected from armed aggression? Before Munich this was "music of the future," but after Munich it is an immediate question. If Hitler gets his African colonies and crushes the Spanish Republic, he will have naval bases much closer to Latin America than is New York. If Japan keeps her hold on

China, and gets the new capital Chamberlain has promised her, she is all set for the next move in the Pacific, seizure of the Philippines, Guam and Alaska, after which she will be ready for her share of Latin America. We have two oceans, but a one-ocean navy; military experts are very pessimistic about the possibility of keeping the Panama Canal open in case of war; and the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis has secured the neutrality if not the cooperation of the British navy so long as Chamberlain is in power. Clearly, defense of the Americas is a big job, and we need still more help to be sure of success. Where can we get it?

First of all, there is the Spanish Republic, which despite Chamberlain, is still alive and fighting heroically and effectively. If the U. S. would simply live up to its treaty obligations to Spain, and to international law, lift the embargo and open our markets to the republic—then the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis would be halted by the destruction of their agent Franco, would lose its prospective Atlantic bases, and would lose its cultural and social leverage upon Latin America of a fascist Spain. Food for Spain from America's surplus will help solve a domestic problem, and an open market for Spain will save that land for the world front of the democracies.

Clearly, if the United States wants to protect the Americas, it must adopt this minimum aid to Spain.

If Chamberlain and Daladier remain in power, however, the U. S. still stands alone among the great powers, while its tasks grow heavier. We must, therefore, exert our influence to rouse the British and French people to break with the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, and establish governments that will cooperate with us and not with the fascists. That means we must work with the Peace Coalition in Britain, the potential bloc of the anti-fascist Conservatives, the Liberals and the Labor Party, and pledge our help to them if they set up an anti-fascist government. That means we must work with the Front Populaire in France, the anti-Daladier Radicals, the Socialists, the Communists and the great French labor movement which has just called Daladier to account in the glorious general strike, and promise them our help when they set up the new government of the People's Front.

If Japan is not halted in the Far East, however, she may still upset the appletart for the United States and turn the scales against us; she may go further and step over the line that divides the Far East from the Far West. But Japan cannot do this while the Chinese people are still fighting. And the Chinese people will fight much better if the United States cut off the supplies with which Japan is conducting her war of conquest. And the Chinese people will fight to victory and independence, if the U. S. would grant them big credits, which China could use to put our unemployed millions to work producing the things she needs for her battle.

Clearly, if the U. S. wants to protect the Americas, it must adopt this minimum aid to China.

But still, with all this, the U. S. will continue to stand alone among the great powers of the world. Is there no other power that can be called to assist the great task of halting fascist world conquest?

Yes, there is another great power. It is the Soviet Union, the greatest power in the world next to the United States.

The United States must face and answer the question: Do we want the Soviet Union on our side in the fight to prevent the current war from engulfing all nations?

Will the United States, and everything that it stands for in the world, be stronger or weaker if it has the cooperation of the Soviet Union, a cooperation based entirely upon clearly-defined *mutual interests*, the guarantee of mutual respect, and the principles of international order?

Only a blind fool could deny that the United States would be stronger, that its role in the world would be much greater, that its national interests would be more secure, if it were working in collaboration with the great power of the Soviet Union.

I am not a spokesman for the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is not, as the slanderous demagogue Martin Dies charges, "an agency of Moscow." But I am an American as well as a Communist, and with the whole American Party, I can and do claim the Soviet Union as the reliable friend of our nation and our people, and propose in the American national interest that we should seek the coopera-

tion of the Soviet Union in the world crisis in which we find ourselves.

The Soviet Union speaks for herself. She does not need my voice to explain her position on world issues. But I, as an American, have the right and duty to point out to our fellow-citizens of the United States that the Soviet Union has explicitly laid down the basis for such cooperation with our nation and our government.

*Izvestia*, official newspaper of the Soviet Union, recently declared:

“At the moment when the greatest discord and confusion exist in the international arena, there is complete clarity between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, which is capable of serving as a basis for further deepening these relations in the interests of world peace. . . .

“The United States must, of course, choose its own future foreign policy. Firmly and purposefully the Soviet Union continues to follow its chosen path of active defense of peace and a consistent struggle against aggression. Both countries may still meet each other on this path, and this would have a most beneficial influence on the international situation.”

From this side of the United States, the “complete clarity” that exists between the two countries was attested when President Roosevelt sent a friendly message of greeting to President Kalinin on the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the Soviet government.

Two governments, the most powerful in the world, finding their relationship one of the most “complete clarity” and friendliness, are facing the world crisis of a universal fascist aggression while the other great powers are retreating or surrendering; both these great powers are fully determined to defend at all costs their own territories and those neighbors to whom they have accepted obligations; both these great powers are fully devoted to restoration of international order, the inviolability of national boundaries, and the sanctity of treaties.

It is clear that this situation demands the conscious cooperation of the two great powers for their common aims. It is demanded by the national interests of both, and by the in-

terests of all oppressed and suffering humanity. It is demanded for the continued existence of civilization itself.

The same approach to the problem for all peoples of the world was expressed in the recent Manifesto of the Communist International, when it said:

“Only through the medium of an alliance of peoples conducting a self-sacrificing struggle for the cause of peace is it possible to thwart the criminal plans of the war instigators. A defense cordon of armed peoples who have joined their forces with the great Soviet people will doom fascism to impotence and will hasten its defeat and inevitable ruin.”

This foreign policy for the United States is only simple common-sense. It is a policy which appeals to the needs and the instincts of the American people. It is a policy which needs only to be stated clearly before the masses of the people to obtain their universal endorsement.

This policy is in the direct line of the best traditions of American history. The United States stood in the forefront of world progress and democracy in 1776, despite all difficulties and hardships, with a heroism that formed our basic national character. The United States stood up against world reaction in the War of 1812, and confirmed her democracy and national independence. The United States led world progress in the Civil War of 1861-65, when it wiped out the slave-power and opened the continent for democratic development.

The spirit of Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln has not departed from the American people. In that spirit we will take our place in the forefront of progress today, facing all the storms aroused by the evil spirits of reaction, shoulder our responsibilities of organizing the world for peace and progress. And the Communist Party will be in the front ranks of the American people in this struggle.

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