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1943

THE CARROT AND THE CLUB,
OR THE COPPERHEAD CABAL

EARL BROWDER

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THE REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE AND THE WAR

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

•

YOUTH IN THE FIGHT FOR VICTORY

MAX WEISS

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NOTES ON THE BICENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF
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THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER



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ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY

ROOSEVELT'S TRIBUTE TO THE RED ARMY AND SOVIET PEOPLE

ON BEHALF of the people of the United States, I want to express to the Red Army, on its twenty-fifth anniversary, our profound admiration for its magnificent achievements, unsurpassed in all history.

For many months, in spite of tremendous losses in men, supplies, transportation and territory, the Red Army denied victory to a most powerful enemy. It checked him at Leningrad, at Moscow, at Voronezh, in the Caucasus, and finally at the immortal battle of Stalingrad. The Red Army not only defeated the enemy but launched the great offensive which still is moving forward along the whole front from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The enforced retreat of the enemy is costing him heavily in men, sup-

plies, territory, and especially in morale.

Such achievements can only be accompanied by an army that has skillful leadership, sound organization, adequate training, and, above all, the determination to defeat the enemy, no matter what the cost in self-sacrifice.

At the same time, I also wish to pay tribute to the Russian people from whom the Red Army springs, and upon whom it is dependent for its men, women and supplies. They, too, are giving their full efforts to the war and are making the supreme sacrifice.

The Red Army and the Russian people have surely started the Hitler forces on the road to ultimate defeat and have earned the lasting admiration of the people of the United States. (Washington, February 4, 1943.)

STALIN'S REPLY TO ROOSEVELT

PLEASE accept my sincere gratitude for your friendly message on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Red Army and for your high praise of its military successes. I share your confidence that those successes will open the

path against our common enemy, who must be, and will be, overwhelmed by the united strength of our countries and all freedom-loving peoples. (Moscow, February 6, 1943.)

THE ORDER OF THE DAY

ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE RED ARMY, FEBRUARY 23, 1943

BY JOSEPH STALIN

Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army

COMRADES, men of the Red Army and Navy, commanders and political instructors, men and women guerrillas! We are today celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Red Army.

A quarter of a century has passed since the Red Army's foundation. It was founded for struggle against the foreign invaders, who wanted to enslave our country. February 23, 1918, the day when Red Army detachments completely smashed up the German invaders at Pskov and Narva, was declared the birthday of the Red Army.

In 1918 to 1921, in stubborn struggle against the foreign invaders, the Red Army defended the honor, freedom and independence of our Soviet country, asserted the right of the peoples of our country to build their life as the great Lenin taught them.

In the course of two decades the Red Army safeguarded the peaceful constructive labor of the Soviet people. The peoples of our country never forgot about the attempts of the foreign invaders to encroach upon our territory and constantly concerned themselves with strength-

ening the might of the Red Army, equipped it with first class war equipment and lovingly fostered cadres of Soviet warriors.

* * *

The Red Army is an army for the defense of peace and friendship between the peoples of all countries. It has been founded not for the conquest of foreign countries, but for the defenses of the frontiers of the Soviet country. The Red Army has always respected the rights and independence of all peoples.

However, in June, 1941, Hitler Germany treacherously attacked our country, having crudely and basely violated the non-aggression treaty. And the Red Army was obliged to march to battle to defend its country against the German invaders and drive them beyond the confines of our country. Since then the Red Army has been transformed into an army of mortal combat against the Hitler troops, into an army of avengers for the violence and humiliation to which the German fascist scoundrels are subjecting our brothers and sisters in the occupied districts of our country.

The Red Army is meeting its twenty-fifth anniversary at the decisive moment of the patriotic war against Hitler Germany and all its flunkies—Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Finns.

For twenty months the Red Army has been waging a heroic struggle unparalleled in history against the invasion of German fascist hordes. In view of the absence of a second front in Europe, the Red Army is alone bearing the full brunt of the war. Nevertheless the Red Army has not only withstood the onslaught of the German fascist hordes, but in the course of war has itself become a terror to the fascist armies.

In hard-fought battles in the summer and autumn of 1942, the Red Army blocked the way to the fascist beasts. Our people will forever preserve the memory of the heroic defense of Sevastopol and Odessa, the stubborn battles at Moscow and in the foothills of the Caucasus, in the Rzhev area and at Leningrad, about the greatest battle in the history of wars at the walls of Stalingrad.

In these great battles our valiant men, commanders and political instructors covered the Red Army's fighting banners with unfading glory and laid a firm foundation for victory over the German fascist armies.

Three months ago Red Army troops began an offensive at the approaches to Stalingrad. Since then the initiative in military operations has been in our hands, and the tempo and striking force of the Red Army's offensive operations are not weakening. Today in hard winter

conditions the Red Army is advancing along a 1,500-kilometer front and almost everywhere is achieving successes.

In the north, near Leningrad, on the central front, at the approaches to Kharkov, in the Donbas, at Rostov on the Azov and Black Sea coasts, the Red Army is striking blow after blow upon the Hitler troops. In three months, the Red Army liberated from enemy territories the Voronezh and Stalingrad regions, the Chechen-Ingush, North Ossetian, Kabardino-Balkarian and Kalmyk Autonomous Republics, Stavropol and Krasnodar territories, the Circassian, Karachai and Adygei Autonomous Regions, and almost all of Rostov, Kharkov and Kursk regions.

The mass expulsion of the enemy from the Soviet country has begun.

* * *

What has changed in these three months? Why are the Germans suffering such serious reverses? What are the reasons for these reverses?

The correlation of forces on the Soviet-German front has changed. The reason is that fascist Germany is becoming more and more exhausted and weaker, whereas the Soviet Union is developing its reserves to an ever greater extent and is growing stronger. Time works against fascist Germany.

Until recently, Hitler Germany, which forced Europe's war industry to work for her, had superiority over the Soviet Union in material and above all in tanks and aircraft. Therein was her advantage. But in

twenty months of war the situation has changed. Thanks to the selfless labor of men and women workers, engineers and technicians of the war industry of the U.S.S.R., the production of tanks, airplanes, and guns has increased during war. At the same time the enemy has suffered tremendous losses on the Soviet-German front in materiel, particularly in tanks, airplanes and guns. In three months of the Red Army's offensive in the winter of 1942-1943 alone, the Germans lost more than 7,000 tanks, 4,000 aircraft, 17,000 guns and considerable quantities of other armaments.

Of course the Germans will try and make good these losses, but it won't be so easy to do this, as no little time will be required for the enemy to replenish these tremendous losses in equipment. And time doesn't wait.

Hitler Germany began war against the U.S.S.R. with numerical superiority in fully mobilized troops ready for battle, as compared with the Red Army. Herein was its advantage. In twenty months, however, the situation has changed in this respect as well. During the war in defensive and offensive battles, the Red Army put out of commission up to 9,000,000 German fascist soldiers and officers; of these not less than 4,000,000 were killed on the battlefield. Rumanian, Italian and Hungarian armies thrown by Hitler on the Soviet-German front have been completely routed. In the last three months alone, the Red Army smashed 112 enemy divisions, with more than 700,000 killed and over 300,000 taken prisoner.

