


SPEED
the
SECOND
FRONT



Earl Browder
William Z. Foster
Israel Amter
Max Weiss

1¢



NOTE

This pamphlet contains speeches by Earl Browder, General Secretary, and William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, Israel Amter, Chairman of the New York State organization of the Communist Party and its candidate for Governor, and Max Weiss, General Secretary of the Young Communist League, at the large Second Front Rally held at Union Square, New York, on September 24, 1942, which was attended by more than 40,000 people.

Published by WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC.
P.O. Box 148, Station D (832 Broadway), New York, N. Y.
October, 1942



209

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

SPEED THE SECOND FRONT

SPEECH OF EARL BROWDER

THIS rally is intended to tell President Roosevelt, the country and our allies that the working people are supporting this war, are ready to fight this war through to victory, and that we want to begin fighting now.

The issue of the Second Front in Europe *now* is the issue of whether we fight the war now or whether we postpone the war until we think we are better prepared to fight it. Fighting a war is, however, not something which can be postponed like a visit to the theatre. The fate of France is the fate that awaits all nations which, being in war, try to postpone it.

Today the war is being fought almost entirely on the Eastern Front. That means to give the enemy an enormous advantage, to allow him to concentrate all his forces on one front at a time, to break up the preponderant forces of the United Nations which united could bring victory. That means to enormously increase the danger to the United States. That means to raise the danger that we may lose this war, and to lose the war spells slavery for the American people and extinction of the American nation.

The reactionary newspapers are telling us that we cannot have the Second Front until next year—or the year after. At the same time they tell us that we should leave the question to the military experts. We wish they would choose one or the

other of these answers and not try to give us both. If they want to leave it to the experts, let them stop arguing against the Second Front now, for the whole world knows these newspaper writers are not experts at anything except guessing wrong. The real military experts are not talking through the newspapers. As for the newspaper reasons why there can be no Second Front now, these all boil down to defeatism, to a desire not to fight the war, to a plan for negotiating an agreement with Hitler, to a shameful surrender of the United States.

Every military man knows, just as every worker knows, just as every citizen of common sense knows, that it is easier to attack Hitler now, when most of his forces are tied down on the Soviet front, than it will be next year when he will in all likelihood have 150 more divisions in the West to meet the Second Front. There is no possible way in which our forces can be increased between now and the Spring of 1943 as much as Hitler's forces will be increased by his being able to take on one front at a time instead of two fronts at once.

The forces calling for delay are the forces that work for defeat. To fight for victory means to fight for the opening of the Second Front *now*.

The very same people who have been holding back the arm of the President, and preventing him from executing the agreement for the Second Front by their propaganda and sabotage, are now treacherously raising a hue and cry against the Commander-in-Chief and accusing *him* of the delay. The Copperheads tried the same trick against Lincoln in 1862, and even carried the elections against him that year through the demagogic trick. But the Copperheads of today will not get away with it. The movement for the Second Front is going to strengthen the hands of the President and help to strike down his opponents.

The defeatists are posing as the friends and defenders of the military command, and denounce the advocates of the Second Front as "arm-chair strategists." But the military circles are

not joining in the newspaper incitation against the Second Front. They know that they need the country aroused and united in support of the Second Front *before* it is launched. There is not a single responsible military man in the United States who has spoken or will speak against the Second Front. If there is any such who, in his heart, is against the Second Front for reactionary political reasons, he dares not speak in his own name but only furnishes to hired scribblers the "arguments" by which these phony experts deliver what their defeatist employers demand of them. But the great majority of American military men, the privates and the officers, want to fight this war now, they are *for* the Second Front immediately. It is not the military men we have to fight on this issue, it is the newspapers and the defeatists who control the newspapers and the minority of sabotaging industrialists behind them who are hampering the war-production program.

What is holding back the realization of the Second Front? Unquestionably it is the defeatist influence, particularly the newspapers, which have created the impression that the country is not prepared to support the all-out participation in the war demanded by the Second Front. It is the political opposition to the President which is holding back his arm, and holding back the Second Front. It is they who are trying to dictate to the military leaders, and to intimidate them, to frighten them away from the practical decisions of the Second Front by telling them the country is not behind them. But the defeatists are lying. The masses of the people do support the Second Front *now*. The workers in war production will greet the opening of the Second Front with a great spurt forward in their production results. The whole country will rise up with enthusiasm to greet the Second Front. The people are sick of delays and of playing with the issues of the war. But they will support with everything they have every step forward to fighting the war, and especially the decisive step of the Second Front.

