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# Election

THE CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF  
EARL BROWDER

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# The Most Peculiar Election

THE CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF

EARL BROWDER

NEW YORK

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

1940

EMB

1. Bolshivism - U.S.  
2. United States - Politics, 1933 -

ED  
2-AH

PUBLISHED BY  
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC.  
P. O. BOX 148, STATION D, NEW YORK, N. Y.  
November, 1940

## CONTENTS

A PEOPLE'S PROGRAM FOR PEACE . . . . .	5
THE COURT STEPS IN . . . . .	11
THE MOST PECULIAR ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC . . . . .	12
TO THE MILLIONS WHO ARE AMERICA! . . . . .	20
HAVE WE FREE ELECTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA? . . . . .	25
WHAT ROOSEVELT AND WILLKIE OFFER AMERICAN YOUTH . . . . .	30
AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY FOR PEACE . . . . .	34
THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE . . . . .	42
VICTORIES FOR ALL THE PEOPLE . . . . .	49
A TRIBUTE TO JOHN REED . . . . .	53
THE FIGHT FOR THE BALLOT . . . . .	57
LABOR MUST FIND ITS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE . . . . .	78
SHALL IT BE WAR? . . . . .	80
THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE ELECTIONS . . . . .	82
ONLY THE WORKING CLASS CAN BUILD A NEW WORLD . . . . .	87

## A PEOPLE'S PLATFORM FOR PEACE

**T**HE Communist Party occupies an exceptionally responsible position in the 1940 election. National and international crises press upon our people. The country gropes to find its way in a world which is falling to pieces about us, and the old guides, in whom the nation had placed its faith for seven years, have failed.

In 1937, the man who had the ear of the American people, the President of the United States, spoke the following words:

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

When President Roosevelt spoke those words, he voiced the views and hopes of the biggest majority that ever assembled in support of a popular cause in this Western world.

The people still hold to this idea. The Communists supported it then and hold to it now. But the man who spoke those words in 1937 now speaks instead of a multiplied navy and fifty thousand airplanes, a program of armaments that means military adventures in the Dutch East Indies and the Far East, in Latin America and on the blood-soaked fields of Europe. And the shrill howl for armaments blots out the call for "a far higher standard of living for the masses."

The Communist Party gives voice to the deepest convictions of the great majority of the American people, when it calls halt to the deliberate drive into the war, when we cry out to the imperialist war camps: "A plague on both your houses." We speak for the people when we demand a stop to the blood-

soaked trade in munitions and instruments of war. We speak for the millions, when we resolve: "The Yanks are *not* coming."

#### THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS MUST BE PRESERVED

But American economy has been geared to the war market, with immense fortunes accruing to those who already hold immense fortunes, and who dream of realizing their dictatorship through the M-Day plans, which will abolish democracy and clamp down the rigid rule of the plutocrats over the workers, farmers, and all the common people.

In order to have a free hand for war and to rake in the huge profits promised by the war adventure, the plutocrats and their "Fifth Columns" are trying to weaken or abolish the Labor Relations Act, to destroy the right of organization and collective bargaining; they want to break down the Wages and Hours Law, and prevent its being extended to other workers. In this election, only the Communist Party shows the workers and progressive masses how these reactionary forces can be defeated, and labor's rights preserved and extended.

The enemies of the people and their "Fifth Columns" are fighting, openly and secretly, to prevent social legislation on behalf of the disinherited, the aged, the youth and the unemployed, and to weaken the present inadequate provisions for them. Only the Communist Party is willing to withhold from war purposes the necessary funds for old-age pensions of \$60 per month after sixty years of age; for the American Youth Act, providing \$5,000,000,000 for education and jobs to the young people; for expanded public works, employing at least three millions of the unemployed; for a real employment insurance system that will maintain the families of every worker unemployed through no fault of his own until he gets a job; for national health insurance, to guarantee a minimum of medical, dental, clinical, and hospital care for the entire population.

#### A PROGRAM FOR THE FARMERS

Our farming population is in perhaps the worst situation of all. Poverty is spreading in the countryside, and hundreds

of thousands of farmers from old hardy pioneer stock are in peace-time America thrown into a position resembling that of the war refugees of Europe and China.

Only the Communist Party is willing to go to the necessary lengths to secure the land to the farmers, to lighten the tax burden on the family-size farms and to guarantee them cost of production for their crops, to provide cheap production credits, to remove the foreclosure threat of mortgages, to extend electrical and public service facilities to all the countryside, and to support cooperative marketing and production. This is because only the Communist Party is willing to place the burden where it belongs—on the great fortunes. But the people would be willing.

The rents now paid by the American people amount to enough to pay adequate returns on a capitalist basis, on a modern large-scale housing program that would house the whole American people. Only the Communist Party demands that idle capital and idle building workers be put on the job by the Government, to the tune of five billion dollars per year, to produce modern low-rent housing until every family has a decent home at low cost.

#### THE COUNTRY CAN AFFORD IT

All these measures are absolutely necessary if the United States is to "produce a far higher standard of living for the masses." Yet the Democratic Party, which once put forth a much more modest housing project, has hastily withdrawn it in order to spend the money for a war in Europe, and neither the Republican nor any party except the Communist will adopt and fight for such a program as this one.

One and all, the "great men" of our land, those who rule by virtue of owning the production plant of the nation, the economic royalists and all their political agents and "Fifth Columnists," unite in one answer to such a program: "The country could not afford it; it would lead the nation to bankruptcy."

But the same gentlemen who howl about "bankruptcy" when it is a question of investing a few billions of dollars in houses and healthy, strong, well-fed and well-clothed men,

women and children, are exactly the same ones who blithely, without a moment's hesitation, vote more billions for air-planes, battleships, bombs and tanks, the only possible use for which is in a foreign war; they all agree upon war plans that envisage that the United States will spend twenty billions of dollars in war the first year. When it comes to war, their fears of "bankruptcy" disappear in dreams of war-time profits. Their motto is: "Billions for war, but not one cent to raise the American standard of living."

Why do you say that this country and this people cannot afford to go to work producing everything the country needs? Explain it to us more simply, you rich and wise and good gentlemen in whose stewardship America with all its untold riches has been placed? Why is it that America can afford twelve million idle workers; can afford forty million ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed families; can afford mines, mills and factories closed down and rusting; can afford billions of capital lying idle in the banks; can afford accumulating agricultural surpluses, and to pay farmers to produce less; can afford to play the game of war, and can spend many billions preparing for war—but such a country cannot, you say, afford to put these men to work, to put these idle resources to work, because it would bankrupt us?

But you have admitted that such sums can be had; you wish to spend such sums for war.

#### THE PLUTOCRATS STAND IN THE WAY

Perhaps, if we can force you to try to explain this riddle, America will begin to see that there is nothing wrong with the productive resources of our country, nothing wrong with the workers and farmers, but that the whole trouble arises from the economic royalists, who stand as a barrier between the workers and the country's economy, and refuse to allow them to come together for the enrichment of the country, because you first must have your profit, a blackmail against production which is dragging the people deeper and deeper into unemployment, misery, poverty—and now into war!

No, the one thing America cannot afford is this war, this

insane and catastrophic crushing of the lives of the millions who *are* America.

We are the best defenders of America, we the American workers and farmers, and the Communists in the very first ranks. We defend our country from its real enemies.

Nor can America afford the further development of the war hysteria which is rising to destroy the civil liberties and democratic rights of labor and the people. A great people's movement must assert itself in 1940, to demand with the Communists:

#### A PEOPLE'S PLATFORM

Defeat every attempt to restrict freedom of speech, press, radio and assembly, and the right to organize and to conduct all activities of the trade unions to raise the standard of living of America.

Rouse the great masses to halt the attacks upon the trade unions, through anti-trust law indictments and "conspiracy" charges.

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

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

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

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

Defeat the attacks against the labor movement, which begin

here as they did in Germany, with attacks on the Communist Party; these attacks constitute a knife at the throat of the Bill of Rights for the whole population.

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

This immediate platform which the Communist Party offers to the country is not a revolutionary, not a socialist program.

Those who say that our country, with all its tremendous riches and productive forces, cannot realize such a plan should remember that such a program is being more than realized in a big country which only a few short years ago was ruined and poverty-stricken. It is true that it was not through capitalism, but instead through the new system of socialism, that the Soviet Union was able to multiply its national income tenfold during the past twelve years, and to raise the living standards of the masses by 500 per cent, while providing all necessary defense measures with armed enemies all around on every border. But if capitalism is truly a system which makes it impossible to provide a better life for all the people, then that fact should be admitted, and the American people will have their opportunity to try out the new system of socialism which has proved that it can do so. Americans are as able and intelligent as any people in the world, and we can accomplish anything that has been accomplished elsewhere.

#### THE PEOPLE NEED A THIRD PARTY

The crisis in America and the world has created a situation similar to that of 1856, when the dominant Whig and Democratic parties were, like the present dominant parties, divorced from the masses and in agreement to thwart their will—a situation which gave birth to 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, a modern Abraham Lincoln, as the only road toward the solution of the crisis of today, of the breakdown of capital-

ism, the crisis of imperialist war that threatens destruction to the world.

Accepting your nomination I pledge our Party to cooperate with labor and the people toward this goal.

*Acceptance speech made at the National Nominating Convention of the Communist Party, at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on June 2, 1940.*

## THE COURT STEPS IN . . .

AS CANDIDATE for President of the United States, I have been denied by court order the right to accept invitations to speak to citizens who wish to forward my candidacy.

This court order was made on the request of the Administration, undoubtedly with the agreement if not upon the direct suggestion of the President. Judge Knox, in issuing the order, said openly that his motive was political—to hamper the Communist Party in placing its position before the voters. He charged that the Communist Party was not entitled to any consideration because “it proposes to change the form of government of the United States.”

Judge Knox did not take notice of the fact that it is President Roosevelt who has successfully set aside the Constitution of the United States, and effectively changed our form of government, by committing this country to a war alliance and to belligerent steps without even the formality of submitting the question to Congress.

If Congress can be set aside so completely by the new military dictatorship now apparently in power, on issues involving the fate of the nation most immediately, we must not be surprised when individuals and minority parties are deprived of all rights by administrative edict.

When a “close friend of the President” threatened last October to stop my speaking in public on behalf of the Communist Party, most people thought we were exaggerating when we marked that moment as opening a drive into war and military rule for America. Now the facts are clear for every-

one. Not only are the Communists disfranchised, but even the Republicans, who are forced to choose between two Democrats; and not only the Republicans, but the anti-war, anti-conscriptionist majority of Americans, who are forced to choose between two pro-war and pro-conscriptionist candidates.

Mr. Roosevelt has studied well the Hitlerian art and bids fair to outdo the record of his teacher. My own little problems are of interest to the American people because they embody in essence the great tragedy of a whole nation—tricked into the chains of a gang of military adventurers as surely and as disastrously as were the German people.

*Statement issued on September 5, 1940.*

## THE MOST PECULIAR ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC

OUR country is supposed to be going through that supreme process of American democracy, the election of a President. But this is the most peculiar election campaign in the history of our republic. An illuminating aspect of this peculiar character is the nature of this, my speech, and its manner of delivery to you. I am forced to speak to you through a phonograph disc, because a Federal judge, Mr. Knox by name, granted the demand made by the representative of another candidate, Mr. Roosevelt by name, that I should be forbidden to travel over the country to make speeches for my own candidacy and party and against Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy and party. I was threatened with immediate imprisonment if I should dare to come to the Pacific Coast to speak to you in this election campaign. Therefore I am forced to speak in this unusual fashion, which is unsatisfactory, but at least serves to point a moral.

Judge Knox, in granting Roosevelt an order to silence a

rival candidate, used as an excuse that I have been convicted of a crime, in a case which is now before the Supreme Court. But neither he nor the newspapers will tell you, although it is a fact they well know, that the Roosevelt Administration was more than willing to forget that supposed crime, as the Hoover Administration had done in 1930, if I and my Party would only continue to support Roosevelt in 1940 as we had done in 1936, 1937 and 1938. They used the charge against me as political blackmail. They thought they could whip the Communist Party into line, in spite of their war policies, in spite of conscription, in spite of their Sherman Act prosecutions of the trade unions, in spite of the scuttling of the New Deal, in spite of their renewed alliance with the "economic royalists." They thought they could handle the Communist Party as they handle Tammany in New York, or the Kelly machine in Chicago, or the Hague machine in New Jersey.

But they made two mistakes: first, they had no charges against the Communist Party or myself involving moral turpitude, or any damage to individuals or government, as they have been forced to admit officially, nothing in fact like the reeking record of the men who renominated Roosevelt in Chicago at the Democratic Convention, and nothing of which we are ashamed; and, secondly, the Communist Party cannot under any circumstances be blackmailed or coerced into the slightest support, direct or indirect, of policies or candidates against the interests of the working people who make up a great majority of America. Now, realizing its mistakes, the Roosevelt Administration is as viciously hostile to the Communist Party as formerly it was friendly and helpful to us when it needed and received our help. *But we are the same Party; it is not we who have changed, but rather the Roosevelt Administration.*

"AMERICA'S FIRST DICTATOR"

Roosevelt's agent, Knox, said the Government could not allow me to travel over the country because I had been convicted of a crime in traveling under my own name after I had, years ago, traveled under assumed names in Europe and Asia as a protective measure, for reasons of safety. But the same



courts, and the same Roosevelt Administration, freely grant permission to travel anywhere to real criminals under appeal, such as Judge Manton who for years sold to the highest bidder the decisions of the Federal Courts of New York, and elsewhere, such as Moe Annenberg, the multi-millionaire racketeer Republican whose financial connections with the Democratic machines of New Jersey and Chicago are matters of public gossip. In fact, it is a settled policy of the Government to permit free movement of persons under bail pending appeal; but in my case, the Roosevelt Administration openly excuses its unprecedented action by a political argument, saying it is because I and my party "propose to change the form of government of the United States," and for this reason do not deserve the consideration given to common criminals.

But who is rally changing the form of government of the United States? It is the Roosevelt Administration, under the direct leadership of the President himself. They have been deliberately violating the election laws and the Constitution itself, throwing the Communist Party and other minor parties off the ballot in state after state, in order to steal Communist votes they may need to win the elections, and in order more effectively to silence our voices. And it was the President himself who, on September 3, openly stepped outside the Constitution, assumed the powers of an unlimited military dictator, committed the United States to a military alliance with Great Britain and participation in the second imperialist war—all without even the formality of submitting the issues to Congress, which under the Constitution alone holds the power of making alliances and deciding questions of war and peace. Even such a sober and conservative newspaper as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* opened its editorial judgment on these steps with these words:

"Mr. Roosevelt today committed an act of war. He also became America's first dictator."

And concludes that:

"And all this is done in utmost contempt of democratic processes and of the Constitution of the United States.

"If this secretly negotiated deal goes through, the fat is in the fire and we all may as well get ready for a full-dress participation in the European war.

"If Roosevelt gets away with this, we may as well say good-bye to our liberties and make up our minds that henceforth we live under a dictatorship.

"If Congress and the people do not rise in solemn wrath to stop Roosevelt now—at this moment—then the country deserves the stupendous tragedy that looms right around the corner."

This is the Roosevelt whose agents cry about the Communist Party, that it must be denied electoral rights, and even outlawed, because forsooth "it proposes to change the form of government of the United States!"

With a Congress which permits, and even invites, such a peremptory shearing of its constitutional powers, which can not even protest when on the question of war it is placed in the position of a Hitler Reichstag, we must not be surprised that the new Roosevelt dictatorship proceeds roughly and crudely to deprive individuals and minority parties of all political rights. The suppression of the Communist Party is a necessary and important part of the gigantic conspiracy to effectively disfranchise the majority of the American people. Last October, when Roosevelt, speaking to the newspapers through a "close friend," threatened me with legal action to stop my public speaking, most people thought we exaggerated when we said that threat opened a drive into war and military dictatorship for America. Now the facts are clear for everyone. Every nation that has lost its liberties started on the downward path with the act of suppressing the Communists. Roosevelt is following the Hitler formula with scientific exactitude.

#### THE ROOSEVELT-WILLKIE CONSPIRACY

It is not only the Communists who are being disfranchised in 1940. The New Deal masses and the labor movement are left politically homeless. The Republicans are worse off than we, for they have not even a candidate to fight for; they must either vote for a Democrat, or turn to the Communists. The

leading and natural candidate of the Republican Party was Robert A. Taft. But he was defeated in the Philadelphia Convention, and the pro-war, Big Business, renegade Democrat, Wendell Willkie, was nominated by a conspiratorial junta, organized by Thomas W. Lamont of the firm of J. P. Morgan, working in direct agreement with Roosevelt, and engineered by Walter Lippmann. Willkie was chosen for the Republican Party by Roosevelt and Lamont after an agreement had been reached as to fundamental policy to which all would adhere, the same policy revealed in the President's sensational coup of September 3.

Willkie's nomination was the guarantee which Roosevelt required before he dared to launch his coup d'etat. The masses, the majority of the voters, had to be disarmed, denied every opportunity of effective protest, before the President dared to proclaim the joining of the United States into the British Empire. Even now, with the elections effectively blocked off from the people, Roosevelt dares not submit his secretly matured plans to a vote of Congress, but must act by proclamation, by edict, by a coup d'etat.