Of course the German Command will take all measures to make good these tremendous losses. But firstly, the weak point of the German armies is shortage of manpower reserves, in view of which it is not known from what sources these losses will be made good. Secondly, even if it is assumed that the Germans will scrape up by hook or by crook the necessary number of men, no little time will be required to muster and train them. And time doesn't wait.

The Hitler army entered the war against the Soviet Union with almost two years' experience in the conduct of major military operations in Europe with the use of the latest means of warfare, whereas the Red Army in the first period of the war naturally did not and could not as yet have had such military experience. Herein was the advantage of the German fascist army. In twenty months, however, the situation also changed in this respect. In the course of war the Red Army has become a seasoned army. It has learned to hit the enemy without missing, taking account of his weak and strong points as demanded by modern military science. Hundreds of thousands and millions of Red Army fighters have become experts in handling their weapons—rifles, sabres, machine-guns, artillery, experts in the field of mortar, tank and sapper warfare, in aviation. Tens of thousands of Red Army Commanders have become experts in the leadership of troops. They have learned to combine personal valor and courage with skill in leading troops on

the battlefield, having renounced the stupid and harmful linear tactics and firmly adopted the tactics of maneuvering.

It must not be regarded as accidental that the Red Army Command is not only liberating Soviet territory from the enemy, but does not allow the enemy to escape alive from our territory, carrying out such serious operations of encirclement and liquidation of enemy armies which may serve as an example of military art. This undoubtedly is a symptom of the maturity of our commanders.

There can be no doubt that only the correct strategy of the Red Army's command and the flexible tactics of our commanders who are executing it could have brought about such an outstanding fact as the encirclement and liquidation of the tremendous army of Germans at Stalingrad, numbering 330,000 men.

In this respect far from everything is well in the German camp. Their strategy is faulty, for as a rule it underestimates the strength and possibilities of the enemy and overestimates their own strength. Their tactics are stereotyped, trying to fit events on the front into one or another section of their regulations. The Germans are accurate and punctual in their action when the situation permits the realization of the demands of their regulations. Therein lies their strength. The Germans become helpless when the situation grows complicated and ceases to "correspond" to one or another section of their regulations demanding the adoption of an in-

dependent decision not provided for in the regulations. Therein lies their fundamental weakness.

Such are the reasons which determined the defeat of the German troops and the successes of the Red Army in the last three months.

* * *

It does not, however, follow from this that all is finished with the Hitler army and it remains for the Red Army merely to pursue it to the western borders of our country. To think so is to indulge in unwise and harmful self-delusion. To think so would mean to overestimate our own strength, to underestimate the strength of the enemy and to lapse into adventurism. The enemy has suffered defeat but he is not yet vanquished. The German fascist army is experiencing a crisis as the result of blows it has received from the Red Army, but this does not yet signify that it cannot recover. The struggle against the German invaders is not yet over, it is only unfolding and spreading. It would be absurd to assume that the Germans will abandon even one kilometer of our territory without battle.

The Red Army has ahead of it a severe struggle against the treacherous, cruel and as yet strong enemy. This struggle will demand time and sacrifice of our strength and the mobilization of all our possibilities. We have begun the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine from the German yoke, but millions of Ukrainians are still suffering under the yoke of the German enslavers. The German occupation forces and

their myrmidons as yet rule in Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Moldavia, in the Crimea and Karelia. Enemy armies have been dealt powerful blows, but the enemy is not yet vanquished.

The German invaders are offering furious resistance, launching counterattacks, attempting to retain a foothold at defense positions, and may embark upon new adventures. That's why there must be no room in our ranks for complacency, nonchalance or conceit.

The entire Soviet people are rejoicing over the victories of the Red Army. But the men, commanders and political instructors of the Red Army must firmly remember the behests of our teacher, Lenin: Firstly, beware of being carried away by victory, of conceit; secondly, to consolidate victory; thirdly, to finish the enemy.

For the sake of the liberation of our country from the hated enemy, for the sake of final victory over the German fascist invaders, I order:

1. Ceaselessly to perfect military skill and strengthen discipline, order and organization throughout the Red Army and Navy.

2. Strengthen the blows at the enemy troops, keep up the relentless, stubborn pursuit of the enemy, give him no time to entrench in defense positions, give him no rest

by day or night, cut enemy communications, encircle enemy troops and destroy them if they refuse to lay down their arms.

3. Fan the flames of guerrilla warfare in the enemy rear, destroy enemy communications, blow up railway bridges, frustrate the transfer of enemy troops, the shipment of arms and war supplies, blow up, set fire to military stores, attack enemy garrisons, prevent the retreating enemy from burning our villages and cities, help the advancing Red Army with all strength and by all means.

Therein is the guarantee of our victory.

Comrades, Men of the Red Army and Navy, Commanders and Political Instructors, Men and Women Guerrillas!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party I greet you and congratulate you on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Red Army!

Long live our great country!

Long live our glorious Red Army, our valiant Navy, our daring men and women guerrillas!

Long live the Bolshevik Party, the inspirer and organizer of the victories of the Red Army!

Death to the German invaders!

(Signed)

Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
J. STALIN.

THE CARROT AND THE CLUB, OR THE COPPERHEAD CABAL

BY EARL BROWDER

VICTORIES over Hitler's armies by the forces of the Soviet Union have, since November 20, reached such proportions as to astonish the world. In 100 days Hitler lost all ground he gained in 1942, plus decisive strategic points, railways, and much territory held since 1941, not to speak of over a million of his best soldiers, thousands of planes, tanks and heavy artillery, and untold quantities of war materiel. For the United Nations victory was brought within reach.

The appeaser and Copperhead newspapers of the United States during these months of the Red Army advance have quickly descended from heights of enthusiasm for the defense of Stalingrad; with Soviet victory a few more degrees of chill came over them; until in the early part of March they burst into a veritable orgy of recrimination and abuse against our Ally who is winning victories for us.

It seems as though that part of reactionary Big Business which expresses its views in the defeatist press stands in deadly fear of victory, when it is won through the Red Army—a fear which is more

vocal, more unrestrained, than their fear of a victory for Hitler.

The Copperhead Cabal has stepped into the open to do what it can to avoid the dread possibility that Hitler might be crushed in 1943. Their desperate outcries are directed to prevent the opening of the Western European Front by the British-American forces which, by dividing Hitler's armies between two fronts, will quickly bring the Nazi "New Order" down in ruins and defeat.

Before I analyze this sortie of the Copperheads, permit me to state for the record that I predict their failure. The logic of events, the great offensive of the Red Army, the rising movements in the Axis-occupied countries, and the growing sentiment of the masses of the people in the United States and Britain for invading Europe without delay, bring the opening of the Second Front nearer. Any other course is suicidal for the democratic governments of the West.

Our American Copperheads are, however, obsessed by a suicidal mania akin to that which dominated the "200 families" ruling France. Interestingly enough, they found

their frankest voice during these crucial days within the official family of our President, in the person of William C. Bullitt, formerly Ambassador to the Soviet Union and France, and now Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy, the man who will be remembered in history as an accomplice of Munich and as the negotiator of the surrender of Paris to the Nazis without a fight.

