
THE DOMESTIC REACTIONARY COUNTER-PART OF THE WAR POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE

BY EARL BROWDER

(Selection from the report by the General Secretary, in behalf of the National Committee, to the Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, held in New York, May 30 to June 2, 1940.)

UNDER the slogan of "national Unity" the economic royalists and their agents are rallying the entire bourgeoisie against the working class and toiling masses, they are splitting the nation into two camps with a decisiveness that has never before been witnessed. They are making united war against the labor movement, against the living and working standards of the masses, and against popular civil rights. This is the domestic policy which inevitably accompanies an imperialist war policy. President Roosevelt, assuming the leadership of the war party, has thereby also assumed the leadership of domestic reaction. The New Deal chapter of progressive social legislation, always fragmentary and lacking consistency, has now definitely closed.

The Roosevelt regime was inaugurated almost simultaneously with that of Hitler in Germany. Both arose from the same deep and catastrophic economic crisis of the capi-

talist world system, and the impossibility of finding any way out by "normal" means. *They took different paths*, because the German bourgeoisie had united, with British support, upon the course of open brutal dictatorship to suppress the home population and intense preparation for foreign wars; whereas the American bourgeoisie split after a short period when it was in doubt which way Roosevelt was moving; the most reactionary section went in the Hitler direction while a "liberal" section rallied the masses to its support for a "liberal experiment" in progressive domestic and foreign policy to meet the crisis, which came to be identified as the "New Deal" and the "Good Neighbor" policies. Both of these are now dead. The Rooseveltism of the New Deal has capitulated to the reactionaries. A new Roosevelt is again bosom friends with that evil old man Garner and his friends. The new Roosevelt course is essen-

tially for America the same direction which Hitler gave for Germany in 1933. Unless it is halted, and a different course charted for our country, it can only have a similarly catastrophic end. In the name of the fight against Hitlerism, the American bourgeoisie boldly strikes out on the path of imitation. Its period of appeasement of the people has ended. Monopoly capital, dominating our society, has in the end no other answer to the questions raised by the crisis and breakdown of its economic system than that given in the past years by its European class brothers. It is the answer of black reaction and war.

But from 1935 up to the outbreak of the imperialist war, a section of the bourgeoisie, in a loose sort of coalition with labor, the poorer farmers, the Negroes, the youth, the unemployed, *had tried to lead the United States on a different path, the path of social reform and concessions to the masses, with peaceful and conciliatory relations with Latin America and the rest of the world.* That was the period of the New Deal, in which the obsolete and disintegrating old party structure had largely dissolved into two new camps—the New Deal and the anti-New Deal—in *which American newspapers and the economic royalists were almost as fierce in their hatred of Roosevelt as they are now of the Communists.*

How long ago that period seems now! Yet, when we check up with the calendar, it was less than a year ago that Roosevelt was accused of being a Red, or at least a "Communist stooge" and an agent of Moscow. It is only somewhat more than

a year ago that a solemn Senate Committee gravely demanded to know of Mr. Felix Frankfurter, prominent New Dealer, if he were a member of the Communist Party, and only upon his equally grave reply that he was not, unanimously confirmed him to life membership in the Supreme Court. Less than a year ago that Martin Dies was a deadly enemy of the Administration of which he is today the ideological and political vanguard. Less than a year ago that Elliot Roosevelt was publicly panning papa on the radio and boosting papa's most virulent enemy in the Democratic Party; but now papa has won son's endorsement for a third term for uniting with son's employers. Less than ten months ago in fact; but so much water has run under the bridge in that time that it seems like ten years!

Today it is no longer any more than her usual jump ahead of her political camp when Dorothy Thompson, the unique and inimitable, plumps for a third term for Roosevelt on Republican and Democratic tickets with Wendell Willkie as his running-mate! Yes, it is unquestionably the same Dorothy. Only the times have changed, and the alignment of classes, and the bourgeoisie is at war—war among their different governments and war against the working class and toiling masses everywhere!