In its cunning trickery, in its cynical betrayals, in the personal character of its leading participants, the Roosevelt coup d'etat is in the historical tradition of Louis Napoleon; in its social significance for today, it is a flagrant adaptation of the technique of Adolf Hitler; in its consequences for the American people it is a catastrophe expressing the most profound and violent crisis of the capitalist world.

Imagine, for one moment, what would be the reactions of the great body of American voters to the Roosevelt coup if the Republican Party had nominated as its candidate Senator Robert A. Taft, that old-fashioned conservative Republican who voted against the conscription law! Can anyone doubt that the result would have been such a Republican landslide as would have wrecked the Democratic Party for all time? In that comparison, you get the full significance of the Willkie candidacy, which can be understood only as preparation for the Roosevelt coup. Even with this set-up, Willkie is hard pressed with the danger that the masses may transform his formal opposition to Roosevelt into a channel for expression

of their deep abhorrence of the war and conscription, their deep disgust with Roosevelt's machinations, and to prevent this he is reducing his campaign to a hollow mockery, which only with difficulty can win a headline in the newspapers pledged to his election.

This is the political set-up for the 1940 Presidential elections, which brings the decisive leaders and controlling forces of both Democratic and Republican parties to look upon the Communist Party, despite its small numbers and meager resources, as a major danger to their joint aims; this is what unites them in the vicious efforts to drive the Communist Party off the ballot and to suppress its activities, to silence its voice. With both major parties united in thwarting the will of the vast majority of the people, they sense the danger and the possibility that millions of voters could, given the opportunity, cast votes of protest for the only Party that clearly denounces their conspiracy of war and reaction, and which gives practical alternative policies—the Communist Party.

#### THE "FIFTH COLUMN" CAMOUFLAGE

To cover up their real fears of the workers, of the majority of the people, the Democratic-Republican coalition justifies its persecution of the Communist Party by a wild newspaper campaign branding us as part of a "Fifth Column" of the enemies of the country. That also has the aim to hide the operations of the real Fifth Column, which in every country has been proved to have its head and motive force in the upper classes, and among the workers has only degenerated Socialist leaders, Trotskyites, and such-like riffraff. Such real Fifth Column elements are flooding into the United States now; they seem to have little difficulty in obtaining visas or in operating freely when here. We even see U. S. naval vessels bringing their choicest specimens to our shores. We are entitled to begin asking some questions about this real Fifth Column in America, and to inquire what sort of new surprises they are hatching up for the American people in collaboration with our native reactionaries.

For example, rumor has it that the United States is now host to a certain distinguished Frenchman, a big industrialist

and close personal friend of Marshal Petain, head of the French government of capitulation to Hitler. This visitor to our shores is head of a great French trust which up until June of this year was furnishing Germany with essential materials for her airplane production, the supply never ceasing, for in June the Germans came in and took direct possession. This distinguished Frenchman was considered important enough to receive the personal attention of a select group of big bankers, and a special visit from Mr. Stettinius, after which, rumor has it, he is on a tour of inspection of American armaments and armament industries. Many newspaper men are wondering why they received strict instructions not to report or comment upon this gentleman's arrival in this country, or his activities since his arrival. He is evidently a person of mysteriously great importance. His presence here doubtless indicates some possible new surprises in the unpredictable international situation, which may not be altogether agreeable to the American people. The President has called upon the public to report the activities of suspicious persons, possible Fifth Columnists; may we presume to suggest that the mystery that surrounds this peculiar visitor should be dispelled for the general public? Not to mention, in this connection, the horde of British agents, of whom only Sir George Paish received dishonorable mention in the Senate.

#### WALL STREET'S REAL AIM

The mystery that surrounds these high-placed Fifth Columnist visitors is equalled by the mystery of aims that guide the White House. Where is our country being headed? Roosevelt has been less than frank with the country, ever since he proclaimed neutrality last September and then systematically proceeded to break down that neutrality. But not all high sources are so evasive about the future perspective. Allow me to quote some little known declaration from those "in the know."

The *Army and Navy Journal* of August 24 declares:

"The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from these developments is that the United States has moved to the

point where it is committed to assist the British Empire in the war against Germany. . . . Only the blind can fail to see that the United States is rapidly moving toward participation in the world struggle . . . [for] an Empire greater than any which history has ever known."

That is the bald and unadorned truth underlying the sickening propaganda about the defense of democracy and civilization. Wall Street is on the march toward "an empire greater than any which history has ever known." Roosevelt is leading the march, and scattering the wreck of even the limited democracy of the American Constitution along the way. Willkie is his first assistant in the conspiracy against the well-being and very lives of the common people. Of all organized political bodies in the United States, only the Communist Party exposes and combats this gigantic imperialist counter-revolution. That is why Roosevelt and Willkie, and all their helpers, are determined to crush the Communist Party first of all. That is why Oscar Wheeler, a West Virginia farmer, was sent to prison for fifteen years for the crime of soliciting signatures to put the Communist Party on the ballot.

That is why the Communist candidate for President was sentenced to prison on an ancient and trumped-up technical charge, and is now refused the right to travel to address your meeting, although the case is before the Supreme Court. That is why the hysteria against the foreign-born workers, and against the labor movement which opposes conscription, is being whipped up to a typical fascist fury. But that is also why the great majority of the American people, regardless of their opinions about a future socialism or communism for America, must rally to the defense of the Communist Party as the only way they can fight for their own rights and aspirations in 1940. Only the Communist Party provides the opportunity in the 1940 elections to register the sentiments of the people against the imperialist conspiracies, against the war policies, against the black reaction that has risen to power in the Roosevelt dictatorship.

The economic royalists and their servants are riding high, and gleefully congratulate themselves that the masses have

been hog-tied, that nothing can now spoil their plans for a great imperialist speculation with the blood and lives of the American people. But the fight is only begun. Notwithstanding all difficulties and hardships, the American people cannot forever be tricked, bulldozed and suppressed. They are fighting back with increasing numbers, energy, intelligence and determination. And the final victory will belong to the people.

*Address delivered by electrical transcription at Olympic Auditorium, Los Angeles, California, on September 8, 1940, and at San Francisco, California, on September 11, 1940.*

## TO THE MILLIONS WHO ARE AMERICA!

**W**E ARE witnessing a Presidential election campaign which is indeed a peculiar one. The issues and problems facing our country are fateful, of far-reaching importance, beyond anything in our national experience since the days of Abraham Lincoln. Yet the two major candidates, and their parties, are systematically blotting out every major difference between them on the most central issues. All possibility of choosing the future course of the United States, by casting ballots for one side or the other between Democratic and Republican parties, has been cut off from the voters, because both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie stand for essentially the same policies.

A man from Mars visiting us now might jump to the conclusion that this fact is evidence of a peculiar unanimity of opinion, sentiment and interest among the 46,000,000 American voters. But certainly no intelligent American could make such a mistake. Not only is the divergence among the voters deeper and sharper than in many generations, but also, and more important, the decisive majority is opposed to the course toward militarization and war upon which Roosevelt and Willkie are united. But in order to find electoral expression for that majority opinion, the voters have no alternative but to break their traditional political allegiance, and turn to one

of the minority parties, among which only the Communist Party offers a genuine alternative.

“HEADS I WIN, TAILS YOU LOSE”

There is no unity of the people in support of the united policy of Willkie-Roosevelt. But there is a new-found unity among our aristocracy of wealth and social position. The economic royalists, whose hatred was welcomed by the Roosevelt of 1936, are the very men who chose from their own top ranks the candidacy of Willkie, not to fight but to support the Roosevelt of 1940. Things have gone so far that one of the more candid and simple-minded Republican agitators, David Lawrence, uttered a cry of alarm the other day, and hysterically asked:

“Why are business men so reticent in this campaign? Can anybody recall in recent weeks a single speech of importance by any outstanding industrialist or manager of any large enterprise urging the public to support Wendell Willkie? . . . Of what are business men afraid?”

Mr. Lawrence has, of course, missed the point of the whole affair. The business men are no longer afraid of Mr. Roosevelt, and that is the nub of the election campaign as it stands today. Mr. Lawrence is still living in the atmosphere of a dead and gone era, in which Roosevelt was threatening to “master” the economic royalists. Roosevelt long ago abandoned that fleeting ambition. He is now leading the “Battle of America” to “master” instead the labor movement and the majority of the American people. He is busily proving to the economic royalists that he is indeed “indispensable” for them and their imperialist ambitions. So the business men are not afraid of him. They are quite content to let the campaign run its course, knowing that whatever the outcome, they have their man. It is the old game of “heads I win, tails you lose.” Tweedledum and Tweedledee were never so much alike as in 1940.

But the economic royalists are afraid—of the people. Even with the Presidential elections sewed up, they are afraid of the people. Even when Roosevelt can openly step outside the Con-

stitution, on behalf of their class policy, and assume dictatorial powers in foreign policy, they remain afraid of the people. Even when conscription can be forced upon an unwilling people, for undefined imperialist aims, they are still afraid of the people. And that is why they even hesitate to speak up for the "barefoot boy of Wall Street" who comes right out of their own family circles.

They may well be afraid. This is 1940, not 1914 or 1917. Two and a half decades of experience with imperialist war and an imperialist peace of violence have taught the people much, and especially the working class. The people are developing a genius for undermining and defeating the best laid plans of the "upper classes," the real enemies of the people. The masses of the people may move slowly, but even when they only slightly stir, the economic royalists have learned to tremble.

#### THE PEOPLE WILL FIND A WAY

Consider, for a moment, that un-American and unprecedented measure, the conscription law, that has been forced upon the country by the Willkie-Roosevelt coalition and the mobilized money power of the land. That was a heavy blow against the people, and a signal victory for Wall Street. Whenever our ruling circles gather about the festive board and spill champagne in celebration of this victory, there is a grinning skeleton at the feast to spoil their pleasure. They are haunted by the memory of a great labor movement of eight to nine million members, so consciously and unitedly against conscription that even the most trusted and reliable political agents of the Roosevelt-Willkie coalition, the men they draw into their "kitchen cabinets" and defense boards to "represent" labor, did not dare raise their voices in support of that measure, much as they desired, much as they were pressed to do so.

They are haunted by the fact that, in a Congress these gentlemen own body, soul and breeches, a Congress which has been registering their policies with all votes against one, when it came to the conscription bill and the people began to stir only a little, two thirds of the Republican Congressmen voted against the measure which their Presidential candidate had

endorsed, and its only solid support came from the Solid South where three-fourths of the people are disfranchised.

The significance of the vote against conscription in Congress is not diminished by the fact that the Republicans are equally reactionary with the Democrats, that they indulged themselves the luxury of this vote because they were assured of the bill passing anyway by Democratic votes, that they were guilty of the grossest opportunism and cynicism, that they were acting merely as the "Outs" giving a blow against the "Ins." All that is, on the whole, true, but it merely emphasizes another truth, that the Congressmen knew the people back home were so fiercely and consciously against conscription that it was "good politics," as the phrase goes, to go along with that sentiment. Yes, the fat boys have reason for sober second thought; in the imperialistic adventures they plan for America, the people will not remain for long mere passive pawns to be shoved around the chessboard of war.

Yes, in spite of the most gigantic conspiracy in American history to disfranchise the American people, to deprive them of a voice in the most fateful decisions our country has faced in many generations, the people find a way to make their voices heard and their influence felt.

#### A MOCKERY OF FREE ELECTIONS

That is why the economic royalists, the reactionaries who are hurrying America into a disastrous war, are afraid of the 1940 elections, despite the fact that they have the two major parties hog-tied and delivered before the event. That is why they are afraid of the Communist Party. Who knows, with the major candidates and parties united against a powerful swell of mass opinion and sentiment, that great numbers might not render their protest by voting Communist in November.

That is why the Roosevelt-Willkie united front forces are proceeding systematically to deprive the Communists of their political and electoral rights in this campaign. That is why they sent the West Virginia farmer, Oscar Wheeler, to prison for fifteen years, for a crime of soliciting signatures to a Communist election petition, on grounds of "false pretenses," although the petition was in pure legal form and no signer

could have had the slightest doubt what he was signing. That is why in Illinois, the Kelly-Horner Roosevelt Democrats, on orders from Washington, staged mob violence against Communist election workers, and are holding dozens in jail on trumped-up charges of "sedition." That is why, in several states, high officials have openly defied the election laws to arbitrarily rule the Communist Party off the ballot. That is why, in New York, they are openly talking about finding some subterfuge to deny the Communists the right to have our ticket on the ballot, as we have had in every election since 1920.

The Roosevelt machine has an additional incentive to suppress the Communist Party. In Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and especially in New York—all pivotal states—it is agreed that the vote may be so close that the Communists, even without any great increase in strength, might be the balance of power. The Roosevelt machine, thinking that the Communists cannot possibly vote for Wall Street's Willkie, hopes to steal our votes on behalf of Roosevelt by denying the opportunity to vote for our own candidate. In the past, the Roosevelt forces sometimes had our voluntary support, and in 1938 they held New York State against Dewey and the Republicans only with our help, by less than the margin of votes we threw to them. Now that they cannot get our voluntary support, they hope to obtain it by trickery and violation of free electoral rights. Wendell Willkie himself admitted, in an article in the *New Republic*, that the Roosevelt Administration's actions against the Communists, and specifically against myself, had this immoral and partisan motive—but that was before he became the Republican candidate, and even before his secret pact with Roosevelt! Now he will not break his silence on this issue, even to keep an important bloc of votes from being stolen for his rival, Roosevelt.

The truth is mighty; it is terribly embarrassing even to the most powerful political personages and combinations, although it be spoken only by the weakest of voices against which newspapers and radio have been conducting an unexampled campaign of slander and prejudice. That is why I cannot promise you that I will continue to speak to you throughout the campaign; the powers that be consider it

more convenient to have me behind bars for the next several years. That is why I cannot promise you that you will have everywhere the opportunity to vote for the Communist ticket in November, for in many places our Party workers are being beaten up, or thrown into jail, or both, and our election petitions thrown out, their signers blacklisted and driven from their jobs.

And that is also why Candidate Roosevelt made a beautiful speech at Philadelphia the other day, extolling the virtues of free elections!

That is why, on the other hand, we firmly expect that among the millions of Americans, who truly believe in democracy, who truly believe in free elections, who truly hate conscription and war, who truly oppose our country being dragged into the bloody world scramble for empire with its profits for the few and starvation and death for the many—that among these millions who *are* America, a great number, greater than any one now suspects, will vote Communist as the only way to vote in any degree as their own conscience dictates.

*Address delivered over a nationwide broadcast on the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company, on September 25, 1940.*

## HAVE WE FREE ELECTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA?

**T**HE other day we witnessed scandalous hooliganism in the election campaign, when a zealous employee of the Roosevelt Administration hurled a metal basket from a high building at Mr. Willkie, seriously wounding an innocent bystander, together with a series of less serious assaults. Mr. Roosevelt has publicly rebuked these manifestations. Indeed, they disclose a most unfortunate trend toward lawlessness and violence in American political life.

Perhaps these incidents of violence against Mr. Willkie would not have occurred if Mr. Roosevelt had openly denounced the first electoral violence, which occurred in Pekin,

Illinois, many months ago, when agents of the Kelly-Horner machine of the Democratic Party used mob violence against Communists who were collecting signatures to get on the ballot in Illinois, beating them up and burning their automobiles. Mr. Roosevelt kept silent on that incident, perhaps because it was the first and direct response to an order telephoned to Chicago from the White House, to the effect that the Communist Party must be kept off the ballot in that state. Since those days a mounting wave of lawlessness and violence has risen over the country, directed mainly against the Communist Party, but including among its victims also, in some places, the Socialist Party, the Socialist-Labor Party, and the Prohibition Party. This lawlessness has been stimulated and organized from the highest and most powerful circles in the land, including both Republican and Democratic.

#### TO THE VOTERS OF PENNSYLVANIA

This radio address is especially directed to the voters of Pennsylvania, and, therefore, I will speak especially of conditions in your state, which are typical of what is going on over the nation. You who are gathered in the Olympia Arena and the Musical Fund Hall in Philadelphia, in the Carnegie Music Hall in Pittsburgh, in the Oddfellows Hall in Reading, and the more than two hundred other meetings throughout the state, already have some inkling that the "free elections," so eloquently extolled at your University of Pennsylvania only recently by the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, are rapidly being throttled in the most lawless manner, even though under cover of legal processes.

Throughout the state, people who collected signatures to put the Communist Party on the ballot are being sent to prison. The charge against them is "fraud," and the so-called "proof" consists of testimony from signers that they didn't know what they were signing, that the collectors described the petitions to them as something else. These witnesses, a mere handful among the tens of thousands of signers of the petitions, were secured by a highly-organized and well-financed campaign to intimidate the signers. This intimidation began with newspaper publication of all signers' names and ad-

dresses, as a blacklist, with the demand that employers of these people discharge them from their jobs.

