APPENDIX

THE COMMUNIST ELECTION PLATFORM, 1936*

The American people today face the greatest crisis since the Civil War. Extreme reaction threatens the country, driving toward fascism and a new world war.

To meet this danger to our liberties and welfare, we must unite our ranks. In common action we must go forward to overcome this crisis in an American way, in the spirit of 1776, in the interests of our people and of our country.

The collapse of the Hoover-Republican prosperity destroyed our boasted American standards of living. The New Deal failed to protect and restore our living standards. American capitalism is unable to provide the American people with the simple necessities of life.

Over 12,000,000 able-bodied and willing workers are without jobs. For a majority of these there is no hope of jobs.

The income of the working people has been cut in half. Half our farmers have lost their land. They are being converted into a pauperized peasantry.

Millions of young people face a future without hope, with no prospect of ever being able to establish a home or rear a family.

The Negro people suffer doubly. Most exploited of working people, they are also victims of jim-crowism and lynching. They are denied the right to live as human beings.

Civil rights are being systematically attacked and curtailed. The

* Ratified at the National Nominating Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., held at Madison Square Garden, New York City, June 28, 1936.

Supreme Court has usurped the power of Congress. It is destroying all labor and social legislation.

Reactionary forces, roused and organized by Hearst and the Liberty League, are striving to seize the government fully. They want to saddle the entire burden of the crisis upon the people, to establish a fascist regime and move toward war on the side of Hitler, the butcher of the German people and the chief maker of war.

The peace, freedom, and security of the people are at stake. Democracy or fascism, progress or reaction—this is the central issue of 1936.

At the head of the camp of reaction stands the Republican Party—the party of Wall Street, the party of the banks and monopolies. Landon and Knox are supported by the barons of steel, oil, auto, and munitions; by Morgan, the du Ponts; and by that arch-enemy of all decency, William Randolph Hearst. They are the candidates of the Liberty League, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Bankers' Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Black Legion.

Roosevelt is bitterly attacked by the camp of reaction. But he does not fight back these attacks. Roosevelt compromises. He grants but small concessions to the working people, while making big concessions to Hearst, to Wall Street, to the reactionaries.

The working people must organize themselves independently, under their own banner, with their own leadership and program. They must organize a great Farmer-Labor Party to fight for and establish a people's government—a government of, for, and by the people. They must unite the forces of progress against the forces of reaction.

The secretly formed Union Party of Lemke and Coughlin is not the new party for which the people are looking. It is the creature of Landon, Hearst, and the Liberty League. Under cover of radical sounding words, its program contains essentially the same proposals as the Republican platform. It is deceiving its followers. It is the tool of the reactionaries.
But a real people's party is arising. Organized by the workers and farmers themselves, the Farmer-Labor Party is growing in the majority of states. Unable to put up a presidential ticket this year, it is organizing on a national scale. It fights for local, state and Congressional offices. It is the most hopeful sign in American political life. It is cooperating with the powerful trade unions in the new Labor's Non-Partisan League against the Republicans. It will undoubtedly be a major contender in the presidential elections of 1940. The Communist Party unconditionally supports the building of the Farmer-Labor Party. It pledges itself to work to bring the trade unions and all progressive forces into its ranks. The Socialist Party, on a national scale, is withholding its cooperation with all other groups. It conducts a harmful policy of isolation. It gives little help to the people's struggle against reaction. We appeal to the Socialist Party to change its course. We urge it to unite with us and the mass of the toilers against reaction.

In this situation the Communist Party comes forward with its own presidential ticket and its own platform. It enters the campaign to defend and promote the unity of the working people. It pledges to fight for their interests, to defeat the reactionaries, to build the Farmer-Labor Party, and, finally, to win the masses to the banner of socialism. The chief aim of the Communist Party today is to defeat the Landon-Hearst-Liberty League reaction, to defeat the forces of Wall Street.

The Communist Party and its candidates stand on the following platform, which expresses the immediate interests of the majority of the population of our country.

I. PUT AMERICA BACK TO WORK.

PROVIDE JOBS AND A LIVING WAGE FOR ALL

Open the closed factories—we need all that our industries can produce. If the private employers will not or cannot do so, then the government must open and operate the factories, mills and mines for the benefit of the people.

Industry and the productive powers of our nation must be used to give every working man and woman a real, American standard of living, with a minimum annual wage guaranteed by law.

We demand equal opportunity for women in industry and in all spheres of life. We favor legislative measures for the improvement of the wages and working conditions of women.

We demand a 30-hour week without reduction in earnings, at trade union rates and conditions, in private industry and on public works.

We oppose the present railroad consolidation policy which results in the discharge of hundreds of thousands of workers.

We demand higher wages and vacations with pay. We demand the abolition of the wage differential between the North and the South.

II. PROVIDE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE,
OLD AGE PENSIONS, AND SOCIAL SECURITY FOR ALL

It is the obligation of the American government to establish an adequate system of social insurance for the unemployed, the aged, the disabled and the sick, as provided in the Frazier-Lundeen Bill. This bill provides compensation to all unemployed without exception, and pensions for the aged from 60 years, at rates equal to former earnings, but in no case less than $15 per week. Make the Frazier-Lundeen Bill the law of the land!

We favor a federal system of maternity and health insurance.

We stand for adequate relief standards for all unemployed. We demand a stop to all relief cuts. The Federal Government must continue and extend the W.P.A. We favor an extensive Federal Works Program, to provide housing at low rentals, schools, hospitals, health and recreational facilities, as provided for in the proposed six billion dollar appropriation of the Marcanstano Relief Standards Bill.