Today there are eighty-five trade unions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations *indicted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, for conspiracy to organize the workers of their industries.* Ben Gold,

Irving Potash, and a dozen associates of the Fur Workers Union have been sentenced to long prison terms. Twenty-five teamsters of Local 807, American Federation of Labor, were convicted and some of them face as high as forty-one years' imprisonment for striving for union conditions and standards. The first time in history that *any one* has ever been sentenced to prison under this law adopted generations ago! And the proceedings are brought by the Roosevelt Administration, heading a united bourgeoisie, with the economic royalists a solidly cheering group in the foreground!

The great transformation began to develop systematically and swiftly, at the opening of the imperialist war. A simple little reservation to the declaration of American neutrality toward this war—that “we” could not all agree to be “neutral in thought”—started an endless chain of cause and effect that has culminated in a complete regroupment in American politics and brought the United States to the brink of plunging headlong into the most senseless and destructive war in the history of the world.

“Fifty thousand airplanes” is the slogan which opened up the 1940 Presidential campaign. For what? The answer is a solemn recital of the flying time of various air-schedules into the United States, culminating in the information that from Tampico, Mexico, it is only two-and-a-half hours to Omaha and Kansas City. But Lindbergh was only stating a matter of common knowledge and common sense, whatever his political motive, which is open to question, when he said

that no possible enemy could invade the United States by air, and that the United States cannot possibly be involved in war except by its own seeking. For what, then the fifty thousand airplanes and the multiplied billions for the Army and Navy? What, then, is the significance of time schedule of air flights?

Peoples of the twenty Latin American countries will stir uneasily as they reflect that the air time-tables work both ways! The whole world knows of “Wrong-way” Corrigan, and that he is an American national hero! There is no power which could conceivably invade the United States by air, but fifty thousand military airplanes in the United States with as many young Corriganes at the controls would be as heavy a sword over the head of Latin America as twelve thousand planes in Germany were for the last years over the head of Europe. The Mexican people must be pondering deeply over the meaning of the mention of Tampico, principal point of distribution of the Mexican oil industry, regarding which the United States Government is making demands which the Mexican Government has rejected as infringing upon Mexican integrity and independence. Fifty thousand airplanes become full of meaning for the Latin American peoples, who can now see the three hundred-mile neutrality zone around the continents as a claim staked out by Yankee imperialism.

What do the fifty thousand airplanes mean to the people of the Pacific, of the Far East? Will the news bring comfort to the four hundred million population of China,

who during eight years have suffered much more than Europe all the horrors of modern military invasion, the loss of all their seacoast and large cities, the death of ten millions, with famine for hundreds of millions? No, it will not comfort the Chinese, for they will remember that over the eight years *the Japanese invaders have carried on only with the supplies furnished by the United States*; that the American conscience has stirred but faintly under the vast profits gained from this trade; that Washington became excited and raised the slogan of fifty thousand planes, in relation to the Far East, only when the future of the rubber, oil, and tin of the Dutch East Indies became an open question. Fifty thousand planes registers an American imperialist claim on the Dutch East Indies.

Greenland, Iceland, the Caribbean islands, these are but the small change in the great gamble of world redivision and world empire into which Roosevelt is leading the American people.

But this bald program of imperialist territorial aggrandizement overseas cannot secure the support of the American people. It is therefore not directly propagandized; it is even indignantly denied. Once the United States is "at war," however, the tail would go with the hide without any possibility of mass criticism. The problem of American imperialism is therefore one of getting the country into war, on any or every pretext, and then their program will have no effective opposition, so they think. How to get into the war; that is the question for our ruling circles.

The United States is already in the war morally and economically as a non-belligerent ally of England and France. But the profits from war trade prove painfully disappointing in volume, and do not keep pace with the losses from deepening economic crisis. Further, as a non-belligerent it is still impossible to abolish at one stroke all social legislation and trade union safeguards, still impossible to conscript labor, still impossible to implement those beautiful M-day plans, which are the imperialist ideal of heaven on earth. All the irksome problems of "disciplining" unruly labor, of dissolving all "democratic nonsense" in the country, could be so easily cut through with the sword of belligerency, of official entrance into the war!