Mr. Bullitt lifted the diplomatic veil to give us a hint of the real discussions going on in Washington behind the scenes. Let us examine his words as reported by United Press March 12:

"When a foreign government will not move in the direction in which we want it to move there is only one way to make it move—the old way of getting a donkey to move by holding a carrot in front of its nose and club behind his tail, and intimating politely to him that he can have either one he wants. And the carrot has to be a real carrot and the club has to be a real club. . . . But the day that Germany collapses we shall still have on our hands a war with Japan—a hard war which may be long—and the Soviet Union will be at peace and we shall want Soviet support against Japan. Under those circumstances . . . the real carrot and the real club will be in the hands of Stalin."

Does this pretty little parable require any interpretation? It is clear enough, but anyway let us put it in plain English. Mr. Bullitt wants "a foreign government" (the Soviet Union) to do something it has not agreed to do. That "something" is

not disclosed, but is hinted at. The "carrot" held before the Soviet "donkey" can obviously be nothing else but the Second Front in Europe; the "club" with equal obviousness can only be the withholding of the Second Front, plus perhaps the cutting down or off of lend-lease supplies. Mr. Bullitt sees in the collapse of Hitler a terrible danger to the United States—the loss of "the carrot and the club." Mr. Bullitt proposes that the United States shall refuse to fight the war against Hitler any further, despite its pledge of the "Declaration of the United Nations" and the June 11, 1942, agreement on the "opening of the second front in 1942," and the repeated declarations of President Roosevelt for the offensive—unless and until the Soviet Union promises to do something they have not yet promised to do. In short, Mr. Bullitt demands "renegotiation" of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition upon a new and undisclosed basis. The short term for such "renegotiation" is *renege*, and the name for persons who make such proposals is *renegade*.

Mr. Henry A. Wallace, our Vice-President, has another word for it. He calls it double-cross, and warns that out of such double-dealing can emerge a Third World War. But even Mr. Wallace, despite his obvious good faith and sincere alarm about the intrigues going on around him, showed in his speech at the Ohio Wesleyan University, March 8, that he also is weakening under the pressure of the Copperhead Cabal; gone was the inspiring thesis of his May 8, 1942, speech on the "Century

of the Common Man," with its tracing of the "people's revolution" across the centuries, and in its place a muddled philosophical jargon of abstractions unrelated to history and the experience of mankind.

Our American Ambassador in Moscow, Admiral Standley, is a close friend of Mr. Bullitt (and also of Hamilton Fish). In the light of Mr. Bullitt's thesis of "the carrot and the club," we can better understand "the bluff Admiral," his sensational charges made in the newspapers that the Soviet Government "hides" American help from the people, and that he doesn't know what the Russians are talking about when they speak of a Second Front.

Mr. Welles for the State Department declared that the Ambassador had spoken without consultation. From Moscow the Admiral confirmed that he had expressed his personal opinion, not his government's policy.

Unquestionably, the Soviet Government will draw its own conclusions from all this. Of one thing, however, we may be sure from past experience. The Soviet leaders never allow themselves to be provoked; they have had their experience with Bullitt before this, and "have his number." They know that Bullitt has done lots of damage, but they have never called the turn of history; he always bets on the wrong horse. The Soviet Government will forgive us for the antics of our Bullitts and Standleys, the moment we make good on our pledged program of the Second Front and real coalition war to break Hitler's back this year.

There are, of course, the most serious dangers inherent in this light-minded playing with the fate of the world. We cannot laugh off the Bullitts and the Standleys, when such a substantial organ of ruling class opinion as the *New York Times* vacillates from week to week, plumping for the "carrot and club" thesis and then demanding the immediate opening of the Second Front, as it is torn between prejudice and patriotism, between greed and good faith.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain in his day had a slightly different version of "the carrot and club" thesis. Mr. Bullitt's type of wisdom, borrowed from Chamberlain, will suffer even quicker bankruptcy and oblivion. He made the fatal mistake of revealing his face to the American people. And Americans have never knowingly followed a double-crosser and renegade in a critical moment of national history. They will reject Mr. Bullitt with his carrot and his club today.

We can trust our Soviet ally, because it has sealed its pledges with the blood of millions. It is now our turn to win Soviet confidence in the United States by demonstrating equal good faith.

The Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is based upon the pledge of a common war with all human and material resources against Hitlerism.

The Soviet Union is conducting that war with all resources.

The United States and Britain still engage not more than eleven divisions of Nazi troops in North Africa, while Hitler continue to shift

troops and equipment from the West to the Soviet front. (Since the start of the Soviet winter offensive alone, Hitler has transferred over thirty divisions from France and other Western points to the Eastern front.)

The supreme interests of victory, the honor of our country, as well as its vital interests, demand the immediate opening of the Second Front.

A double-cross of the Soviet Union is at the same time treason to the United States.

Now, as never before, it is imperative for labor and the people to organize the most active support for the declared program of our Commander-in-Chief to strike soon and hard against the Nazis in Western Europe!

The Second Front must be opened now!

THE REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE AND THE WAR

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

IF THE American people are to prosecute the war to the "unconditional surrender" of Hitler and the Axis powers, as called for by the Casablanca conference, then it is imperative to smash the defeatist reactionary offensive which is increasingly taking shape in this country. Our national life-and-death struggle against the fascist barbarians is being hamstrung within our own borders by a powerful and insolent minority of reactionaries, enemies of all our nation is fighting for. In Congress, in the press, on the radio, in the various state legislatures, these destructive forces are ceaselessly at work. They have done vast damage to our national war effort, and their continued activities menace the whole perspective of victory in the war, as well as the continuance of American democracy. It is an intolerable contradiction that with the Government and the overwhelming masses of the people actively supporting the war, these defeatist groups are allowed to go on sabotaging it. Altogether the situation is full of danger and should provoke acute alarm among the American people and cause them to

take the necessary corrective measures.

While the defeatist reactionaries are active on all fronts of our social and political life, their agitation comes to a head in Congress. Consisting of the most reactionary elements of both the Republican and Democratic Parties, they loom as a conglomerate opposition to the Roosevelt Administration and the nation's war program. Among them are Southern poll-taxers, business-as-usual profiteers, union-busting open shoppers, politics-as-usual hacks, and outright friends of Hitlerism. These assorted copperheads and reactionaries in Congress are especially dangerous because: they are numerically strong in both houses of our Federal legislature; they have the active support of such powerful reactionary forces as the big Hearst - Howard - McCormick - Patterson chains of papers, the du Pont clique in the National Association of Manufacturers, and the strong group of defeatist elements led politically by Herbert Hoover; they are constantly coalescing more into a definite anti-Administration bloc under the leadership of the

most conscious and militant defeatist figures, such as Wheeler, Taft, Nye, Brooks, Hoffman, Dies, Cox and Fish; their program tends more and more to take on brazenly the character of sabotage of the war.