It was followed up by Martin Dies' addressing a letter to each signer on Government letterheads, suggesting to the signer that he had been defrauded into signing something very dangerous to himself, and that the signer should repudiate his signature. Then, with a few intimidated signers as states witnesses, desperate at the threatened loss of jobs and starvation of their families, indictments are brought against the election workers, exorbitant bail is set (as much as \$15,000 in a single case) and even this bail refused when offered in property and cash; juries are intimidated as the signers had been; and dozens of persons are rushed off to prison for daring to take seriously the beautiful phrases of the President about free elections.

In the Westmoreland County trial, the defense was even refused the right to examine the jury panel. In Allegheny County, several Government witnesses have already admitted that they were intimidated into renouncing their signatures, although they are risking prison themselves in telling the truth. All this is to defeat election petitions, printed strictly according to law, stating on their face what they are, and signed under conditions which make any misrepresentation or fraud impossible on the face of it.

#### A HITLER ELECTION

Let us face facts and call them by their right name. This is the beginning of Hitler elections in the United States. This is the real invasion of America by the Nazis and fascists. This is the real danger against which the American people must be aroused and united.

This fascist invasion of American democracy, this abolition of free elections, is being carried on by Roosevelt Democrats and Willkie Republicans in agreement. They jointly find it necessary, because both are agreed in putting over policies, conscription and involvement in this imperialist war, to which the people are overwhelmingly opposed. They are afraid that if they allow a single opportunity for the people to vote against them, even through the small and much-maligned

Communist Party, the results in November might astonish the country and embarrass their war plans. The Communist Party's exposure of the Roosevelt-Willkie conspiracy to prevent the voters from choosing, for or against, real alternative policies on conscription and war is the reason for their joint lawlessness in driving the Communist Party off the ballot. And that is at the same time the real and great menace to free elections and democracy in the United States.

Let no one console himself that, after all, this only affects the small and weak Communist Party, but leaves the rest of the voting population untouched. History has shown with startling clarity, in the example of every land that lost its freedom in the past few years right up to the latest catastrophe of France, that the downward path always began with the suppression of the Communist Party. Because the assaults against the Communist Party were not thrown back and defeated, it became impossible to stop at any later point on the slippery chute that catapults nation after nation into the misery, oppression, starvation and death that is fascism, nazism, and war. Once we American people allow the Bill of Rights and the electoral laws to be openly flouted in order to suppress the Communists, we will quickly awaken to find that they are no longer valid for anyone; America will again be placed before the bitter dilemma that faced our forefathers in 1776 and in 1860.

The full measure of how deep-going is the united front between Willkie and Roosevelt is revealed by another angle of their attitude toward the Communists. For years, the Republicans had been crying out against Roosevelt that he was a near-Communist himself, at least a "pink" if not a "red," and pointed triumphantly as proof to the instances where the Communist vote did actually turn victory away from the Republicans and to the Roosevelt Democrats, as in Dewey's defeat in New York in 1938. They said it was a shame and a disgrace for Democrats to be in office with the help of Communist votes, and demanded that the Democrats renounce our support. The Democrats did renounce the Communist support in public, but did everything possible behind the scenes to keep our votes. Now, in 1940, when Roosevelt and his machine

cannot hope to receive the *voluntary* support of the Communist voters, they are moving heaven and earth to *steal* our votes by keeping our ticket off the ballot, thus leaving our voters nowhere else to go.

#### AN ELECTORAL FRAUD

Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Illinois, pivotal states any one of which might be decisive in a close election, are themselves admitted on all sides to be rather evenly divided between supporters of Roosevelt and Willkie. Unless there is a great sweep one way or the other, which is by no means to be seen as yet, a hundred thousand votes or less might be decisive one way or the other. If the Roosevelt machine keeps the Communists off the ballot in these states, it expects to be able to pick up the largest part of the Communist vote for themselves, and may even win the election by that margin. Do the Republicans today raise any objections to a Roosevelt victory thus won with the aid of stolen Communist votes? No, they do not. Apparently it is all right with them, for they are not hindering, but very actively helping, the Democratic Party machine to put across this gigantic electoral fraud.

But the Communist Party is not involved in any of these election frauds, from their smallest to their highest manifestations. By fighting for our own electoral rights, our right to have our own ticket on the ballot and to vote for it, we are fighting for the democratic rights of all the people. By our exposure of the collusion between Willkie and Roosevelt, we are giving the only political light that shines in this dark and confusing campaign. By fighting for the interests of the workers and farmers, by fighting against involvement in the imperialist war and the use of conscription toward that end, we are showing the American people the only road to a happier country and a better world. That is why the powers that be hate and oppress us, but that is also why millions of Americans are learning to love the Communist Party.

*Address delivered over the Quaker Network, on October 4, 1940.*



## WHAT ROOSEVELT AND WILLKIE OFFER AMERICAN YOUTH

TONIGHT, I wish to address myself especially to the young people of the United States, to those who have come to maturity during the period of the great crisis of the capitalist world now unfolding in the second imperialist world war.

You, young men and women, were born into the richest country in the world, a land whose wealth and productive powers were equal to all the rest of the world combined, where scientific technique was highest, where the current boast was that "prosperity" had become permanent. Even then, of course, half or more of the workers, young and old, had to console themselves with hopes for their failure to share in the "prosperity," but the dominant tone was unlimited optimism for the future. Before the present young generation had time, however, to begin to face their own problems of practical adjustment to life, the great crash of 1929-32 destroyed the illusions of the Coolidge-Hoover era. Since then, our young people have been groping for a new foundation upon which to build their expectations of life.

The false dawn of Roosevelt's New Deal period aroused great hopes and enthusiasms, especially in the younger generation. Then came the war, and with it the growing suspicion among the young people that Roosevelt was not dealing frankly with them, that under cover of fine phrases about neutrality and peace, he was actually taking us step by step into partisanship and final belligerency.

Last spring, the organized youth movement put the question squarely to the President when its delegates gathered in Washington for the Citizenship Institute. The President answered them with the one word, "twaddle." That word exploded the Roosevelt illusion.

### A FOREIGN POLICY OF WAR

How sure were the instincts of the youth is now testified to by the unchallenged note, sounded from Washington one month before the national elections, that "*The United States*

*may be at war by next spring, if not sooner.*" It is testified to by the conscription law, which has sense and meaning only as preparation for plunging this country into the worldwide scramble for empire.

Conscription, militarization, and very soon a place in the very vortex of the imperialist world slaughter—these are the prospects held out to American youth by both Roosevelt and Willkie.

Last Wednesday in Cleveland, Mr. Willkie made some vote-catching gestures to the overwhelming anti-war sentiments of the American people. But every word he said about practical policy, about what to do *now*, was thought for thought and almost word for word, on the same line on which Roosevelt is not only talking but acting. If America is being dragged into the war, a fact now being generally recognized, it is precisely by the *present policies* upon which Willkie and Roosevelt are agreed—so closely agreed that Willkie quoted from Roosevelt's own words to express that agreement in his acceptance speech.

No, it is clear the American youth cannot express their deepest thoughts and feelings against the disastrous war into which they are being dragged by choosing between Willkie and Roosevelt.

Domestic policy has, for both Roosevelt and Willkie, been reduced to the position of "the tail that goes with the hide" of a foreign policy of war and preparations for war.

Consider for a moment the needs of American youth for education and jobs, which are harder and harder to obtain; and more and more precarious when gained. Out of years of bitter experience and profound thinking, the youth of America, through their broadest and most representative organizations, brought forth a program for a minimum satisfaction of their needs, that they might be enabled to marry, establish homes and become useful citizens. They put this into the form of a practical legislative measure, called the American Youth Act. They estimated that it would cost the Government about five hundred million dollars per year. They proved that this would be the most remunerative investment that our country could possibly make.

But Roosevelt has scrapped even his little beginnings in that direction of the New Deal period, now long dead and gone. He answered the young people who urged their plan upon him in these words:

“Don't seek or expect utopia overnight, don't seek or expect a panacea—some wonderful new law that will give to everybody who needs it a handout or a guarantee of permanent remunerative occupation of your own choosing.”

Those are the words, and express the thoughts of all the Willkies of Wall Street who have fought with such bitter hatred against every social and economic advance, even the smallest, that have been wrung from them by the struggles of the people. Today, Willkie and Roosevelt are united in telling the young people to look to the army and to the munitions factories for all the solutions of their problems.

#### TELL US WHY

Today it is the threat of war, of “national emergency,” that is used to justify this brutal and callous rejection of the demands of the youth. But only a few months ago, before war and emergency had been brought to our doorsteps by the Roosevelt-Willkie policies, they rejected the Youth Act with equal brutality; then they said it would cost too much money, it would lead the country to bankruptcy and ruin, America could not afford it.

How is it, you statesmen and gentlemen of the moneybags, that a mere five hundred millions to educate the youth and train them for useful work would in 1939 have threatened America with bankruptcy and ruin, while in 1940 you rush to appropriate fifteen billions, thirty times as much, for militarization and war, without a single voice being raised from your midst to warn us that this is the road to ruin? Either you were lying to us last year when you said our proposals for social expenditures were the road to disaster, or you are hiding from us this year the fact that you are rushing us on the road to disaster thirty times as fast. The truth is in both these alternatives: You were lying to us a year ago, and you are also rushing the country to catastrophe this year.

In this issue we find the explanation of why our economic royalists, the ruling class of America and their statesmen in and out of power, are rushing our country helter-skelter into the midst of the bloody world scramble for empire. Their system of rule, the system of capitalism, is rotting and dying; it is no longer working and cannot be made to work again so as to satisfy the needs of the people. So long as they cling to the capitalist system, they must fight for ever-rising profits for the big capitalists, the monopolists, the economic royalists. But big profits are eternally in opposition to the needs of the people, to rational expenditure of the national income for the people's needs. So they are driven, by the logic of their position, to sacrifice the people and to drive them into the world war, speculating to solve their insoluble problems at the expense of other peoples and other lands.

But war is no way out, it is only the hundredfold multiplication of all the ills of peace and the addition of new catastrophes.

#### THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE YOUTH

The old order is dead. It can never be resurrected. Not Willkie nor ten thousand Willkies can take us back to the days of Coolidge and Hoover. Not Roosevelt nor ten thousand Roosevelts can restore life to a moribund economic and social system through the violence of war.

Young people, especially, are learning to understand that beyond all their immediate demands for the betterment of their present intolerable conditions, there is the deeper necessity to find a way out of the present mess to a new world.

There is no road back to the days of pre-war capitalism, to the old world. There is no by-path to any long-term compromise solution. There is, finally, only one road to the new world which youth is seeking. That is the road away from capitalism, to socialism. That is the road away from the rule of the capitalist class and toward the rule of the working class.

Capitalism is, and can only be, the ownership and control of the national economy, and everything that goes with it, by a small class of parasitical monopolists. That is the root of

crises, unemployment, and all the social ills of mankind; it is the root of militarism and war.

Socialism is the only alternative to capitalism. It is the transfer of the national economy to the ownership and control of the entire people, incorporated into the working class, with the full utilization and development of the national economy for the benefit of all.

Socialism has been proved to be eminently practical. While the capitalist world is falling to pieces, the great socialist Soviet Union is forging ahead to prosperity, security and well being for two hundred millions of people. It is multiplying its national wealth at a rate unheard of in previous history, and distributing its benefits over the whole population. It is doing this in a hostile and warlike world, without assistance, and keeping itself out of the war through a powerful modern defense coupled with a vigilant and intelligent policy of good neighborly peace.

Not through Roosevelt nor Willkie, not through any party or policy that clings to the profit system and drives to war, can American youth find its way to the bright future world which they seek. Only the Communist Party points the way to the future. Only the Communists organize the workers to travel on that road. The future belongs to the youth—and to socialism.

*Address delivered over a nationwide broadcast on the Mutual Broadcasting Company's network on October 4, 1940.*

## AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY FOR PEACE

**F**OREIGN policy is a matter which deals with all the problems of war and peace. Our country is preoccupied today with the question of war. Yet there is almost complete absence of any serious discussion of foreign policy. In Congress wildly hysterical military appropriations are passed, one after another, that now mount up to fifteen billions of dollars, two-

thirds of which no responsible person had the slightest idea was needed four months ago. This hysteria of appropriations was inaugurated by a message from the President, which solemnly recited the exact number of hours and minutes required to reach Omaha, Nebraska, and St. Louis, Missouri, by airplane from certain countries to the south. Candidate Willkie, on October 2, recorded the fact that he was "shocked" to learn the dangerous international position of the United States. He discoursed at length on his shock, but so far as policy is concerned, he said nothing new whatever, while he re-emphasized his agreement with the course on which Roosevelt has been and is taking our country. Like the President, like Congress, Mr. Willkie displays a naive and childlike faith in dollars, expressed in military appropriations for machinery and implements of war, as the answer to all questions.

One and all, the leaders and ideologists of the Democratic and Republican parties alike forget one "little thing." They forget that armaments and soldiers are nothing but *instruments* of foreign policy, that *by themselves they answer no question whatever; that without an intelligent foreign policy armaments only multiply confusion and danger, that with a wrong-headed and dangerous foreign policy armaments only rush our country more quickly and deeply into disaster.* And thus it is that every one in high places—and many in low—salves his conscience that he is doing everything needed to protect our country when he helps to pile one armaments appropriation upon another, when he votes for or agrees to register sixteen million young men for the draft, and when he roundly denounces any voice raising dissent, or calling for more fundamental consideration, as the voice of the unknown enemy, of the "Fifth Column."

I speak against this madness of armaments. I would use the fortunate circumstance that we are in the midst of national elections, that public discussion is not yet under the ban but only under serious attack, to put forward a serious examination of foreign policy.

First of all, glance at various European countries which have been conquered by the Nazi invaders during the past year. Seriously ask yourself the question: were they destroyed

by lack of armaments or by a foreign policy which went contrary to their national interests? There can be only one answer: armaments were adequate if there had been intelligent foreign policy, but armaments turned out to be useless because of distorted foreign policy.

#### THE COLLAPSE OF POLAND

Take the Polish Government of Colonel Beck and the aristocrats and landlords of that country. Its foreign policy had been built upon relentless hostility toward its Eastern neighbor, the Soviet Union, and, since 1933, upon reliance upon Hitler Germany and participation with Hitler in crushing and dismembering weaker neighbors. The domestic counterpart of this foreign policy was one of brutal oppression of national minorities within its own borders which included 40 per cent of its total population, not to speak of the terrible exploitation of Polish peasants and workers. It had inflicted injuries upon every neighbor, so that all looked upon it with suspicion or open hostility. Its own subject population hoped for its downfall. When Hitler suddenly turned upon it with his demands, the Beck Government had no recourse but the paper guarantees of Mr. Chamberlain, and its armaments collapsed in thirty days.

#### THE LESSON OF FRANCE

The outstanding example, however, is that of France. There was the classical land of "military preparedness." Ever since the last war it had bankrupted itself with armaments, fortifications and militarization. Only seven years ago it was the undisputed mistress of the whole continent of Europe, west of the Soviet border. After Hitler's rearmament of Germany, France even obtained a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union. France was in an unconquerable position. But, following a disastrous foreign policy, the French Government itself destroyed its own defenses one by one. It helped Hitler and Mussolini destroy the Spanish Republic; it betrayed Ethiopia; it sold out its ally, Czechoslovakia, at Munich; it tore up its mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union. When

finally, at the bidding of Britain, the French Government declared war against Germany, it had already by its own foreign policy placed itself in the most disadvantageous position. And after it declared war, it *made* war not against Germany but against its own people, outlawing the French Communist Party and crushing the labor movement. Its enormous military machine was never even mobilized for action against the invaders. Most of its tanks were captured by Hitler, not at the front, but in the interior of France where they had been kept for use against the French workers. Of what use were armaments to France, when it followed such a foreign policy?

#### THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF DISASTER

Turn now for a look at the foreign policy of Great Britain. Here is to be found the source and fountain-head of most of the disasters of Europe and Asia and Africa, which have now climaxed with a month of daily air bombardments of London itself, and the horrible irony of British retaliation striking chiefly upon the quivering body of her ally of a few months ago, France. British foreign policy deliberately brought Hitler into power in Germany, and gave the chief, the indispensable, help for the German armaments that now strike at the British Isles. It was British foreign policy which deliberately scuttled the League of Nations; which abandoned China to the Japanese invaders; which determined the betrayal of Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain; which pressed France into tearing up its pact with the Soviet Union; which then pushed Poland, Norway, Holland and Belgium into a disastrous and hopeless war in which they quickly fell victims; which tried to create a desperate diversion in Finland; which led France to her collapse; which is now involving the United States in the general ruination. Of what use are armaments when they are in the service of such a foreign policy as that of Great Britain?

Did the British ruling class carry out this suicidal policy because they had deliberately decided to commit suicide? No, not at all. They were firmly convinced that it was a very, very clever policy which would end in giving them the world tied up in a nice bit of British red tape, without the necessity of

firing a single British gun. The accumulated cunning and craft of centuries of rule, of the building of the empire upon which the sun never sets, went into the elaboration of that foreign policy. It was clever beyond description—far too clever, indeed, for it overreached itself.

There were two central thoughts dominating this clever British foreign policy: first, a Hitlerized Germany was to be encouraged and pushed into a war to destroy the Soviet Union, which would at the same time so weaken Germany as to remove her as a threat to Britain. Second, Britain's imperialist rivals were to be subordinated and made dependent upon Britain, in the case of France by the German threat, in the case of the United States by the threat of Japan, with perhaps warlike developments in each case in which Britain would act as the impartial judge and peacemaker. Thus would the blessings of the British Empire be spread over the face of the earth.