This, not sympathy with the "democracies" which have turned dictatorships overnight, is the main driving force impelling the American bourgeoisie into the war. But that sympathy, which exists among the masses together with a hatred of Hitlerism, is counted upon to undermine and overcome the even more clear and emphatic determination among the masses to keep out of this war. This is being strengthened by studied incitations to hysterical fear of the safety of America in the war-torn world. Truly America is in danger, but the bourgeoisie is determined to hide the real danger, which is the danger of being dragged into the war on the Allied side, and the danger of indigenous fascism which springs directly from the economic royalists, from Wall Street. The masses are to be frightened by the specter of invasion from abroad,

to accept the yoke of military dictatorship wielded by the economic royalists at home.

This course is all the more acceptable to our American ruling classes, since they also have interests in the European war which they can better advance through a belligerent position. They want Britain to win—not too quickly and not too cheaply, of course! They foresee the British Empire coming out of this war in such a position of dependency upon the American Empire as formerly the Dutch bore toward Britain, or that to which the French had been reduced in the last few years. The British Empire is an “inheritance” which the American imperialists would therefore not like to see dispersed, although they are not displeased to see Uncle John Bull in poor health. But above all the American ruling class interest in Europe is to do everything possible to check and prevent the outbreak of popular upheavals, which bear the danger of leading directly to the socialist revolution in one or more European countries. *Fear of revolutionary upheaval in Europe, and the determination to hold it down by all means is the most powerful general motive driving the American ruling circles toward entrance into the war as a belligerent. Capitalism must be preserved at all costs in Europe if Wall Street is to feel safe in America. That is what the American newspapers and statesmen mean when they say, “In Europe they are fighting our battles for us, and we must help them.”*

This is the world outlook and program upon which the economic royalists and their political henchmen

are united. This is the basis for unity of the bourgeoisie, which takes place so rapidly before our eyes after years of split and the most bitter struggles. It is a unity against labor and the masses at home, against the weaker and dependent countries and for the Allied imperialists as against the German in the war. But it is only a relative unity within which their own quarrels grow more bitter. It is not yet a unity of leadership and method in the struggle for these goals. Our ruling classes have not thoroughly modernized their instruments of rule, and fall into some confusion in driving toward what they want. Let us turn to an examination of the alignment of candidates, parties, and issues in the 1940 Presidential elections, the waves and froth on the surface of our political seas, which express that confusion.

Issues and Parties in the 1940 Elections

The dissolution and merging of the New Deal and anti-New Deal political camps have wiped out all previous perspectives for the 1940 elections, as we analyzed the question at our Tenth National Convention, and at our National Committee meetings in May and September of last year. All that is now ancient history, fully valid for its time, but as obsolete today as a first model Ford automobile.

The traditional two old major political parties have again emerged to the foreground, but representing less than ever before a division on real issues and political currents of American life. The Republican and

Democratic Parties exist as the two arms of a common set of rulers, the economic royalists, and can have no serious struggle for power between them except within the limits set for them by their common masters. At the same time the lower leadership and apparatus of these parties constitute a special interest, the "Ins" to preserve the rich spoils of office (not something to be sneezed at, and all in all rivaling some of the larger industries in financial values), and the "Outs," moved by a desperate hunger to get back in the public trough again. Since Roosevelt decapitated and dispersed the New Deal coalition, these old parties are prancing over the political stage, confident that they will run the show between them, whichever gets the principal role, and that the masses will not be able to obtrude themselves on the stage but must remain as audience and payer of the bills.

The workers, farmers, toiling middle classes, Negroes, youth, the great bulk of the voting population, are profoundly dissatisfied with conditions, and with the policies of government. They are almost unanimously for staying out of the war. At least a third of them are consciously independent of both major parties, perhaps even so much as half; while the great majority have only the most formal and traditional party attachments. Yet the independent and dissatisfied masses have no common instrument of political expression; they have never learned (except small minorities and a few localities) to express their independence except through swinging back and forth between the two

established major parties. Moves in the direction of mass political independence are organized only incompletely; Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Farmers Union and other farm organizations, the Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress, various regional and local movements under various names, all together constitute a formidable nucleus of a third major party; but even if fully united and mobilized would face in 1940 the enormous handicaps of American election laws which give a practical monopoly of election rights to the old established parties. It is this condition which gives such arrogance to the ruling class in control of Republican and Democratic Party leadership, and makes them feel free to defy mass demands and sentiments even in the face of an impending Presidential election.