We support the demands of the veterans for uniform pension laws and for adequate hospitalization.
III. SAVE THE YOUNG GENERATION!

Our country can and must provide opportunity, education, and work for the youth of America. These demands of the young people as embodied in the American Youth Act—the Benson-Amalie Bill—must be enacted into law.

This bill provides for jobs, educational opportunities, and vocational training for all young people between the ages of 16 and 25.

The National Youth Administration budget must be maintained and enlarged.

Military training in the C.C.C. and schools must be abolished.

Free education and financial assistance to the youth and the children must be guaranteed by both federal and state appropriations.

Child labor must once and for all be abolished and made unconstitutional.

IV. FREE THE FARMERS FROM DEBTS,
UNBEARABLE TAX BURDENS AND FORECLOSURES.
GUARANTEE THE LAND TO THOSE WHO TILL THE SOIL.

We declare that the American government is obligated to save the American farmers from distress and ruin, to guarantee the farmers and tenants their inalienable rights to possession of their land, their homes and their chattels. We demand for this purpose the immediate refinancing of the farmers’ debts with government loans at nominal interest.

We demand a halt to evictions and foreclosures, a long-term moratorium on all needy farmers’ debts, and the adoption of measures to provide land for the landless farmers.

We favor immediate relief to the drought-stricken farmers by the government. We favor a graduated land tax to prevent the accumulation of large land holdings in the hands of the insurance companies, private and government banks, and other absentee owners.

We favor exemption from taxation of small operating farmers and farm cooperatives.
full right to collective bargaining, which will outlaw the company unions, the spy and stool pigeon systems, and all other coercion by employers.

We demand heavy penalties and imprisonment for employers guilty of discharging workers for union or political activities.

We demand the abolition of poll taxes and all other limitations on the right to vote.

We demand the release of political prisoners, among whom Tom Mooney, Angelo Herndon, and the Scottsboro Boys are but the outstanding examples.

The infamous policy of deportation of foreign-born workers must be stopped. The traditional American right of asylum for political refugees must be re-established. Anti-Semitic propaganda must be prohibited by law.

VII. FULL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE

We demand that the Negro people be guaranteed complete equality, equal rights to jobs, equal pay for equal work, the full right to organize, vote, serve on juries, and hold public office. Segregation and discrimination against Negroes must be declared a crime. Heavy penalties must be established against mob rule, floggers, and kidnappers, with the death penalty for lynchers. We demand the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

VIII. KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR

By keeping war out of the world!

We declare that peace must be maintained and defended at all costs. We declare in favor of strengthening all measures for collective security. We favor effective financial and economic measures to this end by the League of Nations, against Hitler Germany, Italian fascism and Japanese imperialism. These measures should be supported by the United States government.

We consider the expenditure of billions for armaments and war preparations unnecessary and provocative, contributing to the danger of a new world war.

THE COMMUNIST ELECTION PLATFORM

Instead of ever greater armaments, we believe that the United States should develop an American Peace Policy in close collaboration with the Soviet Union, based on complete prohibition of the sale or delivery of goods, or the granting of loans to nations engaged in a foreign war contrary to the provisions of the Kellogg Peace Pact. The huge funds now spent for armaments should be turned to the support of the suffering people.

We demand the nationalization of the entire munitions industry.

We demand an end to American intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin-American countries and the Philippines.

We demand the strict non-recognition of the Japanese conquests in Manchuria and China, and the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

We support the Puerto Rican demand for independence.

We support the complete independence and self-determination of all oppressed nations.

* * *

This platform represents the life-needs of the majority of workers, farmers, and middle classes today. These demands can be won even under the present capitalist system. This is being conclusively proved by the victories of the People's Front in France. We appeal to all members of the American Federation of Labor and farm organizations, to our comrades in the Socialist Party, to all who toil with hand or brain, Negro and white, to unite in a determined fight to achieve the demands of the people and to beat back the sinister forces of reaction.

The fight for those demands will organize and strengthen the people. It will give them deeper political experience and understanding. It will prepare them for the great decisions to come when it will be necessary to move forward to socialism.

Today the immediate issue is democracy or fascism. But the consistent fight for democracy in the conditions of declining capitalism will finally bring us to the necessary choice of the socialist path.

Our land is the richest in the world. It has the largest and most
skilled working class. Everything is present to provide a rich and cultured life for the whole population. Yet millions starve. The whole nation suffers, because capitalism is breaking down, because profits are the first law and are put above human needs—and the capitalist rulers are turning to fascism and war.

The Communist Party prepares the people to bring an end to this crucifixion of humanity. Our economy must be taken from the incompetent and greedy hands of Wall Street. It must be made the common property of the whole people. It must be operated fully for the benefit of all who work. This will be socialism. Only when socialism will be established, as today in the Soviet Union, will there be no crisis, no poverty, no unemployment—but abundance and security for all, with the gates of progress open to humanity.

Reactionaries of all shades cry out against socialism. They say it is revolutionary. True, the change to socialism will be revolutionary; but since when is revolution un-American? On the contrary, revolution is the proudest tradition of our people who have always been among the most revolutionary peoples of the world.

Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism. The Communist Party continues the traditions of 1776, of the birth of our country, of the revolutionary Lincoln, who led the historic struggle that preserved our nation. In the greater crisis of today only the Communist Party shows a way to a better life now, and to the future of peace, freedom, and security for all.

By supporting, working with, and voting for the Communist Party in the November elections; by organizing the mass production industries into powerful industrial unions, in a united American Federation of Labor, by independent political action and by building the American people's front—the Farmer-Labor Party—the toilers of America can best fight for the realization of their aims in 1936.

Forward to a progressive, free, prosperous, and happy America. Vote Communist!

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