This super-clever foreign policy of Britain came to wreck on the rock of the Soviet Union. First, the Soviet Union had grown too strong and too consolidated to offer a tempting field for military adventures for a Hitler who likes to have his victories assured before he goes into action. Second, the leadership of the Soviet Union was too wise and experienced to fall into the British trap. Both these factors are worthy of much more examination than we can take time for today, for the American people have been systematically taught, by newspapers and radio, to believe the Soviet Union to be very weak and its leadership to be stupid barbarians. Events of the past year should have been sufficient to dissolve such illusions!

#### AMERICA COPIES THE BRITISH "MODEL."

Now, in the light of this analysis of British policy, turn to an examination of the foreign policy of the United States during the past ten years of world crisis. At every major point, American policy is found to be either an adaptation, or an outright copy, of the British "model." Limitation of time forbids the detailed listing of the well-known facts; but each of my listeners is fully capable of doing this for himself. The rulers of America have slavishly followed in the footsteps of

their British cousins, with only such variations as were required by the special Anglo-American rivalries and antagonisms.

The foreign policy that has been developed by the United States Government over the past years, and which is now being pushed to its logical conclusions, has no promise for our country any better than that which it has already realized for the British. This policy is the common property of Roosevelt and Willkie, of the Democratic and Republican Parties, of nearly the whole American bourgeoisie. Only the Communist Party has proposed and consistently fought for a foreign policy of our country which could replace the disastrous policy now being followed.

#### A FOREIGN POLICY FOR PEACE

A clear-sighted and long-range foreign policy for the United States can only be developed upon the solid foundation of friendship and close collaboration between our country, China and the Soviet Union. That is now blocked by our shameful betrayal of China, through our supply to Japan, over the years, of the materials for her war of conquest, and by Washington's studied and artificial hostility toward the Soviet Union. Only when these features of our present foreign policy are wiped out can we begin to move toward a foreign policy which can guarantee peace and security to America.

Such a constellation of powers, the United States, China, and the Soviet Union, moving along agreed-upon lines fully consistent with the needs of the three great peoples, would be very powerful indeed. It would be a stable combination, for these countries have no rivalries or conflicting interests. It would be strategically powerful, because it would immediately hold the keys to three continents; a Washington-Moscow-Chungking Axis, solidly welded with correct policies, would be unmatched in world politics. It would be physically strong, combining seven hundred to eight hundred millions of population, and the preponderance of the world's productive forces. It would be morally invincible, attracting the enthusiastic adherence of the suffering peoples all over the globe.

Some glimmerings of the bright light such a policy would

bring to America and to the world shine through the remarks made in the House of Representatives in Washington by Congressman Sabath of Illinois on October 1. The key to Mr. Sabath's remarks can be seized in the following brief quotations. He said:

"Yesterday's leading editorial in the *Washington Times-Herald* emphasizes a viewpoint concerning Russia that I have suggested and recommended on several occasions; the last time as recently as September 24. My query has been and still is today: Why should not the United States try to cultivate the good will of the Soviet Republics? It is realized now in many quarters that Great Britain made a serious if not well-nigh fatal mistake by not concluding and cementing friendly relations with Russia ahead of Germany. Should we repeat that error? . . .

"I know there are critics of Russia and its policies. Investigation will reveal, I sincerely believe, that a whole lot of the criticism of Russia is due to Nazi and fascist propaganda. That is one of the subtle tricks of the leaders of these two 'isms.' They conduct all kinds of subversive activities and then try to escape detection and blame by pointing their fingers at the Communists. . . .

"Regardless of what the Nazi, fascist, or capitalistic groups in the United States may say about Russia, I reiterate that the best interests of the United States will be served not by criticizing and assailing Russia but by taking just the opposite course and seeking her friendly cooperation. The latter course will inure to the benefit of America, and it is the welfare and safety of America that in these critical days should be our sole objective."

Those remarks contain a profound wisdom which Americans, regardless of their opinion about socialism, would do well to ponder.

We Communists have been urging such a course upon our Government for many years. But our words were dismissed as the special pleading of a small minority who were interested mainly in getting the United States to help the Soviet Union. Only now is the true situation becoming clear to large numbers that the Soviet Union is fully able to take care of herself

without any outside help, that it is the United States that needs such a friend as can be found only in the Soviet Union.

*A word of warning is, however, in place at this point. It will be worse than useless for the United States to approach the Soviet Union in the hopes of finding an ally in a war, the aims of which are to redistribute the colonies and subject peoples among the great powers. The Soviet Union will never participate in such a war. It will be equally futile and harmful for the United States to indulge in such tricky maneuvering as Chamberlain carried on in Moscow from June to August last year. And it will not be conducive to success of any attempt at rapprochement with the Soviet Union if it is conducted by a government which is stamping out democracy at home and establishing an American version of Hitlerism, for such a government would have no moral advantage over a Hitler Germany and would be under a great geographical handicap.*

#### THE ROAD TO VICTORY

I am no spokesman for the Soviet Union, and can make no promises on her behalf. I am the spokesman for a growing body of American workers and farmers, who see friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union and China as the prerequisite for a sound foreign policy for our country. We would wish to join our efforts with all those of like mind to lead our country along such a road as would make that not only possible but inevitable.

Only along such a road of foreign policy for America can our country win through, for itself and for the world, out of the present dangers and bloody chaos, into a new world of peace, order, and well being for all peoples in all lands.

*Address delivered by electrical transcription at Symphony Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, on October 6, 1940.*

## THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

WE HEAR a great deal about "the American way of life." Since we have been officially informed that it is to protect this "American way" that sixteen million of our boys must register for military service next week, and that fifteen billions of dollars have been appropriated this year for war preparations, it seems natural that we should inquire a little closer into just what is this "American way of life," anyway.

The American Bankers Association met in convention at Atlantic City not long ago, and also dedicated itself to the defense of the "American way of life." The bankers were a bit more specific than the President in defining just what they mean. They defined it as a way "based on free enterprise in a capitalistic economy." That is, we are being conscripted and are preparing a great military machine in order to keep our national economy in the hands of our small class of capitalists, by war if needed, and to keep these capitalists free of any serious interference. That is the basic thing about the so-called "American way of life," for which we are all of us supposed to be enthusiastically prepared to lay down our lives to preserve unchanged.

This "capitalistic economy" has indeed dominated America more and more since our establishment as a nation. It made the United States the "richest country in the world." But who has these riches? Is it the American people? Unfortunately, no. The mass of the people, those who do the work and produce the riches, have for generations been receiving proportionately less and less, and during the past ten years especially, have been receiving absolutely less and less. The rich are growing richer, the poor are growing poorer; the number of the rich is constantly decreasing; the number of the poor is constantly increasing. The "American way of life," as the Bankers Association understands it, has put our country under the absolute control of a handful of monopoly capitalists.

The most astounding news item of a generation was revealed the other day—but practically suppressed by the newspapers. It was the investigation by a government body which revealed that effective control of United States economy lies

in the hands of *three families*. Studying the two hundred largest corporations (excluding banks), which, in the words of the conservative Senator O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, "account for the bulk of activities in manufacturing, mining, electric and gas utilities, transportation and communication," the Senate Committee found, (1) that over half the stock is held by 75,000 individuals; (2) that a group of thirteen families, owning 8 per cent of the stock, occupy a decisive position of control over the whole; and (3) that in this group of thirteen families, more than half of the ownership and the most decisive control lies in the hands of three families, the du Ponts, the Mellons and the Rockefellers.

A few other official government statistical findings will round out this side of the picture: Among all corporations, the 5 per cent which are biggest own 77 per cent of the assets, and receive 86 per cent of the profits. Among this group, the very biggest, considerably less than 1 per cent of the total, represent more than half the assets and profits. Among all the banks of the country, 1 per cent hold 89 per cent of the resources.

### WEALTH GROWS, MEN DECAY

And what is happening to our people? The National Resources Committee tells us the following: More than one million families have a yearly income below \$250; 17 per cent of America's families and single individuals have an income of less than \$500 per year, and more than one-fourth of them less than \$750, while almost half of the population come under the bracket of less than \$1,000 per year. This shows that the great majority receive far less than the Government's own figure of the minimum required for an adequate livelihood. The famous but now forgotten "one-third of the population ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed" must be revised to read two-thirds.

It was many years ago, long before these terrible contrasts had arisen, that a famous poet uttered a great truth, when he said:

"Ill fares that land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

The "American way of life," as defined by the American Bankers Association, has brought our country the greatest accumulation of wealth and the deepest decay of men ever seen in our history. Ten millions of unemployed, and a majority living below the level of decency, is matched at the top by a Brenda Frazier who blows in \$35,000 in one night for a "coming-out party"; by a Barbara Hutton who spends millions of the Woolworth profits buying up stale European titles; by a Doris Duke Cromwell, who buys her playboy and ignoramus husband a nice Ambassadorship, and is now negotiating for a Senator's seat; by the "ten best-dressed women of America" who boast of spending a million dollars per year each on their clothes. This is the finest fruit of that "American way of life" which, in the classical words of the American Bankers Association, is "based on free enterprise in a capitalistic economy."

#### FREE ENTERPRISE WIPED OUT

It is the bankers' definition of Americanism that guides both Democratic and Republican parties, both Roosevelt and Willkie. Both refer to Jefferson and Lincoln to justify their position, but both ignore the fact that monopoly has long ago wiped out "free enterprise" for the masses, based on free land and the frontier of a virgin continent, which for Jefferson and Lincoln was the basis of democracy, not the "capitalistic economy" of the Bankers Association.

Mr. Willkie, in defending his capitalist system in the speech at Pittsburgh last week, quoted at length from Lincoln's message to Congress of December, 1861. But he did not quote that part where Lincoln declared the foundation of "the American way of life," as he understood it, to be, not the "capitalistic economy" of the Bankers Association, but that "large majority" of the people who "belong to neither class—neither work for others nor have others working for them." Lincoln, in that same address, warned that majority who were neither capitalists nor wage-workers to:

"... beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as

they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost."

Similarly, Jefferson defined the "American way" in non-capitalist terms, as in a letter to Adams in 1813, which said:

"Here every one may have land to labor for himself, if he chooses; or, preferring the exercise of any other industry, may exact for it such compensation as not only to afford a comfortable subsistence, but wherewith to provide for a cessation of labor in old age."

And later, writing to a Mr. Spafford, in 1814, Jefferson said:

"I fear nothing for our liberty from the assaults of force; but I have seen and felt much, and fear more from English books, English prejudices, English manners and the apes, the dupes and designs among our professional crafts. When I look around me for security against these seductions, I find it in the widespread of our agricultural citizens, their independence and their power, if called on, to crush the Humists [the legalists of property-rights] of our cities and to maintain the principles which severed us from England."

Those foundations upon which Jefferson and Lincoln relied, of an agrarian democracy, of a population predominantly neither capitalists nor wage-workers, with such capital-labor relations as did exist tempered and modified by the free land of frontier—those foundations have entirely disappeared. Today, more than four-fifths of our population is entirely divorced from the land and depend, directly or indirectly, upon modern industry which is completely in the grip of monopoly. The population is predominantly composed of wage-workers, employed and unemployed, while almost all the non-wage-workers have completely lost the boasted independence of Jefferson's time, even the farmers becoming tenants or mortgaged to the banks or in the toils of the marketing monopolies. Free land has long disappeared, and the land is entirely monopolized; most workers can no longer exact anything near a "comfortable subsistence," while provisions for old age for the masses have become entirely a question of fighting for a governmental old-age pension system. The old



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economic foundation for democracy has been destroyed by the "capitalistic economy" which has developed into monopoly.

*Unless a new economic foundation is found, democracy, already sick unto death from malnutrition, will surely die. But such a new economic foundation can be found only by, limiting, modifying, and finally abolishing that capitalistic economy and the system of rule raised by it.* To be free, the people must own and control their own economy, but in this age of modern, large-scale industry, they can own their own economy, not through individual private ownership, but only through collective public ownership.

The task of finding a solution to this problem can no longer be postponed. Monopoly capitalism has already reached the point in its development at which either it will crush the people or the people must abolish it and find new safeguards to their welfare and security, a new system of economy and of government.

#### CAPITALISM IN DECAY

That very bankers' convention which, the other day, sang the praises of "the American way of life based on a capitalistic economy," in the same document made admissions which damn that system beyond all salvation. It summed up the results of this system for the past ten years in these words:

"For the first time in our history the production of American industry has made no net gains for a full decade. Industrial output has stagnated. Much of our factory equipment, and that of our transportation system, has become obsolete or obsolescent. For the first time our national standard of living has declined."

Our present economic system is obviously declining, decaying. Yet both major political parties, both Willkie and Roosevelt, reject any serious efforts even to bolster it up from within, as, for example, with a fifteen billion dollar governmental appropriation to produce more food, clothing and housing, for the broad population; such a measure, they claim, would break down and destroy "the American way of life" as

they understand it. But they are agreed that fifteen billions of dollars, spent for engines of destruction, for war, is necessary precisely in order to "defend the American way of life." Those who taught us over many years that huge expenditures, even for production of the needs of life, was the road to ruin for our nation, now rush us without debate into greater expenditures for war—and they call it "national defense."

Not war, nor preparations for war, can cure or in any way alleviate the sickness of the capitalist system from which we, together with the whole world, are suffering. It is from this sickness, from this crisis of capitalism, that the war has arisen. The war will only multiply all the ills of our present society a hundredfold. It was capitalism, with its inner contradictions, its sickness, its crisis, which brought on the last world war. It was capitalism which gave us the so-called peace of 1919, a peace of violence and oppression leading directly to the present war. It was capitalism which gave birth to Hitler and Mussolini and their aggressions, to the militarist imperialism of Japan, and which is now reducing to their level all the other capitalist lands, including our own. There is no way out, for America or for the world, which does not start with a sharp fight, not for the defense of "a capitalistic economy," but for its fundamental change, for a new system to take its place.

#### SOCIALISM THE ONLY WAY

Socialism, the common ownership and operation of the national economy by and for all the people who toil, is the only alternative to capitalism. It is the only way the American way of life, as understood by Jefferson and Lincoln, can be preserved. Socialism is not a mere theory untested in life. It has been tried out with magnificent success in a great land, the Soviet Union.

American newspapers, radio and pulpit, together with the Norman Thomas Socialists, join in telling the American people the most horrible stories about the Soviet Union, striving mightily to convince them that the Soviet Union is the worst place on the globe. But if their stories are true, how is it that the Soviet Union emerges more and more as a great power in the world, growing stronger while other nations grow weaker?

If their stories are true, how does it come that the Soviet economy multiplies tenfold its production of wealth for the people, during the same period in which the Bankers Association tells us that American economy has "stagnated"? If their stories are true, how is it that the Soviet Union has maintained peace for itself, while the rest of the world plunges madly into the most bloody and destructive war? If their stories are true, why is it that the Soviet Union, standing alone among the governments of the world, gives its people a profound and calm confidence in its security and its future, while all the rest of the world, including the United States, undergoes a hysteria of fear and feels nothing but doubt for the future? These facts are all unquestionable, and they give the lie to the horror-tales spread against the Land of Socialism, the Soviet Union. We have much to learn and many benefits to gain from the Soviet Union. The founders of America were not afraid to learn from other lands. "By their fruits ye shall know them!"

In this 1940 election campaign, only the Communist Party comes to the people with a clear explanation of the cause for our present ills, which are destroying the best traditions of the American way, a platform of immediate measures for their alleviation and a program for the future which will fundamentally solve our problems.

#### VOTE COMMUNIST FOR JOBS, SECURITY AND PEACE

*The Communist Party is educating and uniting the working people to fight for peace, for a better life and for security for all. That is why the servants of Wall Street try to suppress and outlaw us. That is why millions of Americans are coming to our defense, learning to trust and follow us. That is why the Communist Party has emerged as a major factor in the 1940 elections.*

*Address delivered by electrical transcription in Detroit, Milwaukee, and Chicago, on October 11-13, 1940.*

## VICTORIES FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

ON OCTOBER 16, America's young men to the number of fourteen million registered themselves for compulsory military service. Soon a million of them will be drawn into the army.

During the past few months, United States expenditures for war preparations were suddenly hoisted from five billion dollars to fifteen billions.

In this same period, social and labor legislation has been undermined or cancelled by Administration policies, and civil and political rights have been limited and destroyed in a manner never before witnessed in supposed "peace time."

Our ruling circles, including Republicans as well as Democrats, which had been speaking of American involvement as a belligerent in the war in terms of the indefinite word "if," have changed that to the more definite and ominous word "when." The borderline between war and peace has been wiped out, so that no one is sure whether America is still out but headed in, or if we are already fighting the undeclared war which is the modern fashion.

The United States has been taken on this path without the slightest reference to the desires or will of the people, indeed in the most flagrant contempt for the people.