The crisis in America and the world has created a situation analogous in its outlines to that of 1856, when the dominant Whig and Democratic Parties were equally divorced from the masses and in agreement to thwart their will—a situation which gave birth to the Republican Party, a new party, a third party, which began as a desperate minority movement but swept to power in the nation four years later under Abraham Lincoln, solving the crisis through the abolition of slavery and victory of the Union in the Civil War.

The masses of the United States cry out for such a new party, for a modern Abraham Lincoln, as the only road toward the solution of the crisis of today, the crisis of the breakdown of capitalism, the crisis

of imperialist war that threatens destruction to the world.

It is the threat of emergence of such a third party, despite all difficulties, which is the only curb on the unbridled arrogance of the economic royalists who rule both old parties. It is this which holds them back from enthusiastic adoption of Dorothy Thompson's coalition ticket of Roosevelt and Willkie. It is this which preserves the forms of political struggle between the two parties and which, unorganized and unprepared as it is, might conceivably become the hole in the reactionary dike through which the stream of mass resistance to war and reaction might break.

Roosevelt has captured complete control of the Democratic Party machinery which had escaped him when he was still a New Dealer. He has made it the war party of a consistent and energetic drive to war on all fronts. The Republican Party is more immediately and completely the instrument, the servant, of the economic royalists, but because it is known as such it cannot possibly be so useful for war-times as Roosevelt and the Democrats. Roosevelt performs a similar service for the American ruling class to that which the British Labor Party performs in the new Churchill Cabinet for the British ruling class—he brings the mass support that clings from past associations with labor and progressive causes, together with fanatic consecration to the imperialist war with all its consequences. The British rulers would be more comfortable with a Cabinet of diehard Tories, but they

wouldn't be nearly as successful in war; the American rulers would be more comfortable with a Dewey, Taft, Vandenberg, or Willkie, but again they would not be nearly as successful in war. That is why Park Avenues and Wall Street, where hatred of Roosevelt was a cult, have taken the President to their bosom again. He is no longer the "traitor to his class." The betting odds in favor of a third term are steadily rising.

That is not to say that everything is cut and dried. Many things can happen between now and November, for the current of history is running at a terrific speed. There are speculations in high bourgeois circles that there might be a quick peace in Europe—which would mean a peace highly undesirable to Wall Street, a combination of British-German imperialisms directed immediately against American imperialist interests, with a possible Japanese attachment to double its effectiveness. That would mean the probable defeat of Roosevelt. In these catastrophic days we must not be surprised at even the most surprising transformations. We must learn to expect the unexpected, without committing ourselves to speculations. There are but few fixed and stable points in the world. The recent seizure of power in France by the Cagoulard, General Weygand, gives point to Duff Cooper's warning about a French move for a separate peace.

Within the limits imposed by the basic agreed policy of the bourgeoisie, the Republican and Democratic Parties will probably display

a shade of difference on the question of American entry into the war, which will be a real difference. Both will, of course, protest that they want to keep America out, but that we are being dragged in against the unanimous will of the country. That is one of the established techniques of going to war. Both will support the huge armaments program, which they will both call defense, but which has no meaning except for fighting abroad. But the Republicans are still undecided whether they shall appear as *more* warlike than Roosevelt, or *less so*; but since the first will really be very difficult indeed, and the second will be much more productive of votes, the chances are strongly in favor of the Republicans taking a position a shade less warlike than the Democrats. After all, the real decisions will always be made by the same interests anyway, and the Republicans are the "Outs" who want to be "In"!

A real difference within the ruling classes—a difference of *tendency*—may thus be reflected in the two parties. Roosevelt places first the considerations of saving European capitalism from collapse, and even subordinates some immediate considerations of American imperialist advancement to this aim. The Republicans agree with this aim, but whenever it may seem to conflict with some immediate extension of American control over the world, they would be inclined to sacrifice their class brothers in Britain and France. What Lindbergh expresses as a definite system of thought, the Republican Party tends to reflect as

an undeveloped tendency, a shade, a tone, of difference with Roosevelt.