Although the reactionary line-up in Congress is not yet complete, they have already shown that upon many important issues they can control a majority of both houses. Thus, there is created a wide and dangerous rift between the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government, with the Executive attempting to conduct the war in the face of Congress' increasing opposition. The development of the reactionary offensive, both within and without Congress, has come from various factors, of which the following are the most decisive:

(a) *The changed situation in the war:* Now that the Red Army, with its epic offensives, has dealt smashing blows to Nazi Germany and the prospects of victory for the United Nations are generally looking up, the reactionaries and defeatists come forth more militantly with their program of disruptive activities. Knowing that the mass fear of a Hitler victory has greatly diminished, they dare to take more determined steps to advance their own special class interests at the expense of the national war effort. Especially the conscious defeatists seek more boldly to prevent the defeat of the Nazis, to block the consolidation of the United Nations coalition, and if possible to direct the war against the U.S.S.R. The greater Hitler's defeats, the more alarmed are the copperheads in this country and the

more they go to his assistance by whatever device they can.

(b) *Economic discontent among the masses:* Reaction has busily exploited the widespread economic dissatisfaction now existing among various categories of our population, including discontent among the workers at the rising cost of living, bad housing conditions, slowness of Government boards to adjust their grievances; discontent among small business men at their inability to secure war contracts, etc.; discontent among the farmers over price conditions, labor power supply, etc.; discontent among salaried employees because their incomes remain almost stationary while their expenses are skyrocketing. The basic cause of this widespread economic dissatisfaction is the failure of the Government, largely because of defeatist opposition, to adopt so far a full-fledged centralized war economy, one that would stabilize living costs, and systematically regulate production. The defeatists have understood how to exploit to their own advantage this prevalent discontent, much of which they themselves are instrumental in creating.

(c) *The slow tempo of American military operations:* A fact that has facilitated the growth of reaction in the United States (and in England, too) is the slow tempo of our armed forces in getting into full battle action in Europe. Had our Government, jointly with the British, launched a Second Front many months ago, as it could and should have done, undoubtedly the whole aspect of the American political

scene now would have been different. The reactionaries, however, after successfully blocking the Second Front up until now, have also been able to capitalize upon the consequent feeling in the country that our nation is not accomplishing what it should in the war.

(d) *The unorganized state of the win-the-war forces:* A basic reason for the headway of the reactionary offensive is that the win-the-war forces are suffering from much disorganization in their ranks, mingled with considerable confusion, complacency, and political hesitation. The reactionaries and defeatists, on the other hand, are far better organized, more vocal and determined, and they are proceeding in the spirit of an offensive. This explains why reaction won a number of seats in the recent national elections.

By utilizing all these factors, the defeatist reaction has been able to strengthen itself very materially. It is problematical whether or not this group has been able to win any considerable increase of mass following lately; but beyond all dispute it has succeeded substantially in organizing its forces, in unifying its program, and in consolidating its political position. So much so that it has now become a dangerous menace to our national war effort and to the whole outcome of the war.

Policies of the Defeatist Reaction

The reactionaries in Congress do not come forward in direct opposition to the war, knowing that this would bring down upon their heads the lightning of popular condemna-

tion and mass opposition. In the spirit of the Laval and Pétains who brought about the downfall of France under a cloak of patriotism, these people give more or less emphatic lip endorsement to the war, and then, behind this mask, they carry on a sniping warfare from every possible point against the national war effort and the unity of the United Nations.

A major center of their attack is their attempt to weaken the prestige and power of the President and the whole Executive branch of the Government, with the contention that a bureaucratic dictatorship is being thrust upon us and that Congress, therefore, must reassert its independent role. That there is considerable bureaucratic abuse in Washington is obvious; but the defeatists, blowing this up out of all proportion, use it as a pretext to try to take from the hands of the Executive branch those powers granted by the previous Congress and without which it is impossible successfully to conduct a modern war. To this end they are carrying on a national campaign to discredit the Administration in the eyes of the people as a useless, incompetent and dangerous near-fascist bureaucracy. They are also, by legislative action, reversing various directives issued by the President under his legitimate wartime powers, such as the cancellation of his \$25,000 salary limitation and the virtual liquidation of his price control regulations. In the same disruptive spirit they are interfering with the personnel of various Governmental departments and war boards, including

forced resignations of Leon Henderson of the O.P.A. and Prosecutor William P. Maloney of the Department of Justice, and they are hindering the functioning of these bodies by such actions as their refusal of necessary working funds to the War Manpower Commission, the Department of Labor and the National Resources Planning Board. They are also moving to whittle down the appointive power of the President, as indicated in the Mac-Keller bill, which would give this power to Congress. They are likewise instituting various interfering "investigations" of the many war boards, the most sweeping of which is the recently adopted Smith resolution in the House, calling for a review of the whole conduct of the war.

That the defeatists have in mind, if they can get away with it, nothing less than practically to take from President Roosevelt's hands the actual leadership of the war, is indicated further by their consideration of plans to set up a joint Senate-House committee for this purpose. This is hampering the Administration war work and injuring its prestige among our Allies. The Congressional defeatists, emboldened by their success, are becoming more daring in their efforts to weaken the Executive. Therewith they are weakening, too, the striking power of our nation in the war.

The defeatists in Congress are also interfering with the proper building up and use of our armed forces. Here they follow many lines of activity, all thickly camouflaged with patriotic assurances. Among the

more obvious of these moves is their present fight to reduce the size of the army far below that demanded by the Roosevelt Administration and the military leadership. Then there is their prolonged and persistent opposition to the Second Front in Europe, even after the Casablanca Conference has declared for it. Their idea is to let the U.S.S.R. do the fighting, after which the United States and Britain should step in and take over.

Also there is their constant attempt, with the help of powerful defeatist newspapers and reactionary radio commentators, to divert our armed forces away from Europe, where the decisive blow has to be dealt against the heart of the Axis, on the pretext that we must turn our major attention to Japan. Others of these gentry would exempt fathers from the draft (Wheeler Bill), or disperse our army for cotton picking and other agricultural work (Bankhead Bill). And, finally, to mention no more, there is the tendency, of which Mr. Herbert Hoover is the open spokesman, boldly to obstruct and to slow down the whole war effort, with "victory" postponed to the vague and distant future. The strength of the reactionary and defeatist forces in Congress makes all these paralyzing proposals exceedingly dangerous.

One of the most menacing facets of the offensive of the reactionaries is their violent attack upon the trade unions. The open shoppers are in full cry against organized labor, putting the war into second place or leaving it out of consideration altogether. The press and radio are

full of vile accusations against the workers and the unions, charging them with profiteering, cultivating absenteeism, etc., by the Peglers, Kaltenborns, Rickenbackers, and other spokesmen of the National Association of Manufacturers and the so-called Farm Bloc.

Congress and many state legislatures, as never before, are jammed with rapidly anti-labor legislation. To name only a few of the more notorious proposals in Congress: There is the Hobbs "anti-racketeering" bill, which would put labor unions pretty much in the category of organized gangsters; the proposals for a vicious labor draft bill, aimed to regiment the workers and freeze them to their jobs; the Johnson "involuntary servitude" bill, to combat absenteeism by work-or-fight orders; the Byrd bill to draft strikers; the Connally bill to seize struck plants.