#### NO CHOICE BETWEEN THEM

Of course, theoretically the American voters have the opportunity on November 5 to express their will and, if not satisfied with the course now taken, to change it for another. That is the theory. But the fact is that the two major candidates, Roosevelt and Willkie, with the acquiescence of their parties, have agreed upon this course now being taken. To vote for either one of them is to vote "yes" for the road to war abroad and reaction at home.

There is no longer even a "lesser evil" to choose, if there are still any such misguided persons who will vote for one

evil in the vain hope of thereby avoiding a worse. Both evils have taken pains to make themselves identical, so far as the main issues are concerned.

There is but one way to vote against war and reaction in 1940, in any clear and effective way, and that way is to vote the Communist ticket.

That is why the war conspirators of the Democratic and Republican parties have joined their efforts to make it difficult or impossible to vote the Communist ticket.

Never before in the history of our republic has there been such a flood of repressive legislation, most of it directed immediately against the Communist Party, but all of it ultimately aimed at the destruction of the entire labor movement and of democracy itself.

Congress has passed laws specifically directed toward denying employment, public or private, to any one holding political opinions that can be labeled "Communist." By action of the Administration hundreds of families are thrown off the public relief rolls for the signing of election petitions for an opposition political party, in the legal form prescribed by law.

Congress has supported and financed the Dies Committee in a systematic campaign to terrorize voters into repudiating their signatures to election petitions, in open violation and contempt of the Constitution. All this is but the sharp edge to a heavy axe directed against the trade unions, against the foreign-born workers, and against all democratic organizations of the people. It is the American repetition of the path upon which Hitler took Germany beginning in 1933. It is the path trod in every country that has lost its liberties in the present world crisis.

But what else could we expect of a Congress composed in the main of lawyers who, outside of Congress, get fat fees and opportunities for profitable investments from the banks and big monopolies; a Congress which supinely and silently permits the President to seize dictatorial powers, in defiance of the Constitution; to negotiate war alliances and make a gift of a substantial portion of the navy to a foreign belligerent power, without even a Hitleresque gesture of legislative approval.

And who shall be surprised that such an Administration as Roosevelt's, which sets up a military dictatorship in defiance of the Constitution, introduces all the trimmings of fascism also—the punitive imprisonment of opposition spokesmen on trumped-up technical criminal charges, wholesale political corruption, a widespread secret political police, the spread of political hooliganism and the use of mob violence?

A perfect symbol of the whole set-up today in America is the spectacle of the President's son receiving the berth of a captain in the aviation branch of the army, assigned to the "purchasing department," a few days before fourteen million boys must register for compulsory service at \$21 per month! This incident is remarkable, not because it is an exception, but because it is typical. It only carries into the military set-up those relations that dominate civil life in the United States.

This is not the first time in American history that the major parties have united to defeat the will of the people. But every time that has happened in time of great decision, of national crisis, the people have broken through and defeated the reactionary combination, have forged a new instrument to register their will, have given birth to a new political party. Out of the present crisis, the American people, true to their best traditions, will also give birth to a new major political party, to execute their will.

Only the Communist Party offers the channel in this direction in the elections of November 5, 1940. Because there is a Communist Party, the people are not helpless, they can fight, they can influence the course of events, they can today lay the foundations for a victorious tomorrow.

American voters pride themselves on being practical. They don't want to be sectarian or doctrinaire. They hate the idea of "throwing away a vote." They have a strong attachment to the "two party system." The Republican-Democratic combination of reactionaries and war-makers count upon these facts to bring them to victory over the people in the present crisis.

But the people, and especially the workers, are learning

already that the most impractical thing in the world is to vote for what one hates, even when the majority may be doing it. They are learning that the majority cannot register its will until a minority has boldly and fearlessly shown the way. They are learning that, in 1940, the surest way of wasting a progressive vote, a peace vote, is to cast it for either Roosevelt or Willkie, both reactionaries and both leading our country into a useless and disastrous war.

#### VICTORIES FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

The Communist Party, small and weak as it is, has proved what tremendous influence such a party can exert when it is speaking the mind and heart of the masses who have been denied all other effective expression. Through great and growing hardships and difficulties, at the cost of extreme exertions and sacrifices, our Party has significant victories to record in 1940, victories for all the people.

Not the least of these victories is that we have won through battle the right to place our Party ticket upon the ballots of twenty-five states.

More important than this, through the leadership of our Party in the fight for peace, in the fight against U. S. entrance into the war, we were the main instrumentality in at least postponing this fatal step until after the elections, and keeping open the opportunity for the people to prevent this disaster altogether.

We have broken through the conspiracy to keep the discussion of foreign policy, of the question of war and peace, out of the election campaign, and have forced the major candidates to open up at least the pretense of placing these issues before the people.

We have broken the full force of the first great assault upon popular rights, slowed up the reactionaries, and gained for the labor movement a breathing space, the time to gather its forces for a firmer and broader defense.

We have created the opportunity for the people, when they go to the polls on November 5, to cast their ballots for the candidates of the Communist Party, and thereby, in a loud

and emphatic voice, to call "Halt!" to the advance of reaction and war, to the enemies of the people.

The voice of the people will be sounded on election day by the vote cast for the Communist Party.

*Address delivered by telephone at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, New York, on October 16, 1940.*

## A TRIBUTE TO JOHN REED

JOHN REED won immortality by his report of the first socialist revolution, the founding of the Soviet power, in the *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

It is not the peerless and inspired reporter, however, but the partisan of a cause who won the heart of his generation and whose name came to symbolize the movement of the best representatives of the American intellectual world, in their break away from the old decaying world order, their espousal of the new socialist order. It is in the role of passionate partisan of socialism, of the struggle for socialism, that the memory of John Reed waxes with the passing years. He was a great pioneer on the frontier between the old and the new social systems, the death struggle between which dominates our era.

An understanding, penetrating study of Reed's life, which would bring out in bold relief his lasting significance as an historical figure, has still to be written.

Born and bred in the tradition of the privileged classes, Reed had further the advantage of talent and personality to open for him the doors of all the bourgeois world has to offer. But long before he was conscious of it, he was in revolt against the inner emptiness of that world. More and more he became a seeker for something unknown, something to fill the emptiness which his world, with all its education and experience, had left in him.

Reed found what he was seeking in Petrograd, Russia, in the days of October and November of 1917, when the Soviet Government was established, when the first Socialist Revolution

began. He found it in the Party of Lenin, the Bolsheviks, the Communists, which guided that revolution.

From the revolution and the Party of Lenin which guided it, Reed acquired a faith and an understanding which gave meaning and dignity to life, which transformed the seeking adolescent into a whole man. He immediately identified himself wholly with the revolution, with socialism, with the Party of Lenin. He became the passionate partisan of a great cause. He had found himself, in something so big that he could in it completely lose himself, merge himself. He had found the road away from decay and death, toward growth and life; away from the old life that had poisoned him and his generation, into the new life of affirmation, of belief, of unlimited perspective, of the future.

#### AGAIN TODAY

That experience which John Reed shared with only a minority of his generation of Americans is the experience through which the whole generation of today is now going.

Once again as in John Reed's day, the decaying capitalist order, the bourgeois world, has been thrown into the violent paroxysm of imperialist war. Once more a whole generation of youth is called upon to offer its lifeblood in a war without aims beyond the indefinite repetition of the past which produced this war. Once more the recruiting sergeants and conscription boards call youth to the colors to fight—for the preservation of the dead past.

Today, however, the young generation stands on the shoulders of the generation of John Reed. He could only see the birth of the new order of socialism; the present generation celebrates the glorious achievements of twenty-three years of Soviet power. He had time only for the intuitive grasp of the great vision of Lenin; the present generation has deeply absorbed the teachings and example of Lenin's giant successor, Stalin.

In John Reed's day, the American bourgeoisie was arrogantly confident of its power, of its hold on the young generation; today, the bourgeoisie is filled with a dark fear, it is vaguely conscious of its approaching doom, it knows it has

lost its hold upon the youth, it struggles desperately to win the young generation again, with the blood of youth to rejuvenate itself.

The other day I thought of John Reed as I was reading a speech, directed toward American youth, by the most talented fugleman of the moribund old order, Archibald MacLeish. Beating the drums of war, this Laureate of Death was forced to admit, in order to combat, the deep disillusionment of the younger generation with the social order of present-day America. He identified this social order with democracy, and said:

"We are wondering whether democracy in the United States has other spiritual weapons than the doubts and misgivings which ten years of depression and twenty years of skepticism provided for the men of France to fight with."

To provide those missing "spiritual weapons," MacLeish with great eloquence invokes the spirit of the Americans of "the thirties and forties of the last century," men "who had no questions about themselves." He describes them:

"The smartest, toughest, luckiest, leanest, all-around knowingest nation on God's green earth. Their way of living was the handsomest way of living human beings had ever hit. Their institutions were the institutions history had been waiting for. If you had told them anyone else had a harder hold on the earth than they did, or anyone else believed in himself more than they believed in themselves, they would have laughed in your face."

And MacLeish calls upon the present skeptical and doubting generations to gaze upon his attractive picture of the past, in order to imitate their more virile forebears.

Then MacLeish says a few words which, unconsciously, betray the emptiness of his whole eloquent appeal:

"That was the way it used to be in this country. That was the way it was while the people of this country were clearing the quarter-sections for a free man's fields."

Your capitalist order, Mr. MacLeish, has abolished the "free man's fields," and with them the America whose glories

you sing as a war song for the present generation. In their place are the crowded and regimented cities, the great factories of mass production and super-exploitation of labor, the F.B.I. of Mr. Hoover, the labor-spy agencies, the outlawing of minority parties, book-burnings and imprisonment for possession of books, draft boards, finger printing and registrations, unemployment, the petty persecutions of W.P.A. and relief bureaucrats. Restore the "free man's fields," Mr. MacLeish, and then perhaps your nostalgic dream-Americans will rise to your exhortations!

THERE IS A PLACE LIKE THAT

I wonder if Mr. MacLeish ever, in the dark hours of sleepless nights, ponders over the significance of this fact, that while his poetic description of the Americans of a century-gone is widely at variance with the Americans of today, yet there are peoples to whom his words could be currently applied with full accuracy. But only in one particular area of the world. Only in the Soviet Union, among the people whose mastery of life arose from new institutions, which "history had been waiting for," socialist institutions, whose rise was chronicled by John Reed in 1917, whose cause John Reed espoused as the forerunner for the present generation.

John Reed has been dead now these twenty years. But his spirit lives today in millions of young Americans. It is a thousand times more virile than that of the MacLeishes who call upon the glorious of the past in order to drape the hideous, rotting features of the present, to entice the hungry and seeking young generation into the bloody crusade to save a capitalism that has become Monopoly and Death. The MacLeishes can never restore faith, enthusiasm, passion, wholeness, to the American youth. These things they will find only as they follow the tradition and example of John Reed. And that is the destined road for our America.

*Memorial address delivered at Manhattan Center, New York City, October 20, 1940.*

## THE FIGHT FOR THE BALLOT\*

*The Chairman:* Now, this completes the phase of the Committee work that we were investigating this morning.

At this time, the Committee has been requested to hear Mr. Earl Browder and I don't know whether he has additional people with him. Are you Mr. Browder?

*Mr. Browder:* Yes, sir.

*The Chairman:* Mr. Browder, if you will come over here, we will be very glad to hear any matter that you wish to present to us. Your full name is what?

*Mr. Browder:* Earl Browder. Earl Russell Browder.

*The Chairman:* And you reside where?

*Mr. Browder:* At 7 Highland Place, Yonkers.

*The Chairman:* You are a candidate for election to the Presidency?

*Mr. Browder:* I am the candidate for the Presidency of the Communist Party of the United States.

*The Chairman:* Mr. Browder, you made the request, I believe, or someone for you, for an opportunity to appear before this Committee, and present some matters that you wished to direct our attention to.

We are glad to have you and we are glad to listen to any matter that you wish to present to us. You may do so in your own way, in your own manner.

*Mr. Browder:* Thank you, Senator Gillette.

*The Chairman:* Proceed.

*Mr. Browder:* I appreciate very much this opportunity and I will be as brief as possible in spite of the voluminous character of the material that I have to deal with.

*The Chairman:* Might I interrupt you there long enough to say, Mr. Browder, that we want to keep the record as small as we can.

*Mr. Browder:* I appreciate that.

\* Testimony before the Senate Committee Investigating Fraudulent Election Practices, Senator Guy M. Gillette, chairman, Washington, D. C., October 25, 1940.

*The Chairman:* The funds that we have to use are limited.

*Mr. Browder:* Yes.

*The Chairman:* And these people are very heavy in their charges.

*Mr. Browder:* I appreciate that.

*The Chairman:* So we don't want to put anything in the record that we can avoid.

*Mr. Browder:* I appreciate that, Senator, and as much as possible I will place material at the disposal of the Committee as supporting material.

*The Chairman:* That would be preferable.

*Mr. Browder:* Yes.

I am placing before this Committee evidence of wholesale and organized corruption, fraud, intimidation and violence directed toward influencing and determining the Presidential election results, in violation of the Hatch Act, the Corrupt Practices Act, of the Constitutional safeguards to free elections, as well as embracing a series of violations of criminal laws.

The material I am submitting might thus deserve the attention of any instance of legislative, executive or juridical authority, charged with the responsibility for orderly public life, but it seems peculiarly within the scope of this Committee because it is organically bound up with the whole complexion of the 1940 elections in the degree of freedom under which these elections will take place.

My Party has practically exhausted every avenue of appeal for redress of those grievances directly appertaining to us which I will set forth, before coming to this Committee.

In some instances, our appeals have been upheld by courageous and incorruptible public servants and we are more than glad to record such facts, giving credit where credit is due, but, unfortunately, these instances are the exception, not the rule.

In general, we must record a wave of lawless and brazen overriding of every legal safeguard of free elections before which public officials of all grades are bowing, or in which they actively participate.

We are not here merely to complain of violations of the civil rights of individuals or minority groups; we are dealing with

the purity of the electoral process itself, of the unshadowed authenticity of the final election results which is threatened by the developments we place before you.

These facts, at the least, require a record for history, even if it should prove impossible in these troubled and chaotic times to find immediate remedies, although we hope that there may be some immediate remedy found.

I want, first of all, to speak about the situation in New York State and to give my major attention to that, although we have a series of states in which even more flagrant violations of law have occurred, but which do not so clearly become of general interest as those in New York.

The Communist Party in New York State has been, by judicial decision, removed from the ballot after having been certified by the Secretary of the State.

*The Chairman:* What judicial body rendered that decision?

*Mr. Browder:* A judge of the Superior Court, I believe, by the name of Murray—I do not know exactly his status—Justice of the Supreme Court, William H. Murray, hearing a petition brought by two members of the American Legion, asking that the Party be taken off the ballot because of insufficiency of signatures to its petitions.

*The Chairman:* And the decision was based on the support that was shown for that allegation of insufficiency of signatures?

*Mr. Browder:* That is right.

*The Chairman:* All right, proceed, Mr. Browder.

*Mr. Browder:* We have attempted to get before this Judge the facts, which we will call to your attention here, but without success.

I do not want to attempt to pass upon the technical legal questions involved, of the admissibility of evidence, but, clearly, there is a much larger scope for seeing and examining all sides of such questions before a legislative committee than there is before a court, and, surely, here I will not be subjected to the same limitations.

I first want to call your attention to the fact that the attack upon these petitions of the Communist Party in New York State in no wise attacked the authenticity of the signatures.



Every signature that was registered—some 43,000 or more—is admittedly authentic.

#### PETITION SIGNERS INTIMIDATED

The attacks upon the sufficiency of the number is directed toward that which says there must be at least fifty in each country, and those who are interested in removing the Communist Party from the ballot selected two counties and attempted to prove that the signatures, although they were actually given by registered voters, were obtained under false representation, and there were brought before the Court some 160 out of 200 signers, who were placed on the stand to state that they did not know what they were signing, and, therefore, wished to have their names removed.

Everyone admitted that he signed the document—it was his signature. Each one said that he did not know what he was signing and, therefore, wanted his signature removed. Aside from the legal question involved as to whether there is such a thing as a withdrawal of signatures once placed on a public document, the main point that I want to establish here is that these so-called withdrawals of signatures were, themselves, the result of and evidence of fraud, misrepresentation and intimidation.

Clearly, these people had all been intimidated and brought into court to testify as they did, under threat of the loss of their livelihood.

*The Chairman:* Was that question of intimidation or coercion raised in the hearing of the court?

*Mr. Browders:* It was, and I will present to you evidence sustaining this charge, which was not admitted into Court because the Court insisted that such evidence could be admitted only as it related to those two counties and they attacked our petitions only in the counties where we were not able to get the direct evidence of that intimidation, and where we could not force this issue upon the victims of this intimidation because we had no way of protecting them.

We could no more get evidence of the intimidation in Greene County, New York, than one could get evidence of an intimidation in a Hitler election in Germany, but we can

give you plenty of surrounding evidence which was excluded by the Court, which will be convincing, I believe, and, if that should not be sufficient, I would urgently request that if it were possible for someone such as yourselves, representing an authoritative body, that could give people the assurance that what they say would not bring upon them victimization, should go into Greene County, he could, in one day, secure sufficient evidence of this intimidation to convince anyone.