In the field of domestic policy, both Republicans and Democrats are fully agreed to scrap all labor and social legislation as much as possible, to militarize labor, to drastically curb civil liberties, to lower the standard of living of the masses. They will disagree as to method. The Republicans will want to do it more openly, frankly, and brutally; the Democrats want to do it sorrowfully, with many tears, pointing with pride to the New Deal, promising solemnly that it will all be restored "after the emergency has passed," or even that it will not be done at all, and that "labor" will be "represented" in Washington, and blaming it all on the wicked foreign aggressors. The net result adds up to about the same amount.

That about sums up the differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties. Tweedledum and Tweedledee are back again in their original act, somewhat more tawdry and shopworn, but the same old team. The Gold Dust Twins of Wall Street are all set to do their stuff. The workers, farmers, and toiling middle classes will again be given the opportunity to choose whether Dum or Dee shall administer the policies of starvation, oppression and war, and will be asked to enthuse over the choice. Meanwhile the hysterical clamor about the "fifth column" is preparing the necessary "atmosphere."

Who is the "fifth column"?

We must not make a mistake of identity. The newspapers say that in England the hysteria about the

"fifth column" and "parachute" troops became so confusing that some villagers caught and murdered several officers of the Royal Air Force, whom they mistook for alien enemies.

It is very important for the American people to know who are the hidden force—the enemies of the freedom of our country that are concealed among us and actively working to our country's undoing. Surely we ought to know what the "fifth column" is.

This expression "fifth column" came into use at the time of the Spanish civil war. It meant, and it always means, the concealed enemies of the people, the reactionaries, the groups opposed to the interests of the majority of the people, and therefore compelled to conceal their real character from the people. But there are certain easily recognized marks of the "fifth column."

First: They will be found secretly or openly sowing the seed of race prejudice—the seeds of Negro baiting and anti-Semitism—or, at least, secretly connected with those who do spread such prejudice in order to debauch the people.

Second: They will be found always composed of strike-breaking, anti-labor elements; they always smell of the strike-breaking underworld, subsidized by big business.

Third: The "fifth column" is always connected with the centers of great wealth that are interested in making or provoking war. Remember that always: The "fifth column" is always of the war party and never in friendly relations with anyone who is sincerely and in-

telligently working for peace.

And lastly: There has never been a case in Spain or France or Austria or Belgium or Czechoslovakia or Poland or America or anywhere else, where the "fifth column" did not hate as its first enemy the Communist Party and the trade unions of the working class.

So who are the "fifth column" in the United States?

Undoubtedly, the first name we think of is Martin Dies, the protector and employer of so many professional anti-Semitic and fascist agents, including the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite provocateurs, in his un-American activities.

Undoubtedly, also, we cannot but think of the fact that the Roosevelt Administration, in assuming leadership of the war party, and taking over the whole policy and probably also the personnel of Mr. Dies' un-American machine, inevitably will function as the most effective organizer of the "fifth column." This is evident from Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, in which he tries to stimulate pro-war groupings among the vast majority of the American people who are opposed to war. It is also the corollary of Mr. Roosevelt's, Mr. Jackson's and Mr. Arnold's present nationwide drive against the unions.

They are the "Ins"; but what about the "Outs"?

Tweedledum, in power, may be more effective, but Tweedledee—the Republican Party leadership—has a long and evil-smelling record of direct connection with practically the entire body of the corrupt underworld, of fascism, anti-Semitism and the agent-provocateur.

Proof of a tie-up between the Republican National Committee and various fascist and anti-Semitic organizations and leaders is to be found in the financial reports filed under compulsion of the Corrupt Practices Act. Various notorious fascists and fascist organizations have received large sums in the form of direct payments of money from the Republican National Committee. Such avowed super-patriotic fascists as Walter S. Steele, president of the so-called American Coalition of Patriotic Societies; Sidney Brooks, one of the founders of the Order of '76; Harry Jung, president of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation; Felix McWhirter, of the American Nationalists, and others, have found money support from the Republican National Committee. So, too, have certain fascist organizations like the National Union and the Volunteers. The famous undercover spy, Harold Lord Varney, who was so successful as an *agent-provocateur* in the I.W.W., received large sums of money from the treasury of the Republican National Committee.

But not the worst of it is shown by direct payments from the Committee treasury. During the 1936 election campaign *fourteen fascist organizations received \$924,974.84 from nine leading Republican families.* The Crusaders, the Minute Men and Women of Today, the New York State Economic Council, the Sentinels of the Republic—these are fascist recipients of this huge sums of nearly a million dollars.