Besides these, there are a whole series of other anti-labor measures in various stages of preparation or consideration by the Coxes, Vinsons, Rankins, Hoffmans, O'Daniels, and other notorious labor-baiters. Among these schemes are plans to incorporate the trade unions, to deny the workers the legal right to strike, to force the registration of all trade union members, to prevent the use of union funds for election purposes, to abolish picketing, to halt the collection of union dues payments during the war, to exempt returned soldiers from union shop regulations, to outlaw the closed shop, to castrate the Wagner Labor Relations Act, and every other union-smashing device the open-

shoppers can think up. In short, the aim of many members of Congress and of the state legislatures is to introduce what President Green of the A. F. of L. has characterized as a "Hitlerian control of labor." And in view of the great number of defeatist and anti-labor elements in both Houses of Congress, the possibility of much of this dangerous legislation being enacted is very real.

This attack upon organized labor, by creating confusion and sharpening class antagonisms, is, of course, highly detrimental to national unity. Naturally, however, this is no worry to the reactionary forces in Congress.

Another attack of theirs upon the national unity so indispensable to national victory is directed against the Negro people. In many parts of the South the Ku Klux Klan-minded poll taxers have developed a virtual lynch atmosphere in order to subjugate the Negro people more completely. One of the most flagrant manifestations of this particular stream of reaction was the filibuster conducted by Senator Bilbo and his cronies against the adoption of the anti-poll tax bill during the closing weeks of the 77th Congress. This shameful action, which tied up the Senate for several days in wartime, succeeded in defeating the anti-poll tax measure although majorities in both houses were in favor of it.

Another fruitful field of Congressional obstruction of the national war effort has to do with the country's general economy. What is required in the United States in order to bring production up to its maximum and to avoid the danger of

inflation is the adoption of a centralized war economy, much along the lines of Great Britain. The Pepper-Kilgore bill, if adopted, would provide this needed national coordination of our economic system. But, of course, the reactionaries and defeatists in Congress want nothing of such necessary legislation, which they now have deeply pigeon-holed in the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

Instead of a balanced economic system, what the opposition of the Congressional reactionaries is actually creating is a situation in which the workers are to be chained to their jobs with their wages frozen, while the employers, especially the big ones, free of all real profit and production controls, revel in an orgy of profiteering at the expense of the national war effort.* In this spirit the reactionaries have succeeded in rendering inoperative most of President Roosevelt's seven-point program of economic stabilization, except those points relating to the control of the workers and their living standards. They have shattered the Administration's proposed farm controls and sent food prices skyrocketing.

In consequence of this general course by the reactionary opposition in Congress our national economy is now in a state of partial chaos. The workers are suffering from soaring costs of living and lagging wages; the industrial and agricultural labor

supply is disorganized; the capitalists are reaping unprecedented profits; the workers and poor farmers are bearing a disproportionate share of the financial load; a dangerous inflation is creeping over the country, and production (now reportedly only 50 per cent per man of what it is in Great Britain) is lagging far behind our vast potential. All of which is very helpful to Hitler, who has the defeatist opposition in Congress to thank for it.

It is not surprising that a Congress so loaded as this one with various groups of labor-baiters, poll tax reactionaries and defeatist Hitlerites should coddle the fifth column, of which this country has a very strong and dangerous variety. Eventual readers of the history of this war will be amazed at the extent and with what insolence this protection of the enemies within our gates has been carried on by members of Congress. The worst thing done in this respect by Congress (so far at least) has been the re-commissioning of the Dies Committee and voting it \$75,000 with which to continue its subversive work. This action by the House brought glee to every defeatist in America. This dangerous committee has been authorized, with the people's funds, to continue its Hitlerian tactics of Red-baiting and sniping at the Roosevelt Administration, attempting to undermine our national unity, and sowing dissension among the United States and its Allies.

Cut from the same cloth as this menacing action by the House is the active support now being given by Senator Wheeler and other power-

* *Economic Notes* (Labor Research Association, March, 1943) says: "After all taxes, including excess profits taxes, the corporations of the United States showed net profits of \$4.2 billions in 1939 . . . \$6.8 billions in 1942. The rise in net profits was thus 62 per cent between 1939 and 1942."

ful figures in Congress to William Dudley Pelley, Elizabeth Dilling and the thirty-one other notorious fascist leaders brought to indictment by the F.B.I. Already the pressure of these high-placed, reactionary politicians has forced the resignation of the prosecutor in charge and it is now threatening to bring the whole case to a standstill. One Senator even rose to propose that the Nazi agent Viereck, recently released by an infantile decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, should be compensated for the time he has spent in jail. Such actions give a free hand to the American fifth column. It was this kind of subversive activities that brought about the downfall of France, and they can have only damaging effects upon our national war effort.

Another major field of the defeatists' attack upon the struggle of our country against the Axis is their attempt to discredit our war aims. The Fishes, Wheelers, Dieses, Tafts, and large numbers of their followers in the Senate and House obviously have nothing in common with the avowed aim of our country to smash Nazi Germany and the other Axis powers and to force them into "unconditional surrender." Nor are they supporters of the Atlantic Charter or the Four Freedoms. On the contrary, all these war aims are anathema to them and they never tire of belittling and assailing them. Roosevelt, Wallace, Willkie, and other outstanding spokesmen for victory and the Four Freedoms are the favorite objects of their scorn. So far Congress has refrained from giving specific endorsement to

these war aims as stated by Roosevelt, although it is possible that under mass pressure it may be compelled to doff its cap to them.

Obviously the way the Congressional defeatists would like this war to end is by a negotiated peace, hopefully with Hitler, but if this should prove to be too much to be put across, then a settlement with a Goering or with the German Generals would be quite acceptable. They would without hesitation give up our professed war aims and save what is possible of fascism. They do not want Hitler decisively defeated, fearing that a big upsurge of democracy on a world scale might result therefrom. Their international line is to prevent a democratic Europe and to check or destroy the influence of the Soviet Union.

And as to their post-war outlook in the United States itself, its dangerously fascist trend is exemplified by their present vicious attempts to destroy the trade unions and to wipe out progressive social legislation, and their attacks upon the modest reforms proposed by the National Resources Planning Board, denouncing them as socialism. Vice President Wallace, in his recent speech, despite some debatable statements, was very timely in his warnings of a fascist danger in this country.

It also fits right in with the whole disruptive line of the defeatists that they also leave no opportunity to pass unused to place obstacles in the way of the consolidation of the United Nations as a fighting force now and as a force for post-war re-

construction. While not hesitating to cultivate bad blood among all the Allies of the United States, their favorite target is the Soviet Union. With a never-ceasing campaign of slander and suspicion against the U.S.S.R., they are trying insidiously to drive a wedge between the United States and our Soviet Ally, and therewith destroy the great world coalition of states upon whose maintenance the winning of the war, the maintenance of collective security and the welfare of all humanity depend. Mr. Wallace was also quite correct in warning against the danger of the United States "double-crossing" the U.S.S.R.

The whole program of the defeatists against a militant prosecution of the war is crystallizing into a determined effort on their part to secure control of the Presidency in 1944. Resolved upon defeating Roosevelt and his supporters is the strong defeatist wing of the Democratic Party, no less than the appeaser-isolationist section of the Republican Party. Their general strategy is already clear. They are busy laying plans to capture the conventions of the two major parties to be held some fifteen months hence. They would confront the country with the useless choice between two reactionary candidates on the old party tickets.