The Second Front is a necessity for the United States, for its victory and survival. We are urging the Second Front upon that basis. We are in this war, for victory or death, with our Soviet, British, Chinese and other allies. It is a United Nations war. There is no room in this war for playing one national interest against another. The Soviet blood so gallantly and heroically spent at Stalingrad is ours just as much as that of the American boys who will give theirs with equal heroism on the Second Front. We have one war and one cause. Every American of whatever class should appreciate the patriotic expression of this spirit of solidarity which was published last Sunday by Mr. Thomas W. Lamont. Workers and capitalists, Communists and Wall Street bankers, can unite for victory and can find a common language in the struggle for victory.

The war and the opening of the Second Front *now* is no partisan issue, and no group can make political capital out of it for themselves. It is an issue of life and death for the nation, and is being supported by a growing majority of the people of all parties. If the Communist Party has been the first to take up the issue as a party, that is only because we as a party of the working class, devoted to the nation's interest, having no party machine of vested interests, are able to move faster than Democrats and Republicans. But the Democratic and Republican party voters, aye, and the American Labor Party in New York before them, will also organize to take up the demand for the *Second Front now*, will reject the defeatists, and elect a Congress which will support the President. For this is the will of the people. It is the will to victory in this war.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

DURING recent days President Roosevelt and Wendell L. Willkie have made statements that the American and British peoples would do well to take fully to heart. President Roosevelt, in his lend-lease message to Congress on Sept. 14, remarked that *"it is through their [the Russians'] uphill fight that the war has not been lost."* There we have in a nutshell the great truth that must be burned into our very fibre. The obvious meaning of the President's statement is that were it not for the Red Army the war would have been won by Hitler, which means inescapably that but for the Soviet fighters the United States would now be virtually at the mercy of the Nazi tyranny. And if it is correct to say, as the President does, that the Russians prevented the loss of the war, it is also accurate to state that with the Red Army now facing ninety per cent of Hitler's armed forces the fate of the war, and with it that of the American and British peoples, is still depending almost entirely upon the courage and fighting strength of the Soviet soldiers, sailors and airmen.

Mr. Willkie's statement, made in Moscow on Sept. 20, also goes to point up the same great lesson that President Roosevelt's does; namely, that the fight of the Red Army is our fight; that our most fundamental national interests are at stake in the titanic struggle now being fought out by the Soviet people on the Eastern front against Nazi Germany and its puppet allies. Said Mr. Willkie: *"In my opinion the Stalingrad front is as much a British and an American front as it is a Russian one, for this war is global in nature and every one of the fronts belongs to the United Nations."*

These statements by Roosevelt and Willkie contain the basic

realities that must be absorbed completely by our people. Then our aroused nation will brush aside the Hoovers, Hearsts, Howards, Tafts, Farleys, Deweys, Lewises, Hutche-sons, Norman Thomases, Fishes, and the other waverers, defeatists and fifth columnists, enemies of the Second Front, who always mask their opposition with so-called expert military arguments to the effect that "we are not yet ready for the Second Front," and it will rally overwhelmingly behind President Roosevelt for an immediate all-out attack against the main Axis foe, Nazi Germany. Then, also, realizing that the Second Front is a life and death question for America and Britain, and that the defense of Stalingrad is as much our cause as though the fighting was taking place on the approaches to New York, our people will put a stopper on the sly defeatist argument that the Second Front is merely a Russian policy, something designed as a generous act of solidarity with our gallant Soviet ally.

The clear logic of both Roosevelt's and Willkie's statements, quoted above, calls for the establishment of an Anglo-American Second Front at the earliest possible moment, in order to make really effective the collaboration with our ally, the U. S. S. R., in our common fight against our common enemy. The great idle British, Canadian and American armies on the British Isles should be launched into an all-out attack on Nazi Germany immediately. This is in line with the best military opinion, with the national will of the American and British peoples and with the fighting spirit of the British, Canadian and American armed forces. Moreover, it is also the policy of the American government, as expressed in the Roosevelt-Churchill-Molotov agreement for a Second Front in 1942.