The du Pont family gave \$356,-667.68, the Pitcairn family of the

Auto-Giro Company and coal companies gave \$100,250; J. P. Morgan and associates donated \$68,226; the Mellon associates, \$60,752.55; the Rockefeller associates \$49,852.56 and E. F. Hutton and associates \$40,671.28, all to subsidize a "fifth column" for anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-labor, anti-democratic, anti-peace, anti-Communist underground activity in the United States.

Raymond Pitcairn gave the Sentinels of the Republic \$91,000 while his brother Harold contributed a petty \$5,000 and the good Rev. Theodore Pitcairn donated \$3,500. Of the \$924,000 contributed by these nine families almost half went to the Crusaders and the Sentinels, two openly avowed fascist organizations. The Crusaders received \$227,856.11 and the Sentinels, \$140,820.

The Crusaders received other contributions from other leading Republican industrialists. From:

James F. Bell, Chairman of the Board of General Mills	\$6,876.27
Walter Chrysler, Chrysler Auto	876.27
H. B. Earhart, Vacuum Oil Co.	3,376.27
Howard Heinz, Heinz Pickle Co. and director of Mellon Bank.....	5,876.27
George A. Houston, President, Baldwin Locomotive Co.	876.27
George H. Mead, President, News Print Importing Co.	876.27
F. A. Merrick, President, Westinghouse	876.27
E. T. Weir, President, Weirton Steel Co.....	10,126.27

Walter S. Steele, editor and publisher of the notorious fascist and anti-Semitic organ, *National Republic*, has been on the payroll of the Republican National Committee for years.

Steele is the president of the American Coalition Committee on National Security, an organization composed of 114 so-called patriotic organizations such as the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, American Women Against Communism, Associated Farmers, Minute Men of America, Better America Federation, etc., etc. He is in constant touch with the leaders of these anti-labor, anti-Semitic, fascist organizations.

In the *Congressional Record* of February 17, 1939, pages 2237-38, there appears Congressman Sabbath's expose of Steele's connections with the Silver Shirts, with the anti-Semitic, fascist Col. Sanctuary, head of the American Christian Defenders (Sanctuary is a member of the advisory board of Steele's *National Republic*); with George Sylvester Viereck, the known Nazi agent; with Harry Jung, notorious labor spy.

The Republican National Committee's report of election expenditures on file with the Clerk of the House in Washington shows that the Republican National Committee has paid out to Steele's fascist, anti-Semitic magazine large sums of money for alleged "printing and supplies." In 1932 the Committee paid \$19,569.63. In the next Presidential campaign, that of 1936, the Republican National Committee paid \$18,883.65.

Another on the payroll of the Republican National Committee is Sidney Brooks. His salary was \$312.50 per month, plus \$104.17 allowance per month, plus expenses.

This Sidney Brooks was one of the founders of the Order of '76, an anti-Semitic, fascist organization. He is the son of Edwin Emerson, Nazi propagandist and agent who had his office in the German consulate office at 17 Battery Place, New York. The total payments to Brooks in 1934 when he was organizing the Order of '76 was \$8,604.30.

During the 1936 campaign the Republican National Committee paid to one S. Jones, an ex-reporter, \$3,000 per month and expenses. From May 26, 1936, until October 31, 1936, they paid Jones a total of \$14,895.44. Jones, an intimate of William Dudley Pelley, James True and other fascists, acted as pay-off man to various fascists for their services to the Republican Party.

The financial reports of the Republican National Committee further show payments of \$5,000 made to the Volunteers, a fascist organization with headquarters in Chicago.

The reports show payments made to Harry Jung individually and to his organization, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. Jung is connected with the leading fascists in this country and sells the *Protocols of Zion* at 15 cents apiece, or 10 cents in bundle lots.

The reports show payments made to the National Union, a fascist organization with headquarters in Springfield, Mass.; to Harold Lord Varney, to Felix McWhirter, treas-

urer of the Republican State Committee of Indiana. McWhirter has been associated in his fascist activities with such leading fascists as Dudley Gilbert of the American Nationalists, James E. Campbell and General Moseley.

Many of these persons are recognized as agents of Nazism, even by Martin Dies, who does his best to protect them and use them against the labor movement.