If you should go into Greene County tomorrow and interview fifteen or twenty of those 160 people, taking them at random, under conditions which guaranteed that they could not be immediately identified and further victimized, and take their testimony in private with the assurance that they have nothing to fear of further trouble, which is the great cry they all raise—"We want no further trouble," they say; "we have already had too much trouble; our lives are being disorganized; we are being driven out of our community; we are losing our jobs; we are being taken off relief; we can't stand it"—and if you do reach these people with the assurance that this would not be further intensified, they would tell you the truth.

#### VOTES THAT DON'T BELONG TO THEM

Now, why has this campaign been made to take the Communist Party off the ballot? We are a small minority party there. It is clear to everyone that we have no chance of sweeping the State and electing our candidates.

Why, therefore, do people consider it sufficiently important to spend large sums of money and engage great organizations in the systematic hounding of people who sign our petitions, until, in desperation, they go before courts and withdraw their signatures?

It is because in New York State this question is not merely an example of the general persecution of the Communists that is sweeping over the country, in which Democrats and Republicans, alike, are engaged—in New York State this is a special project of the Democratic Party organization for the purpose of securing an advantage in the election over the Republican Party.

They want, by keeping the Communist Party off the ballot

in New York, to secure the votes which would be cast for our ticket to the Democratic ticket.

This becomes important because it is generally agreed that in New York State, the balance of forces between the two major parties is very even, and that even a small number of votes might be the balance of power, throwing it one way or the other.

*The Chairman:* What is the basis for that assumption, Mr. Browder, that these votes that would otherwise be cast for the Communist ticket in New York would be cast for the Democratic Party?

*Mr. Browder:* The basis of that assumption is that it has so occurred in the past and, in the 1938 elections, it was precisely the votes of the Communists which were decisive in the gubernatorial election.

*The Chairman:* May I interrupt you there? Don't you think that that is a rather unjustified conclusion? There is no way that you or I have of determining how these men voted except their own statements.

*Mr. Browder:* No, but politics is based upon certain assumptions and while one cannot give scientific evidence to prove them, the very fact that these assumptions exist become political motives, and in New York it has been assumed and so stated in the newspapers that the assumption was—I will be glad to furnish you with those documents—the assumption was that if the Communist Party was not on the ticket, the votes, which would otherwise go to the Communists, would be impossible of being thrown to Willkie and, therefore, would go to Mr. Roosevelt.

*The Chairman:* But after all, Mr. Browder, it is no more than an assumption, a statement of opinion of someone who has deduced that, is it not?

*Mr. Browder:* Yes, and I am only bringing this forward as an assumption and to point out that this assumption is based upon the experience of the 1938 elections.

This experience of the 1938 elections is also the explanation of why we had to place the Party on the ballot with petitions. The Communist Party is the strongest in New York State and in 1938 cast some 106,000 votes. That is our strongest place.

Under the State Laws, 50,000 votes for a party is enough to give them a place on the ballot without petitions, but this counts only on the vote for Governor and not for any other office; but it so happens that in 1938, the Communist Party withdrew its candidate for Governor out of deference to the American Labor Party with which we were trying to cooperate, and which was supporting the candidacy of Lehman.

Our vote was cast on a statewide scale only for the candidate for Congressman-at-Large. Our candidate was Mr. Amter, getting 106,000 votes, which, if also cast for a candidate for Governor, would have placed us permanently on the ballot, but because we withdrew our candidate for Governor in favor of the American Labor Party candidate, Mr. Lehman, we lost our place on the ballot.

Mr. Lehman won that election by 64,000 votes. If it had not been for the Communist Party withdrawing its candidacy and taking the extra burden that fell upon us in regard to that account, Mr. Lehman would have lost and Mr. Dewey would have been elected.

This is a fact which is a matter of record open to anyone's investigation who wants to verify it. It does not depend on anyone's assumption; and upon that fact, the assumption has been made by the machine leaders of the Democratic Party in New York State that if they could remove us from the ballot they could force us to give that cooperation which in 1938 we gave voluntarily; and that is the motive behind—the special motive beside the general motive that cuts across party lines of the attempt to get rid of the Communist Party from elections generally. That is the special motive which has created the situation where we have been, as I say, denied our place on the ballot in spite of the fact that we have complied with the law four times over in respect to signatures to our petitions in such a way that every signature was so carefully guarded. I do not think there was ever a nominating petition of any large scale filed in any state in the Union which was so pure from the respect of the safeguards that were placed around the collection of each and every name.

As to the charges that we were guilty of fraud and misrepresentation in the collection of these signatures, let me point

out how impossible that would be. Here is the petition which was signed. Anyone looking at the petition cannot fail to know what he is signing. At the top in large letters is "Communist Party," the candidates in large letters, Earl Browder and James W. Ford. It is impossible for anyone to sign such a document without being fully cognizant of what he was doing.

They did not know that exercising their right to sign such documents would open them to persecution which they suffered.

#### STORM TROOP TACTICS

Now, I would like to cite you some evidence which shows how they terrorized these people. In the first place, they involved the W.P.A. and its administrative officers to lay the foundation for the terrorization.

A statement was issued by Lester Herzog, the up-state administrator of W.P.A., in which he announced that he was going to make a careful inspection of the Communist election petition and that those who signed the petition, if they knew what they were signing, would be fired off their jobs.

This was followed then by a campaign by people who claimed to represent the American Legion. I do not like to believe that their claim is correct.

*The Chairman:* Before you pass to the statement to which you referred of Mr. Herzog, were you reading from a newspaper clipping or were you making that statement yourself?

*Mr. Browder:* I was reading from a newspaper clipping which I will give you for the evidence. This is from *The New York Times*.

*The Chairman:* It is unnecessary to give it for the evidence. I am wondering if there is any basis for the statement that Mr. Herzog made excepting the newspaper report.

*Mr. Browder:* That it was printed in the *Knickerbocker Press* in Albany on several days repeatedly in a prominent place. It was not merely printed once; it was printed for four or five days consecutively. It was never denied by Mr. Herzog and the facts are that Mr. Herzog and others under his direction did call on signers of the petition.

*The Chairman:* What was the name again, please?

*Mr. Browder:* Up-state New York Administrator of Works Project Administration.

*The Chairman:* And these statements were alleged to have been made when?

*Mr. Browder:* Immediately after the filing of the Communist petition in Albany. This clipping here is dated October 12 from Albany and on that date and succeeding days in Albany, the *Knickerbocker Press* carried in a prominent place the same statement.

In those days immediately following, people calling themselves the American Legion began systematically to call upon or to send communications to every signer of the petition.

Here is a postcard sent to Ethel Johnson, 95 Herchner Street, Albany, mimeographed:

"The American Legion in Albany County has learned that your name is on a petition circulated by the Communist Party for the purpose of placing the Communist Party on the ballot of this election. We know many of the signatures are not valid. If this is true in your case, you may repudiate your signature if you will come to the rooms of the Capital City Post, 81 Columbia Street, Albany, before 8 o'clock Tuesday night. The rooms will be open from noon to 8 P.M. Tuesday. The Legion is giving you this chance to contradict the people who have deceived you."

Then committees called upon each one of these people. What the committees did and what they said we do not have authentic documentary evidence from Greene County because there is where the terrorization was so complete that we could not get one person who dared to break through.

*The Chairman:* Is Greene County an up-state county?

*Mr. Browder:* Yes, the county seat is Catskill, thirty-five miles from Albany, but from surrounding counties we have statements from people who were called upon by the American Legion and who did sign the documents.

Here is one from Brushton, New York, answering a letter sent out by the Communist Party. By the way, I should remark here that immediately after the collection of these signa-

tures the Communist Party sent out a letter addressed to each person who signed the petition thanking him for his support in getting on the ballot.

In the testimony in the Greene County hearing, each one who came on the stand was asked, did he receive such a letter.

*The Chairman:* Let me interrupt you again. When you speak of the Greene County hearing, was that the hearing that Judge Murray finally ruled on?

*Mr. Browder:* Yes, Judge Murray presided. It was adjourned for the purpose of saving the 160 people this trip to Albany.

*The Chairman:* I see.

*Mr. Browder:* Each one of those 160 people who was placed on the stand there was asked if he had received such a letter from the Communist Party and each one answered, "I didn't read it. I threw it into the stove." Although the letters were mailed in a plain envelope, and even if they had been warned before that they should not read anything that came from the Communist Party, they would not have known it came from the Communist Party unless they opened it. Each witness gave uniform testimony on this point that he did not read a letter from the Communist Party because he threw it into the stove. Now, here is some data from some people outside of Greene County. Here is a letter from Frank Duby, Brushton, New York, answering a letter:

"Dear People: Just received your letter of the 13th. Do not know what to think of it. I will give you a little insight as to what I was told Sunday. They came to the house with the papers I signed. Told me I should not have put my name on it. I draw old-age pension and they would take it away and I would lose my citizenship and we would be put in detention camps until after the war. This was a hard thing to put up to us as there are three or four hundred in this county who put their names on the paper and they said the men that were here were in jail now. If any more information you wish, send a man. I will help him to investigate the matter. You can size this up and I will help. (Signed) Frank Duby."

Another letter: Marianna Costello—this does not have the town marked on it, but I can get it if you wish.

"I am not a member of the Communist Party. I have never been a Communist. I am a good American. I go to church three times a week. I believe in the Bible and all its teachings. We have accepted the Lord Jesus as our personal Savior. When I signed the Independent Nominating Petition, the man who collected my signature told me it would be absolutely legal to sign, and that it was nothing bad. I do not wish to be caused any trouble or involved in any dispute or unpleasant circumstances because of my signature. I also signed a statement for the American Legion when they told me that I was registered as a member of the Communist Party when I signed their Nominating Petition."

Another letter from Frank Hobbs, 96 Orange St., again the town is missing but I will submit it later.

"I took my name off the Communist petition because the American Legionnaires told me I did something against the Government and I was afraid.

"I want my name back on the Communist petition because I believe they have a right to be on the ballot.

"I am not a member of the Communist Party but believe in upholding the rights of the colored race."

Another one, James W. Payne, 89 Orange St., Albany, Oct. 16, 1940.

"I, James W. Payne, knew what I was signing when I signed the Communist petition.

"I withdrew my name when I was told by the American Legionnaires that I was harming America.

"I still want my name on the Communist petition because I believe they should be on the ballot."

From Carmine Ferrucci, Amsterdam, New York.

"I am not a member of the Communist Party and I don't want to become one. But I knew that I was signing a petition to put the Communist Party on the ballot."

From Theodore Davis, Amsterdam.

"I knew that I signed the petition to put the Communist Party on the ballot and I agree to keep it there."

From George Wright, Amsterdam.

"I know that I signed the petition to put the Communist Party on the ballot. When two men came to ask me to take my name off, I refused to do this—"

*The Chairman:* Were these letters that you are reading from the letters of the 160 who withdrew their names or threw their letters in the stove?

*Mr. Browder:* No, in Greene County we could not get statements. They concentrated on Greene County. They decided that was our weakest point and they concentrated there. We could get these letters outside of Greene County, because their forces were concentrated in Greene County.

*The Chairman:* Mr. Browder, the additional statements are along the same line as you have just read?

*Mr. Browder:* Yes.

*The Chairman:* Then to prevent the record from being encumbered too much, will you file them?

*Mr. Browder:* Yes.

*The Chairman:* If you wish to, leave them with the committee.

*Mr. Browder:* I will leave a selected number. I won't insist on putting all of these in the record. I know it would encumber the record. In correcting the record, I would like to place some in the record. I will go over these later and pick out the most typical and representative.

Now, I want to point out that, especially in Greene County, the attack upon the signers took the form, almost in every case, of telling them that by signing the petition they had joined the Communist Party and thereby made themselves subject to loss of jobs, loss of pensions, loss of rights, even possibly being thrown into concentration camps. And the document which they asked them to sign to repudiate this, they told them, was a form of resignation from the Communist Party. This is established in the records of the Court. This is something that we did get into the record, although very much was excluded, and there the record is the *prima facie* evidence that the repudiation of signatures was secured by false representation.

The theory of fraud was based upon the assumption that we did not tell these people that they were joining the Communist Party when they signed this petition. The theory was that we did not warn these people that by signing the petition they were losing their rights and, therefore, it was misrepresentation.

#### THE SECRET BEHIND THE ATTACK

Now, I want to give some evidence to show why this campaign was considered of sufficient importance that all of these forces were thrown behind it to achieve this result. I know that newspapers are not good evidence in court, but I do not know of any other evidence which can indicate what is going on in the minds of leaders of political movements except the newspapers and their reports.

Therefore, I want to call your attention to the *New York World-Telegram*, by no means a Communist paper or in any way sympathetic to our cause, which has itself supported, for many years, every effort to keep us off the ballot. In its issue of Saturday, September 7—I have these quotations in a written form here which will save me from the trouble of going through the paper but I will offer you this paper in support of the evidence.

On September 7, on page 3, a political writer reviewing the election situation in the State of New York, under an eight-column headline: "Loss of American Labor Party Left Wing Votes Carries Threat to Roosevelt in State," concludes a long examination of the state situation with the following words:

"It constitutes a threat to the President's ability to rally the radical vote to his standard so long as Earl Browder, Communist, has his name on the ballot. The loss of any considerable number of radicals, who virtually unanimously supported him four years ago, would be inimical to his chances of carrying the state. . . . It is admitted . . . the loss of 100,000 votes . . . may prove enough to lose the state. . . . Browder must be nominated by petition, which must have 12,000 signatures, and at least 50 from each county in the state. . . . It is a safe surmise

that the Democrats and the A.L.P. conservatives will scrutinize carefully the Browder petition. The failure to get 50 signers in one county would invalidate the petition."

I have already described to you how they scrutinized the petition in the County of Greene.

*The Chairman:* This requirement of fifty names in the laws of your State, does it apply to all of the counties or to a percentage of counties?

*Mr. Browder:* All counties. If you fail in one county to get fifty, you are off the ballot. We filed 43,000-and-some signatures. They attacked only in Greene County and, I believe, Franklin County, yes, Greene County and Franklin County was sufficient. The finding in Greene County was that we did not have 50 and cancelled all 43,700-some signatures for the whole State.

Further, in the *New York World-Telegram* on September 21, the same political writer on the same subject said:

"The polls show that the Labor Party is holding the balance of power now. . . . The fly in the ointment for the Democrats is the threat by the Left-wing leaders that their followers will bolt the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket. . . . At any rate the Democrats are determined that if they can prevent Mr. Browder having a place on the ballot they will do so in order to prevent the Left-wing Laborites from having a place to go. . . . National Chairman Edward J. Flynn is prepared to inspect every signature on the Browder petitions. . . ." the kind of inspection I have already described.

#### SLONIM SPILLS THE BEANS

Further and more directly to this whole question I quote from the Jewish newspaper, *The Day*, New York, October 11, 1940, with the full translation of the article that I will quote from attached. I want to read just the following quotations in order to be very brief although the whole article is very interesting and illuminating. Mr. Slonim, the author of that article, wrote:

"One feels that if the Roosevelt election campaign will

not take on a dynamic character, it can slow up entirely—and so Roosevelt has taken over the entire leadership into his own hands.' New York is absolutely vitally important for Willkie's success. Should he lose New York State, he is lost.

"According to all polls taken to date, the situation in New York is not yet certain. Should one and one-half per cent move from one camp to the other, such a shift could give the State to either Willkie or Roosevelt.

" 'We will win,' Ed Flynn told this writer. 'We must conduct a campaign as though there were really danger, we must punch and punch and punch again until the day of elections.' "

Then Mr. Slonim, explaining one of the most important directions for the punches, reported: Under a sub-heading immediately following that quotation, it says: "What will happen to the Communists and Earl Browder?" He then says, the whole article being based upon a press interview between the newspaper writer and Mr. Flynn:

"This, too, is an important question in a campaign in New York State. Ed Flynn, himself, who was formerly Secretary of State in New York, is convinced that Browder will not be a candidate [this was after the petitions were filed in Albany]. Mr. Flynn said he was convinced that Browder will not be a candidate. He made no secret of this at a press conference. He said that all signatures on Browder's petitions would be carefully investigated and he therefore would not be a candidate.

"The Democrats believe that if Browder is not on the ballot, then all or at least a great number of Communists will be compelled to vote for Roosevelt. How the Communist will vote, I cannot say, but that Browder will not be on the ballot, this I can predict almost with certainty."

Four days after this was printed, the Secretary of State of New York certified the Communist Party to go on the ballot, the time for challenges having elapsed and no challenge having been registered except a challenge which was overruled.

*The Chairman:* Mr. Browder, referring to the city judge

who rendered the decision, Judge Murray, are you able to tell us whether or not Judge Murray is a Republican or Democrat in his political affiliations?

*Mr. Browder:* From my own knowledge, no, but his general reputation is that he is a Democrat, elected as a Democrat on the Democratic ticket. I know it only by conversations. I have to be very careful in my answers on this.

*The Chairman:* I want it made clear that by asking that question I am not raising any question as to whether that would influence or not the city judge in the rendering of the decision. It was just in connection with the statement that you had made that there was political significance in an attempt to prevent your name going on the ticket or that of your party, and in connection with that, I thought it was pertinent to inquire.

It is not for the purpose of even suggesting in the remotest way questioning the judge's decision.