In the Democratic Party the powerful reactionary Farley group in the North and the K.K.K.-poll taxers of the South are at work together to advance this conspiracy by defeating the Roosevelt Democrats in the state primaries and nominating conventions, and in the

Republican Party the strongly-intrenched Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg combination is equally active to prevent the Willkie pro-war forces from winning control. If this strategy fails and a real win-the-war candidate should secure either the Democratic or Republican Presidential nomination, assuming that the war is still going on, then undoubtedly, as the second phase of their defeatist plans, the reactionary wings of the Republicans and Democrats will develop some form of political cooperation with each other.

Should the reactionaries succeed in electing the President this would be a national and international disaster, for the war and for the post-war situation. It would also be a threat to the very life of democracy in the United States. In the meantime, the defeatists are already making use of the developing Presidential election struggle by cultivating an intense partisan struggle designed seriously to weaken national unity and to divert the people's attention from the central task of winning the war.

The Damage Done by the Defeatists

The anti-war trend of the actions and policies of the defeatists in Congress is pregnant with menace to the prosecution and victorious outcome of the war. The defeatists' activities are not only a potential threat; they have already caused much harm to our national war effort, and they are daily causing more.

First, they have seriously pre-

vented the full mobilization of the American people for the necessary all-out war effort. They have weakened the national Administration and hence the striking power of our Government in the war; they have confused sections of the people, knifed their morale, and affected national unity; they have blocked the establishment of a centralized war economy, thereby checking our war production and exposing the country to a disastrous inflation; they have sabotaged the fight against the fifth column, thus encouraging the attack against our country from within; they have checked the speedy mobilization of our armed forces. All this defeatist opposition totals up to a serious lessening of our country's organization for war in every sphere, political, social, economic and military.

Secondly, the defeatists have also seriously hindered the military operations of our armed forces. Their blocking of the complete war mobilization of the United States in itself has weakened our military power abroad; but to this, the defeatists have added active resistance to the indispensable aggressive military policies of the offensive. It was their opposition which has prevented the establishment of the western front in Europe up till now and has confined our military efforts against Nazi Germany to the present important but limited operations in North Africa.

They have thus delayed the victory of the United Nations; for, as we see by the great victories of the Red Army on the Eastern front, were Hitler caught between the iron

jaws of the Red Army in the East and a big Anglo-American force in the West, as is altogether possible with available military resources, he would now be in full retreat and the march to Berlin would be well under way. As it is, however, due to American and British defeatist opposition to the second front, Hitler may now be given a new chance to recuperate his forces and to maneuver to secure a stalemate, and an eventual negotiated peace. With the military situation in Europe now so heavily advantageous to the United Nations' forces, the defeatist opposition is definitely slowing down the plans of the Churchill and Roosevelt Governments to establish a European front at the earliest practicable moment.

Thirdly, the defeatist attitude taken by the opposition forces in Congress regarding American war aims and post-war plans has seriously hindered the full consolidation of the United Nations' coalition and the development of its offensive military struggles. The blatant cultivation of American imperialist aims by Hearst and others; their persistent anti-British campaign; their widespread hostility to the U.S.S.R.; their patronizing attitude toward China; their sniping at the Lend-Lease Act—are all calculated to sow divisions among the allied democratic nations. Their effect is distinctly disruptive and jeopardizes our war effort.

The defeatists' enthusiasm for the appeasement of Mannerheim, Franco and Peyrouton, as well as for maneuvering with the Vatican, also has a decidedly weakening effect

upon our Government's war policy. Their isolationist trends (which are only the mask for a rampant American imperialism) and their sneering attitude toward the United Nations' war aims throw confusion into the ranks of our Allies, both with regard to whether the United States intends to fight the war to a victorious conclusion and as to whether it intends to cooperate with its present Allies after the war for the maintenance of collective security and for the reconstruction of the battle-torn world.

The Disunity of the Win-the-War Forces

The overwhelming majority of the American people are anxious and determined to win the war. They sense the tremendous danger of a Hitler victory and are willing to make all necessary sacrifices for victory, even if with characteristic grumbling. And as for the standing of President Roosevelt as the nation's war leader, a recent Gallup poll shows that his mass popularity continues and far overtops that of any other political figure in this country. It is clear, therefore, that if the ways and means had been found fully and effectively to mobilize this overwhelming mass war sentiment the defeatists would have been swamped, regardless of their demagogic maneuvers.

The lack of unity of the win-the-war forces has been, and still is, both political and organizational. As for the Administration itself, it has displayed a whole series of weaknesses, for which it is now pay-

ing dearly in the shape of a strong and insolent opposition within Congress and without. Some of the more important of these shortcomings of the Administration may be listed as follows:

(a) Interminable delay in getting an Anglo-American second front under way in Europe. Such a front, by rousing American martial spirit and morale and by opening up a perspective of early victory, would change the whole American political situation.

(b) Appeasement of the fascist governments of Spain, Finland and North Africa, which has tended greatly to confuse American opinion, to lower national morale, to alarm our Allies, and to strengthen reaction in this country.

(c) Lack of a definite cooperative policy toward the U.S.S.R. Failure to fight this question out with the reactionaries and to set up the necessary close relations between the two countries, as Great Britain has done.

(d) Toleration of unreliable elements in important Government posts, who confuse or falsify the Administration's win-the-war policies, including Bullitt (Special Representative), Murphy (Representative to North Africa), Leahy (Chief Military Adviser), Standley (Ambassador to U.S.S.R.), Hayes (Ambassador to Spain), Berle (State Department), etc.

(e) Inadequacy in integrating the trade union movement with the war administration by giving it places in the Cabinet and responsible representation in the various war boards.

This step, which Roosevelt did not take because of reactionary opposition, would have enormously strengthened the position of the Administration by rallying to it actively the vast masses of trade unionists.

(f) Failure to proceed energetically and directly to set up a full-fledged centralized war economy.

(g) A one-sided application of the President's seven-point economic program; that is, the Government's endorsement of the points applying to the workers, and its failure to bring capitalist interests under proper centralized controls.

(h) Failure of the Administration to develop close working relations with the Willkie win-the-war Republicans, a failure for which Willkie himself is largely to blame. This has cost the Administration great potential mass backing.

(i) Refusal to take up the cudgels energetically against the fifth column, typified by the failure of the Administration to fight the subversive Dies Committee. In this matter, as in many other aspects of the war situation, the Administration has been far too complacent.

(j) Failure to carry the war issues sufficiently to the people, as against the demagogic maneuvers of the reactionaries. Had the Administration, for example, more definitely raised the war question in the recent elections, the whole outcome would have been more favorable for the win-the-war forces.

A healthful exception to such weakness was Roosevelt's action in September, 1942, when he gave Congress virtually a 30-day ultimatum

to vote him the authority to take the necessary steps to curb inflation.

Congress, after dallying previously for months on the question, promptly acceded to his demand rather than to face the people on the issue.

There are many other shortcomings in Administration policy, which the reactionaries and defeatists have been quick to exploit to their own advantage.