It is true these "fifth column" groups reached their highest development in fighting against the New Deal, but the Administration itself has deserted the New Deal and has found substantial agreement with the du Ponts and Morgans in the drive for war.

There we see the true "fifth column," always the subsidized agent of the most reactionary, most warlike section of finance capital, seeking to lure the people into destroying their own liberties and into bloody military adventure.

Some people think that, because the Socialist Party is a corpse, therefore it will not play a role in the 1940 elections. But that is a mistake. Such persons have short memories. What could be more completely a corpse than the League of Nations, and yet last December the ghastly thing rose from its grave with the greatest alacrity when it heard the anti-Soviet trumpet call. The corpse of the Socialist Party is rising to the same call, and Norman Thomas will shake its bones on the front pages of all the capitalist newspapers until next November. He has already received his credentials from the New York metropoli-

tan press as a scholar and a gentleman, one of their own, performing a useful if slightly distasteful task in the common cause, and therefore to be treated with the greatest consideration and respect. After all, if the Communist Party vote is to be kept down, the bourgeoisie cannot get along without an "anti-war" party of its own, which will specialize in slanders against the Land of Socialism. Norman Thomas with his Socialist Party is made to order for them. Not an intelligent bourgeois in America could doubt it, after Thomas said that if he could be sure the war would end in the destruction of the Soviet Union, then he would "regretfully" favor America's entrance into it. The bourgeoisie readily forgives Thomas his "regrets," for they saw the French Norman Thomas, Leon Blum, "regretfully" strangle the Spanish Republic, break up the Front Populaire, and deliver up the French working class to the police, all to the accompaniment of the most exquisite tears and lamentations. Yes, we may expect the Socialist Party corpse to play a very lively part in the elections this year, at least in the newspapers, and we shall not underestimate the damage it can do to the cause of working class advancement and peace. The capitalist press does not give millions of dollars' worth of favorable newspaper attention out of liberal Quixotism; they expect to receive value for value. And they will not be disappointed. Norman Thomas will deliver to the masses, under a sugar-coating of "Socialist" phrases, every idea with which the

ruling class wishes to impregnate the working class. The full and systematic exposure of this role of Norman Thomas before the broadest masses will be one of our most essential tasks throughout the election campaign.

*The Role of the Communist Party
in 1940*

The peculiarities of the political superstructure in the United States serve to emphasize the effects of the changing class alignments; both of these factors place the most heavy responsibilities upon the Communist Party in 1940. A great and growing mass movement away from the old major parties has been disrupted from above by the desertion of Roosevelt and his close associates to the enemy camp. At the moment it even appears likely that of all the former New Deal coalition, *only* the Communist Party will appear in these elections fighting for the immediate demands of the masses as something to be advanced and not surrendered; *only* the Communist Party (with some local exceptions here and there) will offer candidates to vote for whom means a clear-cut vote against war involvement and for the preservation and extension of the interests and rights of the broad masses.

The Communist Party's first task is to crystallize the mass determination to keep our country out of the European war.

At the same time the Communist Party has a special task to inform and educate the masses in the program of the socialist way out of the

crisis; this is something of which the broadest masses are only dimly conscious, which they understand as yet but little and unclearly.

Our Party must learn, better than ever before, how to perform both tasks simultaneously; how to express the immediate and conscious desires, aspirations, and demands of the broad masses, of the majority, to rouse and organize them in the most effective struggle for these aims; and at the same time, using this immediate struggle as the starting point, to educate these masses more and more to their fundamental and long-time interests of which they are not yet conscious, which they do not yet accept and fight for, namely, the program of transforming the privately owned and shockingly mismanaged national economy into a commonly owned, planned economy of prosperity for the masses, which is socialism—the first stage of communism.

The Communist Party occupies a most favorable strategical position in relation to the masses for both these tasks. Our enemies understand this, sometimes better than we do ourselves; they may cry out that "the Communist Party is dead," hoping by some verbal magic the wish thus expressed may come true, but by their mounting and hysterical slanders and attacks against us they testify to their knowledge that we are very much alive and growing stronger every day. Communists need to know their own strength and opportunities, without exaggerating them, for by their full utilization the enemies of the people can be defeated.