*Mr. Browder:* I understand and I won't make any such question either, and, further, I won't emphasize the political affiliation of any particular person involved in this or other cases that I will cite because it is our experience that whether the motive for an attack comes from the Democratic circles or Republican circles, and in one state it is one case and in another state it is another, that in each case they always get cooperation from at least some individuals in the other party and this is true in New York also.

I won't place it on any narrow partisan basis. There are some people in the Republican Party who are very anxious also to achieve the objectives that the Democrats are working for and vice versa. Formal party lines mean less and less.

Now, I think I have given you a picture of the situation in New York State. It is unquestionable that it is because the Communist Party refused to continue the voluntary support that we gave in the past in New York State to the Democratic candidates who were at the same time common candidates for the American Labor Party, that this attack has been made upon us in depriving us of our ballot rights in the hope that they will get, by the force of circumstances, what before they got from us voluntarily.

This is further confirmed by the fact that, as late as July of this year, we were approached by persons that we had every reason to believe did not speak for themselves alone, who suggested the advisability of continued collaboration in 1940 as it had been in the past, and when that collaboration was not forthcoming we knew we were in for hard times in New York State as well as over the country.

Of course, this Committee is not interested in the troubles of the Communist Party, but when these troubles of the Communist Party begin to take the form of a general attack on the sanctity of the electoral processes and established precedences which, if allowed to stand in relation to Communists, will endanger the rights of all people, will endanger the whole democratic process and which will influence one way or the other the results of a Presidential election and cast a shadow upon such results, then it is time that more attention is given to it than any attention that might be brought merely by sympathy with a persecuted minority.

*The Chairman:* Now, Mr. Browder, I happen to be the only member of the Committee who is in Washington and I must, of necessity, hold these hearings alone. Consequently, I cannot speak for the Committee on any matter and such material as has been presented to the Committee, while I have been sitting receiving it, will, of course, be presented to the full Committee for any action that it may see fit to take.

I think I am justified in expressing what I know to be the individual viewpoint of the members of the Committee who are just as anxious as you or any one in the United States can be to see that the right of free and untrammelled ballot is maintained for the American citizens and everyone who, under our laws, is entitled to vote. While the members of the Committee are of different political parties and are strongly, as individuals, supporting our own candidates, yet in all the work that we have done and all the work that we will do, we are interested in the thing to which I have referred and in which I know you are interested.

I want to call your attention to this, however, and I am sure it is unnecessary to do it excepting for the record and the fact that you have appeared before us.

We cannot sit as a court of review on any judicial matter that has been determined. That is out of our province.

In addition to that, we are an agent of the United States Senate. We have no authority whatever or of any kind except such as has been delegated to us by the Senate under the resolution which set us up as a functioning body.

Within that power, we are doing everything that we can and will do everything that we can to aid, so far as seeing that the vice-presidential, presidential and senatorial elections, which are the entire compass of our power, are conducted in as fair a manner as we know how under the laws of the Federal Government.

#### TESTIMONY WELCOME

In that spirit, we are glad to have you come before us. You are just as welcome as can be. We are glad to have this material.

I wanted you to keep in mind the limitations of our power, the limitations of our authority, but keeping that in mind, I want to assure you that any matter that you have presented here will be given to the whole Committee for their consideration and determination and I know that their consideration will be fully sympathetic and with every determination to see that you or any other citizen has the same rights as the members of the Committee or any other United States citizen in expressing their right to vote at the ballot box.

Did you want to present anyone else or did you—

*Mr. Browder* (interposing): Perhaps I could just call your attention to a few other examples which I will not go into at any length, particularly West Virginia—where, on the same theory, which in New York ruled us from the ballot, in West Virginia sent our candidate for Governor to a sentence of fifteen years in the penitentiary, the indictment charging that he solicited signatures to his petition under false pretenses, having said to certain colored signers that: "This is for the purpose of sending a Negro to the White House."

That was one of the charges in the indictment, and on that indictment he was sentenced to an indeterminate sentence,

six to fifteen years in the penitentiary, and he is now in prison in West Virginia.

*The Chairman*: When was that conviction—about when?

*Mr. Browder*: About sixty days ago.

*The Chairman*: He is now serving his sentence?

*Mr. Browder*: Now serving his term. He is a farmer.

*The Chairman*: What crime was the conviction secured under—what was the charge?

*Mr. Browder*: The fraudulent securing of signatures to his election petition, the fraud being that he got Negroes to sign his petition by saying: "This will help to send a Negro to the White House."

In addition to that, the same kind of so-called fraudulent representation which in New York didn't send our solicitors to prison but only took the solicited name off the list and our party off the ballot—in West Virginia they go further.

*Mr. Rosenblatt*: Mr. Chairman.

*The Chairman*: Yes, Mr. Rosenblatt.

*Mr. Rosenblatt*: I think it would be entirely in order for the Committee to hear a few observations which I should like to make at this time, representing the Democratic Committee, with respect to the subject matter in the previous statements made by Mr. Browder.

*The Chairman*: The Committee will hear you, Mr. Rosenblatt.

*Mr. Rosenblatt*: First and foremost, let me direct the attention of the Committee to the fact that this entire discussion by Mr. Browder was a subject of judicial research in the State of New York after the administrative officer, a Democrat, had certified the propriety of the place on the ballot of this party and that all of the remarks which you have had addressed to you, sir, representing the committee, were in a discussion which Mr. Browder says concerning a theory of fraud, and, of course, I know of no one better qualified to speak on the subject of the theory of fraud than Mr. Browder.

I should like to point out, sir, that the statements which have been made here, so far as the Democratic organization is concerned, are completely and entirely without foundation, allegedly and openly based upon hearsay, heretofore passed upon



by a Court with full rights of appeal to any interested parties, as we have a thorough-going appellate jurisdiction in the State of New York, that furthermore, this Committee is being asked to take cognizance of that which the courts have heretofore, themselves held, and that you, sir, are being imposed upon as a Senator of the United States, to listen to matters which a court, apparently, according to Mr. Browder, wouldn't even consider as proper evidence.

I am not at all impressed with the statements with reference to Chairman Flynn, nor with reference to the statements concerning the Republicans and it is my firm conviction, based upon information which I have received, that the action with respect to the Communist Party, its place on the ballot or in American life, is in the same path and in the same direction, so far as both the Republicans and the Democrats are concerned, that, so far as the Democrats are concerned, they certainly wish no part of Mr. Browder, nor what he stands for, and that is true in New York State, West Virginia, or any other part of the country.

*The Chairman:* Well, I just want to say, at this point, Mr. Rosenblatt, and for the sake of the record, that I do not feel that the Committee has been imposed on. The Committee is glad to hear any matter that our citizens wish to present to us within the limitation of our time.

As to the evaluation of the material when it is presented, of course, I am sure that the Committee will give that full consideration and, as I have just stated, we cannot and will not and do not sit as a board of judicial review, and can only sit at all within the limits of our authority.

If there is nothing further to come before the Committee, the Committee will rise.

*Mr. Browder:* May I just have one last word?

*The Chairman:* Yes.

*Mr. Browder:* I will give you a little memorandum covering the other states that I wanted to put in the record. Very brief—three or four double-spaced typewritten—

*The Chairman (interposing):* It might not be possible to put them in the record, but we will be glad to have them for our consideration.

*Mr. Browder:* And if it would be of value to you, I would be glad to give you this full file, if you are investigating such things.

And one last word regarding the imputation of the gentleman who spoke for the Democratic Committee, that my word is to be placed under doubt because, as he says, I am some sort of an expert on fraud. I want to say that the conviction under which I am today in Federal Courts and which is now before the Supreme Court, was the beginning of this political attack against our Party and that the merits of that conviction in the broad political sense, and in regard to the validity of my word, are amply testified to by the Government's own brief filed in the Supreme Court in which they, themselves, absolved me from any convictions of fraud or any act involving moral turpitude.

*The Chairman:* Well, a discussion of that, of course, is entirely without the—

*Mr. Browder (interposing):* Yes, I want to apologize for bringing that in.

*The Chairman (continuing):* —the province of the Committee.

*Mr. Browder:* And I only did it under supreme provocation.

*The Chairman:* I want to thank those that have come before us and especially you, Mr. Browder. We were very glad to hear the material you presented and we will give it our consideration.

*Mr. Browder:* Thank you very much and I hope that Greene County will be investigated.

## LABOR MUST FIND ITS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE \*

JOHN L. LEWIS, in his historic speech of October 25, broke away from the active and official leader of the war party, Roosevelt, only to fall into the arms of the candidate for leadership of that same war party, Willkie. Thus did he give dramatic expression to the most fundamental issue facing labor and the people—the necessity of full political independence from the moribund Democratic and Republican parties which are but two expressions of the war party coalition—without, however, indicating the only radical solution, which is an independent national Labor Party. Labor is still the prisoner of the capitalist two-party system, and Mr. Lewis' most staunch supporters throughout the country will feel a pang of deep disappointment that he passed up his magnificent opportunity to make the first smash through these prison walls, for the sake of the future, but chose rather the short-sighted course, of once again bargaining for crumbs from the table of the rich, of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," of playing one group of the ruling class against another in competition for labor's support.

When is labor to emerge into its rightful independence, power and dignity, if this poor game is to be forever continued on the plea of the difficulties of independence, and the pauper's profits of the old opportunist game? That is the main question which the progressive labor movement puts before itself and before John L. Lewis. And that is the question to which he contributed no beginnings of an answer.

With Lewis' scorching excoriation of the betrayal of Roosevelt, of his adventurous playing with the welfare, lives, and peace of the people, a profound assent arises from the masses, a deep-voiced "Amen." That is a truth most necessary for the spokesmen of progressive labor and the people to utter loudly and clearly. The myth of the New Deal, now abandoned and betrayed, had to be dispelled. Some one had to stand up and

\* This article appeared as an editorial in the *Sunday Worker*, October 27, 1940.

cry out the obvious truth: "The King is naked!" Lewis did it, and thus far performed an historic service.

### AN INCREDIBLE INDORSEMENT

But the unconditional endorsement of Willkie, as the opposite of Roosevelt, flies in the face of truth and commonsense. It transcends even the moss-grown plausibilities of the "lesser evil" theory. It is incredible. It strikes no answering chord among the masses. It does not correspond to their experience or their understanding. For the masses know that Willkie has pledged himself to follow the self-same course as Roosevelt in every essential, to do the very things for which Roosevelt is so justly and roundly repudiated. The act does not ring true. It is the expedient of the moment, the grasping of a straw. It is an expression of weakness, not of strength, a weakness which, if not remedied, can become fatal in the unfolding of events as history whirls forward.

There can be nothing but contempt for the howls and cavilling against Lewis, which come from the camp of Roosevelt's "labor" lieutenants. Among these Lilliputians, Lewis has stood forth as a giant. They have grovelled at the feet of the war machine and would deliver labor in chains for the reward of Roosevelt's smile. Lewis has at least tried to bargain for some definite gain as the price of labor's vote, even though such bargain is dubious and unsound, and dangerous for the future.

### FOR LABOR'S INDEPENDENCE

The Communists have no part or parcel with endorsement of Willkie, unconditional or otherwise. Once entrenched in power, he will ruthlessly drive forward the program of imperialist reaction and war which Roosevelt ruthlessly drives forward today. That is why the Communist Party and its growing mass of supporters fight so fiercely for the people's ballot rights in New York today. For the Communist Party in 1940 occupies the unique position of being the only channel through which labor and the masses can register unequivocally their will to peace, their struggle for a better life, their path to the future when labor will hold all power in its own hands.

## SHALL IT BE WAR?

**M**R. DREISER has eloquently expressed what millions of Americans are thinking tonight.\* These are the thoughts which unite the Communist Party at this moment with these millions. The all-important question before our country is this: Shall America be plunged into the catastrophe of the imperialist war?

Candidate Willkie has charged that Roosevelt is leading us into the war. That is true, terribly true. The great majority of Americans want to stop this course. But it is also true that each and every step Roosevelt has taken in this direction has received the blessings of Willkie. Are the American people such political children that we shall believe that the selfsame policy with Roosevelt leads to war while with Willkie it will maintain peace? But war is the result of policy, not of mistakes of individuals. And it is policy that is dragging our country swiftly into this war.

The two leading candidates have made it impossible to choose between war and peace by choosing between them. Roosevelt has proved in action that he is rushing America into war. He is restrained for the moment by the imminent election, in which the voters would strongly resent any war moves at this moment. Indeed, we may expect some spectacular "peace gestures" this week, for the one purpose of pacifying a suspicious people. But his course is fixed, and Roosevelt will go "full speed ahead" once he has his mandate.

But Willkie has pledged himself to follow the same path. Once entrenched in power, Willkie will drive ruthlessly forward the program of imperialist reaction and war which Roosevelt drives forward ruthlessly now. There is but this small difference between them: Roosevelt is already in the driver's seat all set to go, while Willkie want to occupy that same seat. To choose Willkie might mean, at most, to gain that time occupied in changing drivers, a few weeks or months

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\* This address was introduced by Theodore Dreiser, famous American novelist, who spoke from Hollywood, California.

at best. Truly a miserable choice for the sovereign American voters!

### A LABOR PARTY NEEDED

The radical remedy needed for this situation is a Labor Party. This is now too late for the November 5 balloting, but it is not too early to speak for it for future elections, assuming that all elections will not be abolished once the country gives a "mandate" for war. For this election only the Communist Party offers a channel for the Labor Party vote, for a clear alternative policy of a reasonable, realistic, rounded-out peace policy for America.

That is why Democrats and Republicans joined in violently and illegally driving the Communist Party off the ballot in twenty-four states. They want to leave the protest vote no place to go, no way to vote except for war. In Ohio and Illinois especially, where our Party is strong, they took our ticket off the ballot by force and fraud, in fear of the great anti-war vote which it would certainly have registered.

In New York, we have the shameful spectacle of Boss Flynn, campaign manager for Mr. Roosevelt, openly boasting that the Communist Party would be kept off the ballot, to force its vote to go to Roosevelt, and then the courts obediently carried out his instructions; this is done in the face of a fourfold compliance with legal requirements of petition signatures, and in face of the fact that the Communist Party only lost its permanent place on the ballot because in 1938 it withdrew its candidate for Governor in favor of the Democrats, barely saving the state thereby from going Republican and electing Thomas E. Dewey. They pay us for that help by driving us off the ballot altogether. A terrible and sinister blow against free elections, when minority parties, any party, is wiped off the ballot by high-handed administrative edict, by deprivation from jobs, relief, and old-age pensions, by threats of concentration camps, by trumped-up prosecutions and imprisonments, like the sending of the West Virginia farmer, Oscar Wheeler, to prison for fifteen years for gathering signatures to the Communist petitions. Every country that has lost its liberties in these past years has started on the downward path by such suppressions

of the Communist Party. What happens to us today, will happen to all other oppositions tomorrow.

#### HOW TO VOTE

To voters in those states where the Communist national ticket has been taken from the ballot, I cannot offer any alternative among the other minority parties. In such states we can make no recommendations for President, but only urge the highest possible vote for Congressional and local peace candidates. Norman Thomas is a futile and dangerous muddle-head, whose chief objection to the war is that he wants it to be directed also against the Soviet Union. Other minority parties make no pretense of answering the problems of the day.

In this dilemma of political disfranchisement, each individual voter is thrown back upon his own conscience, to choose between the primitive expedients of (a) the excessively difficult "write in" vote; or (b) abstentionism which violates his instincts to action; or (c) the choice between two evils both of which every fibre of one's being calls to repudiate.

It is a hard choice, where the Communist Party is not on the ballot. All the more reason, therefore, where it is possible to do so, to roll up the biggest possible vote for peace, for security, for free elections, for civil rights, for jobs—by casting your vote for the candidates of the Communist Party.

*Address delivered over a nationwide hookup of 103 stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System on October 29, 1940.*

## THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE ELECTIONS

**S**HALL it be war for America? That is the real issue in this campaign. There are anti-Semites who say that the Jewish people want to drag America into war because of their hatred for Hitler. That is an unmitigated lie whose only purpose is to shield the real warmongers. There is not a father or a mother among the Jewish masses that wants her son or any-

body else's son to give his life in a war for the enrichment of Wall Street or the preservation of British imperial rule.

That is all the more reason why the Jewish people must realize that Roosevelt's policy, which is fully endorsed by Willkie, can only lead the country into war. Willkie's charge that America will be at war by April, 1941, if Roosevelt is re-elected can only mean that America will be driven down the road to war no matter who wins; for, surely, the policy which leads to war under Roosevelt will not preserve peace under Willkie!

Let us not forget that Willkie's objection is not that we are being led into war, but that Roosevelt didn't do a good enough job preparing for it. At the same time, let us remember that Roosevelt promises peace "except in case of attack." That ominous "except" is the open door to American involvement in the war. Indeed, they are not satisfied merely to lead us into war while promising peace; they actually want the people to give them a mandate for it in the elections. That is why, six days before the close of the campaign, Roosevelt deliberately asked for 12,000 additional planes for England, while Willkie offered to outdo Roosevelt. These gentlemen don't ask for much—merely that the people sign their own death warrant!