Organized labor, as well as the Roosevelt Administration, has also displayed many weaknesses which, in the present reactionary offensive, are now boomeranging against it. When the United States became directly involved in this war this should have been accepted as an imperative signal for the trade union movement to unite its ranks, to adopt a joint win-the-war program, and to mobilize its forces militantly behind the Government for an allout victory program. This has not been done, however.

Many trade union leaders do not realize the responsibility of the labor movement as the very backbone of the national war effort. They have not sufficiently developed their unions' political initiative. Although the unions have heartily endorsed the war and the Roosevelt Administration, yielding up many of their hard-won gains, laying aside the strike weapon during the war, abandoning premium overtime pay for Saturdays and Sundays, accepting wage and job stabilization, and generally adopting war burdens to a far greater extent than any other section of our population, neverthe-

less they have tolerated great weaknesses in their practices and organizations which the reactionaries have been able to seize upon to whip up opposition to labor and the Government. Among these weaknesses may be cited the following:

(a) The split between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. has been allowed to continue, despite the most crying need for labor's solidarity. The present slow-motion steps toward trade union unity are entirely inadequate to the acute urgency of the situation. Also, although the two labor federations have agreed that pending the achievement of organizational unity joint actions should be carried out in support of the Government's war program, this policy as yet has been developed in only the most fragmentary form nationally, and insufficiently on a local scale.

(b) Failure to develop an all-labor win-the-war program. The A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods are still going along on the basis of their individual programs. Although correct in the main, these separate programs greatly lack the vitality and organizing force that a united war program of the whole labor movement would have.

(c) Failure of the trade unions to insist that they be given full representation in the Cabinet and other war bodies, commensurate with their importance in the population and in the national war effort. This has kept organized labor in a situation pretty much of second-class citizenship in the prosecution of the war.

(d) Failure of the trade unions to

set up mass contacts sufficiently with other win-the-war forces, notably the farmers.

(e) Inadequate political activity and mass mobilization of the great trade union forces in support of individual war policies and issues. Examples: (1) delayed and scattered support of the President's seven-point economic stabilization program until the reactionaries had virtually cut it to pieces; (2) sluggishness in the recent elections when, had labor displayed even a modicum of political activity, dozens of reactionaries could have been easily defeated and the whole make-up of the 78th Congress radically altered for the better; (3) almost total neglect of the problem of the democratic education of the armed forces notwithstanding violent attempts by reactionary elements to propagandize the army against the trade union movement; (4) sluggish reaction to appeasement tendencies of the State Department toward Mannerheim, Franco and Peyrouton; (5) feeble support, if any, to the popular demand for a second front in Europe.

In general, the C.I.O. took a more advanced position on all these questions than the A. F. of L., and it gave a basically correct lead. In the A. F. of L. Executive Council the reactionary forces, especially the Hutcheson and Woll groups, have prevented trade union unity and active cooperation in support of the war. They have also produced incorrect policies, which have fed the offensive of the defeatist reaction. Such policies include endorsement of the Dies Committee, refusal to

join hands in an international committee with the C.I.O. and the Soviet trade unions, condemnation of the President's \$25,000 salary limit order, opposition to the Administration's 8,200,000-man sized army, etc. As for John L. Lewis, this defeatist has left no stone unturned to keep labor divided, to discredit the Roosevelt Administration, and to prevent any real mass support of the war. His activities have long been a strong contributing force to the reactionary camp.

It is because of such shortcomings of the Roosevelt Administration and the labor movement that the defeatists and reactionaries have been able to build up their brazen offensive in Congress and elsewhere and to create the present acute danger to our national war effort, to the trade union movement, and to American democracy.

Unite the Win-the-War Forces

Manifestly it is urgently necessary to mobilize and still further activize the great win-the-war masses of the people behind the President in order to achieve the nation's victory objectives. If the defeatists' present dangerous attacks upon the war effort in Congress and outside are to be frustrated and the Government implemented with the strong policies and support needed to win the war and to organize post-war security, the great patriotic masses of our people, workers, farmers, city middle class, and patriotic capitalists, everybody in favor of winning the war will have

to be organized and stirred into action.

This great popular movement, putting itself across the path of the defeatist reaction, should aim at opening up a great Anglo-American second front in Europe immediately, at strengthening national unity, achieving a centralized war economy, putting a clamp upon the resurgent fifth column, repelling the union-smashing open shoppers, consolidating the coalition between Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., China and the United States, and an irresistible application of all our national power for the "unconditional surrender" of the Axis powers. It should pay special attention to blocking the defeatists in Congress and to pushing through labor's and the Administration's program.

The trade unions have a vital role to play in this intensified activation of the American people in support of the war. With their 13,000,000 members they are the chief spokesmen of the great working class and it is upon them that these huge armies of toilers must look mainly for guidance. To fulfill the heavy responsibility which history has placed upon the labor movement in this critical period the trade unions must advance rapidly to a higher stage of political initiative and activity than they have ever achieved before.

The success of the American national war effort, as well as the protection of the labor movement itself, depends upon whether or not the trade unions rise successfully to the great political tasks now so brusquely thrust upon them by the offensive

of the defeatist reactionaries. This political mobilization of the unions, their friends and supporters, is not a matter that can be left to the leaders alone. Especially it must develop by the vigorous action of all branches of organized labor in every community throughout the nation. Only to the extent that the unions achieve this unanimity of purpose can they make their true weight felt for a vigorous prosecution of the war, especially by the opening up of a second front in Europe. Alarmed at the present drive of reaction against the war, against the labor movement, and against American democracy, the trade union masses are now very much in the mood for developing unified support of the Government and the war on an unprecedented scale.

Between the programs of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods there is basic agreement and, given a willingness among the leaders to cooperate, there should be no real difficulty in formulating a win-the-war program for all of organized labor, one that would definitely support and strengthen the whole war program of the Roosevelt Administration. On February 5, Mr. Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O., said in a speech that arrangements were being perfected to call a general conference of all major branches of the labor movement, with farmers participating, for such a purpose. This would be a long step in the right direction. The workers all over the country should give the proposed national trade union win-the-war conference their hearty endorsement

and insist that it be convened at the earliest possible date.

What is needed on a national scale is a broad legislative committee of all labor. This should not be a mere lobby but basically an instrument for conducting the mobilization of the workers and all other pro-war elements throughout the country. In all communities, especially on a Congressional District scale, similar broad joint committees should be set up. In his speech on February 5, Mr. Philip Murray gave a clear line on how this can be done, saying:

"Every local in the C.I.O.... should organize and join with other C.I.O. locals in organizing on Congressional District lines for purposes of basic contact with our representatives in Congress. These local committees must operate jointly with A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood locals, farm organizations, church and community organizations in their respective localities or Congressional Districts."

With ramifications all over the country, these committees could quickly exercise a decisive political effect for a more vigorous and reliable war policy. Labor must drop its present defensive attitude and go over to the offensive. This can be done only through intensified political action. Lewis and others who are backing an active strike policy as the way the workers should go are, in effect, trying to lure the labor movement to sabotage the war.

The trade unions have in fact already begun developing along the political lines here indicated. Joint

war activities are growing among them in various localities—especially during the past weeks, in the face of the violent offensive of the defeatist reactionaries. Joint labor legislative conferences have been held in many states, including New York, California, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Washington, etc., where committees have been set up and legislative and general political activities begun. This is a vital movement and it is full of promise of bigger developments to come.