The stumbling block that is preventing the Second Front are the powerful defeatist elements in this country and England. The American and British peoples should break the resistance of these anti-Second Front defeatists and insist that the June 11 agreement be put into effect without delay. They

should reject as an insult to their national intelligence the defeatist arguments that the Roosevelt-Churchill-Molotov agreement was misinterpreted by the public and did not really provide for a Second Front in 1942.

For those gullible persons who still believe the politically inspired defeatist "military" contentions that the Second Front is not our national affair and that it is not possible under present circumstances, the question may be made clearer in the following way: Suppose that the men fighting and dying on the ramparts and in the streets of Stalingrad were actually British or American soldiers—how long, then, would it take to get a Second Front in operation? Not long, we may be certain.

Those who still said it could not be accomplished would be unceremoniously pushed aside. The Second Front would be speedily launched and Hitler would be gripped in the fatal pincers of a two-front war.

The Second Front is absolutely essential to the United States; the Red Army soldiers are our soldiers; Stalingrad is one of our most strategic fortresses; the Second Front is a life-and-death matter for the American people, as well as for the whole United Nations. Especially is it vital that the great trade unions of the United States and Great Britain demand the Second Front in this clear-seeing and resolute spirit.

SPEECH OF ISRAEL AMTER

ALL the enemies of our nation are not abroad. There are plenty of them right here at home. These enemies of our country and the United Nations do not dare to attack President Roosevelt openly on the war question. On the contrary, they pledge allegiance to the President and vow to carry through the war to a decisive victory.

These people have other means of attacking the President's war program. They have torn his 7-point economic program to pieces—the program that was designed to mobilize the forces of the country behind the war effort, to secure maximum war production, to safeguard the health and welfare of the people, and to bring about national unity. Only yesterday, despite grave warning from the President, the House of Representatives adopted a bill shamelessly including a provision on farm parity that wrecks the fight against inflation. Will the Senate dare to do the same? If it does, we urge the President to veto the bill and act on the basis of his message to Congress, namely, to act himself. The people will back him up.

Surely, thirteen million American Negroes will support him. They are the worst sufferers today; for that very reason they demand the right to play their full part in the war effort. We Communists have always insisted that Negroes be given full and equal rights, even as a matter of justice to the Negro people. But today it is no longer a question merely of justice. It is a matter of the supreme necessity of the war. There can be no national unity unless the Negroes are permitted fully to cooperate in the war effort. The war effort cannot be successful unless the ability and determination of all people are fully integrated into it. This demands that Negroes be given a full and equal share in all war production, with every avenue

of training and promotion open to them; that they be permitted to participate in all the fighting forces without exception or discrimination; that promotion everywhere take place solely on the basis of ability and accomplishment. Jim Crow must end.

During the past few weeks, Christian Fronters have again attacked our Jewish citizens. They invaded a Jewish center in Brooklyn and painted swastikas on the walls. In the Bronx they attacked Jews in the streets and then went so far as to assault air raid wardens who were carrying out their patriotic duty. These actions, which emanate from the subversive policy of Coughlin, must be condemned.

Whoever favors and promotes such actions does harm not only to the Negro and Jewish people but to the whole nation and to victory in the war. Whoever discriminates against Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Poles, Puerto Ricans, loyal Italians and German-Americans, or any other national group, is doing the dirty work of Hitler. There can be no compromise on these issues, for they can easily determine the outcome of the war.

Today our city and country are engaged in a campaign of tremendous significance for extending war production. Mr. Donald Nelson reports that only 40 per cent of our economy is devoted to the war. War production is hampered by the grave lack of scrap metal. A salvage campaign has been undertaken for the securing of hundreds of thousands of tons of scrap, which are essential for the production of millions of tons of steel for the building of ships, guns, tanks, planes, etc. I want to urge you to consider this campaign as one of the most serious in connection with the war. Salvage committees should be established everywhere—in the shops, unions, mass organizations and communities. Not a bit of scrap metal should be left in homes, buildings and public places, but should be gathered together as a contribution of our city to this phase of the war effort.

The seven and a half million people of New York must be

aroused. Metal for steel! Steel for munitions, planes and tanks! Ships to transport our American soldiers across the sea to participate in opening the Second Front immediately.

No discrimination against any loyal American regardless of his race, creed, color or political opinion! Down with the enemies of the war, the Christian Front, the Coughlinites, the Ku Klux Klan, appeasers, defeatists and fifth columnists who are trying to cause division in our ranks. United in our country, and together with Britain, the Soviet Union and China, let us march forth to deadly battle against the Nazi forces, determined to win victory for the arms of our country and the United Nations.