#### EMPTY PROMISES

No doubt there are people who think that everyone that opposes Hitler is a friend of the Jews. There could be no greater mistake. The Jewish people have every reason to hate Hitler, but that is all the more reason why they cannot afford to forget who built up Hitler, why they need to examine the credentials of all those who claim to be friends of the Jews. The Jewish people can least afford to mortgage their fate to empty promises. Such promises were made to the Jews in the last war, but the brutal realities that followed the Balfour Declaration and the guarantees of minority rights at the Paris Peace Conference only proved that it was an illusion for an oppressed people to imagine that they could benefit from the victory of one of the camps in the imperialist struggle to dominate the world. In the name of democracy, the imperialist gentlemen are once more trading on the misery of the Jews as

they did in the last war. But they are no more interested in the welfare of the Jews than they are in the welfare of the rest of the common people.

Look at these friends of democracy! How long did it take them in France to reveal themselves as Jew-baiting fascists? They were interested in only one thing—to save their capital and their system from the wrath of the French working people. The very men who even declared war against Hitler were the first to institute a replica of the Nuremberg anti-Jewish decrees. And yet Mr. Bullitt, America's Ambassador to France, still insists that the government of his friends in Vichy is not a fascist regime!

Or, take England. Can the Jewish people forget that it was the British Government that introduced tsarist ghetto laws in Palestine, the country promised them as a homeland? Or that hundreds of Jews that dared to protest were wounded and killed by British storm troopers? Can they forget that 27,000 anti-Nazis are interned in British concentration camps while fascists like Prince Stahremberg are honored as "fighters" for democracy in the British armed forces; or that the Polish Endecks who share responsibility for the pogroms, the slaughter of Jews and the ghetto benches in the old Poland are freely carrying on anti-Semitic activities in the streets of London while in the pay of the British Government?

Of course they promise the Jewish people the world; they're promising socialism to British labor with equal ease. Of course they invoke all the highest moral sentiments and glittering generalities about democracy, civilization, equality. But they'll never be able to conceal the fact that the kind of world they believe in and ask us to die for is a world which has no place for Jews in it. Dorothy Thompson, Herbert Hoover and Lord Marley only articulate the sentiments of their entire class when they envisage a post-war Europe with superfluous Jews and yearn for uninhabited territories to ship them off to.

#### "NO PLACE FOR JEWS"

Here you have the real meaning for the Jewish people of the Roosevelt-Willkie policy of all aid to Britain. No wonder President Roosevelt had no qualms about appointing William

S. Knudsen to the Defense Commission, a man who only two years ago described Nazi Germany as "the miracle of the twentieth century." In California, they're not even waiting for a post-war era to exclude Jews. According to the *California Jewish Voice* of September 27, Jews, Negroes and members of other minority groups are already barred from defense industries by agreement of the aviation corporations, the California State Relief Administration and the National Youth Administration.

It was the Roosevelt Administration that whitewashed the anti-Semitic Christian Front, and it is the Roosevelt Administration that to this day has refused to heed the demand of progressive America to investigate Father Coughlin. Clearly there is no real difference between this and the endorsement of Wendell Willkie by such notorious anti-Semites as Henry Ford and the radio priest from Royal Oak. What else could be expected of a "national unity" which rests upon such pillars as Martin Dies, guardian angel of anti-Semitic and Nazi organizations in America? What else but the calamity of France is foreshadowed in all this?

This is the stark reality, and the Jewish people must not shrink from drawing the conclusions, dictated by cold, hard fact. There is no choice between Roosevelt and Willkie. They are the representatives of big capital, the real source of anti-Semitism everywhere. In this election only the Communist Party offers the Jewish people the opportunity to vote for outlawing anti-Semitism. It is the only party that is fighting to make anti-Semitism a crime. Because it is a working class party, a party that fights for socialism, the Communist Party stands for the abolition of all forms of oppression and persecution.

#### BUT THERE IS A PLACE . . .

Every Jew in his heart knows that the existence of the Socialist Soviet Union has given him hope for the future of his people. The broken-down, chaotic system of capitalism offers only the prospect of concentration camps, annihilation of entire Jewish communities, masses of unwanted refugees.

The Soviet Union has opened an endless perspective for the

creative development of the Jewish people and the affirmation of their human dignity as free and equal members of the socialist fraternity of nations. The Jewish people cannot ignore the historic fact that the Soviet Union is the only country where anti-Semitism has been wiped out; that the Soviet Constitution is the only one in the world which recognizes anti-Semitism as a crime punishable by law. They cannot fail to draw conclusions from the phenomenal fact that hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees flocked to the safety and hospitality of the Soviet borders; or that three and a quarter million Jews were saved from the ravages of war and brutal anti-Semitic regimes.

The Jewish people have too long been the victims of slander and abuse to allow themselves to be misled by lies about the Soviet Union and the Communists. They have special cause to protest against the violation of minority rights inspired by Boss Flynn, Roosevelt's campaign manager who has virtually imposed a Hitler election on New York State by throwing the Communist Party off the ballot despite the fact that we had four times the number of signatures required by law. This outrageous act was carried out with the aid of Storm Troop intimidation and brazen anti-Semitic propaganda in order to make sure that there is no way to vote except for war, while trying to carry the State for the Democratic Party with votes that don't belong to them.

Every country that has lost its liberties, and deprived the Jews and other sections of the population of their rights, has started on the downward path by attacks against the Communist Party. That is a lesson which no section of the people can afford to ignore. That is why I urge you to roll up the biggest possible vote for peace, security, free elections, civil rights and jobs, by casting your vote for the local and Congressional candidates of the Communist Party in New York and the full ticket of the Communist Party in New Jersey.

*Address delivered over Station WOR, New York City, on November 3, 1940.*

## ONLY THE WORKING CLASS CAN BUILD A NEW WORLD

**D**AY after tomorrow the national election campaign comes to its conclusion. Truly it has been the most peculiar campaign in the history of the republic. Even Roosevelt recognized its peculiar character Friday night, in his own way, when he said this is a "funny" campaign. It may be "funny" for those who play with the lives of the people as an interesting game, but it is not "funny" for the working people; it is tragedy, the tragedy of the collapse of the prevailing social and economic system, before the masses have found the path to the future.

America has already been deeply involved in the imperialist war, has been led to the very brink of belligerency, and may be pushed over the edge at any moment. This has been done against the will of the people. Never at any stage of this development have the people been allowed a voice in determining this course. Both the major parties, Democratic and Republican, both the major candidates, Roosevelt and Willkie, bear joint responsibility for this course toward imperialist war for America. The outstanding peculiarity of this election is that the majority peace sentiments of the people are denied expression through either of the dominant parties. To vote for either is to approve a joint policy of both, which heads our country into the very center of the worldwide bloody scramble for empire.

How close America has come to belligerency in this war has been obscured in this campaign. I wish, in this final election rally of the Communist Party, to make clear the immediacy of this menace to the lives of our people.

### IMMINENCE OF WAR

If you knew that next week, for example, the Japanese imperialist would seize the Philippine Islands, you would know that our country would probably be soon at war. Perhaps you might be ready to blame the Japanese for it, and absolve

American imperialists from such blame, but the imminence of war would be clear.

I am not predicting a Japanese seizure of the Philippines. But I am calling your attention to the fact that the United States navy is at this moment all set to seize the French West Indies. This act may be an accomplished fact before the week is over.

United States seizure of Martinique will be as definite a war initiative on the part of our Government, as would be the seizure of Manila on the part of the Japanese Government. Yet, with all the radio channels filled with protestations of peaceful intentions by our "statesmen," this war act has been placed on the calendar of imminent events. By the thin threads which hold back this action—fear of the people's reaction to it in the elections—and by this alone, are we still separated from war.

It is this imminence of war that explains the desperate moves of the ruling class to remove the Communist Party from the ballot, at all costs, in this election. They are determined not to permit the possibility of a big peace vote, because they expect quickly to take our country into war. The suppression of the Communists is further a warning to labor of coming repressions of its rights. In this question, there is unity between the Democratic and Republican parties.

#### OLD PARTIES READY FOR WAR

Yet despite this unity there is a bitter struggle for power between the two parties, which two days before the voting are so evenly balanced in strength that no one can be certain of the outcome. Roosevelt's enormous advantages of entrenched power, ruthlessly wielded, are offset by Willkie's bold gathering of the accumulated grievances against an Administration grown arrogant through long tenure of office. The two rivals for power, standing on identical platforms, representing two branches of the same War Party Coalition, intensify the ruthlessness of their factional warfare even as they emphasize the absence of any principle difference between them. Both sides appeal to the electorate with extreme demagoguery.

Willkie has bid for the anti-war vote, in order to split Roose-

velt's following; Roosevelt has emerged as chief red-baiter, trying to split Willkie's upper-class following with the slogans of anti-Communism. These are the new features of the last ten days of the campaign, together with the trimmings of eggs, onions, knees, and hooliganism generally, with workers being sent to prison for sentences up to fifteen years for daring to attempt to engage in the sacred game of politics without a license from either Roosevelt or Willkie!

We warn the workers and farmers of America that neither of the major parties, nor their candidates, are worthy of the slightest confidence. Both are pledged to spend the life-blood of American youth and the sweat of American labor for the aggrandizement of Wall Street's profits and imperial world power. The turning of old rascals out will only put new rascals in. Whichever one holds power will be the immediate enemy which labor must fight and overcome, if labor would defend its rights, its living standards, and its peace. That is the dilemma posed by the two major parties.

On Friday night Roosevelt disclosed that which he had long kept a secret, namely, that he reads the *Daily Worker*. That is, of course, nothing to hide; all really well-informed people read the *Daily Worker*. But what is interesting is that Roosevelt found there the evidence of something very terrible, a political advertisement paid for by supporters of the Republicans. "Something evil is happening in this country," he said, when such a thing could take place.

#### ROOSEVELT'S NEW RULE

Now this is a very interesting problem, indeed, which the President has raised. We are justified in examining it in some detail, because it registers the fact that Communism is now an issue of the day for America.

As to whether the *Daily Worker* should accept political advertising at all, this is a question to be settled among supporters and readers of that paper and its management. There are two opinions on that, but since the paper is no longer the official organ of the Communist Party, it was clearly within the province of the management to accept advertising if it saw fit. Just as newspapers supporting Roosevelt accepted and

printed the advertisement, so the *Daily Worker* supporting Browder and Ford printed it, as a matter of business policy, not of politics. But of all papers, only the *Daily Worker* printed a refutation of its arguments in an equally prominent position. So, if Mr. Roosevelt was worried about preserving the purity of Communist principles, we can set his mind at rest.

Of course, Roosevelt had something quite different in mind. He is angry because Boss Flynn blundered in trying to steal the Communist votes for him. He was trying to set up a new rule in American politics, namely, that anyone even remotely associating with the Communists in any way, even to advertising in their papers, shall be registered as suspect and deprived of public office. And then he demanded the application of this rule to his rival, Willkie. This is a strange proposal from the Democrats who, in the State of New York, hold power as against the Republicans, only by the margin of votes given them by the Communist Party in 1938. And it was the Communist Party which terminated that association—Democrats were still vainly soliciting our support in New York as late as July, 1940, with the knowledge of Roosevelt. Since they couldn't reach the grapes for themselves, they now warn the Republicans that the grapes are sour.

#### URGENCY OF LOCAL VOTE

On the question of the Communist votes, let me console both Democrats and Republicans. We are not going to allow our votes to strengthen either of you. We will use our votes to undermine and defeat both of you, your war plans together with your whole system of private ownership of the country by a handful of monopolists. And we will know how to accomplish this even though you have illegally and arbitrarily removed our ticket from the ballot in New York, in Ohio, in Illinois, and in twenty-one other states, even though you have railroaded forty-three of our best workers to prison in Pennsylvania for daring to put our Party on the ballot, even though you sent Oscar Wheeler to prison in West Virginia for fifteen years for soliciting signatures to our petitions!

For you can neither intimidate nor corrupt the Communist Party. This is the reason why Democratic and Republican politicians fear the Communist Party. And that is why growing hundreds of thousands of working people respect and love our Party.

The immediate perspective for American working people is a dark one. Regardless of who wins the elections, war and reaction will ride the seats of power, and only the most fearless and resolute struggle can put any check upon them. For this struggle we must prepare; for this struggle we must gather and register strength in the voting on November 5.

Hard struggles, ever more severe trials, lie ahead for the working class and for the Communist Party. There is no place today for a facile and shallow optimism, which promises easy victories, at little cost. There is nothing of the sort in prospect.

Yet we face the future with serene confidence. In the broadest and deepest sense we are enthusiastically optimistic. And this optimism is based not upon faith alone, but upon concrete facts and experiences.

In this election campaign, we have seen the struggle for political independence of the working class go ahead a big step in the beginnings of the mass breakaway from the Roosevelt illusion; a Willkie can never rebuild for 1944 the old obstacle that prevented the Labor Party from appearing in 1940.

In this election campaign the masses of the labor and peace movements, even though faced with the Willkie-Roosevelt agreement on policy against them, have made their influence felt, have registered their will to peace, have prepared a storm for any government which overrides that will and takes America into the imperialist war.

These are the signs of approaching maturity of the American working class, which alone can build a new America as part of a new world, a world of socialism.

Roosevelt and Willkie join in denouncing the Communists as "foreign agents," as "representatives of an alien way of life," as "agents of Stalin." It is significant that they find Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party no danger to the capitalist "way of life."



#### SOVIET UNION'S EXAMPLE

No, we Communists are not agents of Stalin. We are, however, emulators of Stalin. The achievements which Stalin has led in gaining for the Soviet Union, we would strive to gain for the United States and its people.

The Soviet Union has maintained peace with its neighbors, has kept neutral toward the imperialist war, has defeated all attempts to draw it in—to the great benefit of its people. America, on the contrary, has abandoned neutrality, has become deeply involved, and is in imminent danger of becoming a belligerent. The Communist Party would save America from catastrophe, by emulating the policy of Stalin.

The Soviet Union has multiplied its industrial production tenfold since 1929, made its defenses impregnable, and at the same time raised the general standard of living by 500 per cent. The Communist Party would do the same for the United States, emulating the policy of Stalin, which achieved these history-making figures.

We Communists have the deepest confidence in the American people. We say that Americans can accomplish anything that other peoples can. If the Russians can increase their national income by one thousand per cent during eleven or twelve years, we say that Americans could do the same thing once we adopted the corresponding policies and leadership. If the Russians can maintain peace and security, in a warlike world, so could we Americans.

But that would require that we understand the cause and origin of our present troubles and disasters, and remove it. That cause and origin is the decaying and broken-down system of capitalism, which Mr. Roosevelt describes as a system of "private profit and private enterprise," which for Mr. Willkie is "the American way of life." That is the system of monopoly, in which a small fraction of the population owns most of the national economy, in which the masses must find work as wage-labor, a system which is the negation of democracy, which can no longer feed the people, which inevitably breeds crises and wars.

Twenty-three years ago next Thursday, the workers and farmers of the former tsarist empire under the leadership of

Lenin overthrew the power of their capitalists and landlords, established a new regime of their own, which they called the Soviets, or Councils, and began to build the new system of socialism out of the ruins of the old society destroyed by the war. That was the beginning and the foundation of the tremendous advances and achievements of the Soviet Union today under the leadership of Stalin.

America has much to teach the Soviet Union, in the way of technique, but the Soviet Union has more to teach us, in the matter of finding the social and economic forms which will put technique and science in the service of all the people.

No people is free or can maintain peace unless it owns and controls its own economy, the material foundation of society. If that economy is in the hands of a privileged class, the people are not free, there can be no democracy, there can be no peace.

The only way the masses of the people can own and control a modern economy of power-machine production is through collective ownership and operation, that is, through socialism.

The Soviet Union is showing us the first practical working out of socialism. Its achievements are the proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Therefore we must learn from the experience of the Soviet Union if we wish America to go forward, to increase its wealth and the well being of its people, to maintain peace.

Only the working class, when it has gained its independence from the capitalists and their agents, from the bourgeoisie, can bring socialism into existence, can build a new world.

#### MESSAGE OF COMMUNISM

This is the message of the Communist Party of the United States to the American people.

This is why the Democratic and Republican Parties, Roosevelt and Willkie, unite in persecuting the Communist Party and denouncing communism before the country, because both of them represent the monopolists who hold the private ownership of American economy, who make private profits from

it, and who rule the American people by this means, and who are driving us into imperialist war.

This is why the capitalists, the bourgeoisie, fear and hate the Communist Party, because they know they can never meet its challenge, because they know their old system is dying because they know the Communist Party represents the inevitable future.

This is why the Communist Party can never be suppressed, can never be defeated, can never be destroyed, no matter how fiercely or ruthlessly the present ruling powers may attack it.

This is why the Democrats and Republicans, the more desperately they fight against us, only the more surely and effectively educate the masses in the truth of our program.

This is why we can say that no matter how the ballots are cast on November 5, only the Communist Party has strengthened its hold among the people, has deepened their confidence, has prepared them for the solution of their problems.

This is why we can claim that it is the Communist Party that is emerging as the victor, that all other parties are registering their decay, the preparations for their demise.

For the road to life, to prosperity, to peace, to the future, is the road to socialism. And this road is charted only by the Communist Party.

*Address delivered at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on November 3, 1940.*