SPEECH OF MAX WEISS

THIS great demonstration for the immediate opening of the Second Front gives voice to a demand which dominates the mind and heart of millions of young people throughout America. Our country is in deadly peril, a peril which grows more ominous with every day that passes in which we do not act. It is a peril from which we can free ourselves only by smashing our way to victory over the Hitler monster through an immediate invasion of the European Continent.

The Young Communist League does not speak for itself alone—it speaks for these millions of young people as well—when it asks: “What are we waiting for?”

It is now fifteen months—fifteen long and bloody months—during which our own American nation, our own American homes and hearth, our own American schools, our own American churches have been kept inviolate by the single-handed fight of the Soviet Union, its glorious Red Army and youth.

The epic bravery and heroism of the Soviet youth has its living embodiment in the three young heroes who are in the United States as the delegates of the young people of our fighting ally. America's youth salutes the young Soviet fighters Pavlichenkō, Pchelintsov and Krasavchenko!

Words fail us when we speak of the heroism that has been displayed in the fire of battle against the Hitler hordes by the youth of the Soviet Union. But what is needed today is more than words. What is needed today in the fight against Hitler are deeds to match the heroism of the Soviet youth.

What are we waiting for?

The youth of our country is ready and impatient to get at the enemy. Above all, those more than four million of the

finest flower of America's youth who are in the armed forces—*they* are ready!

Do you want to know what the boys in the Army think about the Second Front? Then listen to Major-General Russell P. Hartle, Commander of the American Expeditionary Force in Ireland, when he says:

"These boys are restless because they want to get going. . . . They came over here to fight, they want to get at it . . . they want action. If it were left to a vote of the men, we would invade the Continent tomorrow."

Yes! The boys in the army are ready, just as the youth of America and the whole people of our country are ready! If it were left to them, we would invade the Continent tomorrow.

It is the defeatists, those who look forward to a negotiated peace with Hitler Germany, who are attempting to block and delay the immediate opening of the Second Front against the will of the people, against the will of the youth and against the will of the President of the United States.

In the last few weeks these defeatist friends of Hitler have been attempting to hold back the surging tide of the mass demand among millions of young Americans for the immediate opening of the Second Front by attempting to frighten them with the Munich flag of cowardice. They have used the columns of the reactionary newspapers to paint a grim picture of the sacrifices and losses which the opening of a Second Front will entail.

But the youth of our country, in whose veins runs the red blood of the great patriots who fought that we might be free, hurl that white flag of cowardice back into the ugly faces of the defeatists. They pledge anew their loyal support to our President, and tell him, as our Commander-in-Chief, that we are ready to undergo every risk and to make every sacrifice to open that Second Front now.

It is not with the loss of our lives that we are concerned.

Like Nathan Hale, our only regret is that we have but one life to give to our country.

This is the spirit which prompts the young people of America in their demand that the draft be extended to cover the youth of 18 and 19 years of age. The Young Communist League fully supports that demand and has launched a widespread campaign to pass such legislation so that the honorable privilege of bearing arms for our country may be extended to every young person fit for military duty.

The future of our country belongs to the youth of our country. We want that future to be one of freedom and liberty. We want the future to be purged of the brutalized degeneracy of fascism. But that future must be fought for now! That future which belongs to the youth of America must be conquered on the battlefields of Europe.

Let us conquer our future now by opening the Second Front now!

Forward to victory!

**Read the Daily Worker and
The Worker**

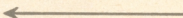
Vote Communist Support Win-the-War Candidates



ISRAEL
AMTER
For Governor



ELIZABETH GURLEY
FLYNN
For Representative-
At-Large



BENJAMIN J.
DAVIS, Jr.
For Representative-
At-Large



Communists on the Air Tuesdays and Thursdays, 10 p.m.—WQXR

Oct. 6...ISRAEL AMTER
Oct. 8...ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
Oct. 13...ISRAEL AMTER
Oct. 15...BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

Oct. 20...ISRAEL AMTER
Oct. 22...ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
Oct. 27...ISRAEL AMTER
Oct. 29...BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
Nov. 2...ISRAEL AMTER

Ad paid for by the New York State Election Campaign Committee,
50 East 13th Street, New York City