But the progress made so far in no sense measures up to the grave threat against the war and the whole trade union movement. The entire development must be greatly speeded up and vastly amplified. Organized labor, on pain of serious danger to our national war effort and of peril to itself, needs to take up the whole question of political action in a new light. American labor must advance swiftly from its previous economic status to that of a major political force.

In developing its intensified political activity in support of the war the labor movement needs to think in terms of the coming Presidential election. It is only fifteen months now until the nominees will be selected by the various parties. Al-

ready the fascist-minded defeatists are busily laying their plans. Organized labor dare not be caught napping. It cannot possibly afford to go into this vital election in the chaotic powerlessness of previous election times. The needs of the war situation demand that labor thoroughly organize itself for the 1944 elections, and now is not a moment too soon to begin.

The Communist Party joins wholeheartedly with all other win-the-war forces, for the intensification of production, for the defeat of the Congressional reactionaries, for an active prosecution of the war in every field. In order to meet these great tasks properly, our party must be built up and free itself of the present discriminations practiced against our members in some unions, in war industries, in the armed forces, etc. On the borders of our party stand ten and hundreds of thousands of workers who are sympathetic with our militant line in support of the war. It is a patriotic duty to bring these workers into our party. In the present great struggle to checkmate the defeatists in Congress the Communist Party can and will be a vital force.

YOUTH IN THE FIGHT FOR VICTORY

BY MAX WEISS

AMERICAN youth has been, more or less, completely organized into two great columns of fighters for victory: fighters in uniform and fighters in overalls. Even the schools are adjusting their curricula to become "feed lines" for the entry of students into the armed forces or into war production.

The main problems of the youth in the armed forces, as well as the responsibilities of the youth movement to the armed forces, have already been dealt with in a previous article.* Further elaboration is necessary only in respect to a number of issues which have come to the fore with especial sharpness in the recent period.

For a Mass Army

The undercurrent of defeatist opposition to the policies of the Roosevelt Administration for building a mass army has broken through to the surface and is today one of the rallying points of defeatist and appeasement elements. It represents a continuation of the persistent line of the defeatists against the building of a mass army and against its activation in combat.

Just as the line-up of forces was not always clear-cut on these for-

mer issues, so, today, there is also no clear-cut division of forces. Certain win-the-war elements are to be found in mistaken opposition to the Administration proposals; certain defeatist forces in apparent "support" of them. Among the latter, for example, are some who previously demanded an armed force of 15,000,000 to 18,000,000 as against the lower figures proposed by the Administration. These forces based themselves on a policy of "postponing" any offensive action until an armed force of such size could be built—that is, in 1944 or 1945, if ever. Unable to adhere to their original figure, they accepted the lesser demand of the Administration but continue to fight for their main policy. In this group, too, are to be found some who want a large armed force, not from motives of a maximum American fighting contribution to victory, but from motives of Lucean "American Century" imperialism, with strong anti-Soviet overtones, backed by the club of a powerful army of occupation.

On the other hand, opposing the Administration proposals are some who, while supporting a policy of offensive, incorrectly counterpose the building of a mass army to the solution of the manpower needs of

* See "The Nation and the Armed Forces," by Max Weiss, *The Communist*, February, 1943.

industry and agriculture. These needs, however, can be met, not by limiting the size of the armed forces, but by planned war production and centralized administration of war economy, including manpower.

The Administration proposals should be fought for because they are based on a policy of military offensive as outlined at Casablanca and on a policy of coalition warfare. To be fully realized, this policy must result in the immediate opening of the Second Front in Europe. In fact, the struggle over the size of the armed forces has taken on its present widespread character only because the main question has not yet been adequately answered: *why is our army not put into action through the opening of a Second Front in Europe?* The immediate opening of the Second Front would dissipate the whole struggle over the size of the army. The clash of arms on the Western Front would place its demand for troops before the nation with such precision as to admit of no debate.

It would be wrong, however, to remain aloof from the present struggle on the ground that the main issue is not the size of the army but its immediate activation. The defeatist attack on the proposals of the Administration represents only one phase of a whole campaign to disorganize the armed forces of our country. The demands advanced for the furloughing of a million troops to harvest the crops are part of this campaign.

The clamor of the defeatists for a system of induction into the armed

forces based on an elaborate table of relative dependency is also designed to disorganize the armed forces. It is calculated to make a demagogic "humanitarian" appeal. But the waging of all-out total war demands that the only basis for deferment shall be physical disability and occupational indispensability, and not dependency.

Solidarity Between Army and Labor

A second question dealt with in the article previously noted must also be elaborated on because it has, in the meantime, assumed a new urgency. The general necessity for the labor movement to strengthen its bonds of solidarity with the youth in the armed forces has always been a pressing one. It is more important than ever now. For a concerted drive has been launched by the defeatists to set the armed forces against the labor movement.

Eddie Rickenbacker, speaking for the defeatists, has become the spearhead of this dastardly drive. Its objective is to smash trade union organization and standards in the name of the "boys in uniform"; to disrupt national unity by provoking sharp struggle against the labor movement and by setting the armed forces against labor; to undermine the morale of the armed forces by attempting to provoke moods of dissatisfaction among servicemen at the alleged "failure" of the labor movement to go all-out for victory; and finally, to prepare a uniformed youth impregnated with anti-labor attitudes for the post-war period.

The struggle against the Rickenbacker campaign must be made the

occasion for elaborating, and beginning seriously to carry out, a comprehensive program for the promotion of the welfare of the boys in service, and for cementing the bonds of solidarity between labor and the armed forces.

The resignation of Judge William Hastie from his post of civilian aide to the Secretary of War in protest over the continuance of discrimination against Negro servicemen, particularly in the Air Force, emphasizes again the shameful failure of the War Department to take any fundamental steps to cope with this problem. Following the resignation of Judge Hastie, and the increase in nationwide protest against such discrimination, certain concessions were made in the Air Force.

These concessions, however, are relatively minor ones. No fundamental improvement has yet been made in the direction of bringing about the full integration of the masses of Negro youth in the armed forces. It will be made only to the extent that all patriotic forces develop a mass movement to compel the War Department to revise its present policies in this field. They must insist on the complete abandonment of the Negro quota system of induction into the armed forces; on the distribution of Negro inductees among all branches of the armed service in accordance with the needs of the armed forces and not on the basis of a minimum percentage system at present in force; abolition of the practice of employing Negro youth predominantly for labor battalion work instead of preparing them for combat service; on

expansion of the Negro MP personnel and the establishment of mixed Negro and white MP patrols; on opening up the path to more rapid promotion of Negro officers to all ranks in accordance with ability; on the inclusion of special material in the educational program of the armed forces in order to develop proper relations between Negro and white troops. The formation by the War Department of mixed units of Negro and white troops, established on a volunteer basis, would be a most significant step in the direction of bringing about the full integration of Negro youth into the armed forces.

Policy Toward Communists

All patriotic forces seriously concerned with the maximum strengthening of our armed services must view with alarm the official enthronement of dangerous Munichite policies among certain circles of the War Department and the General Staff. The existence of these Munichite policies is brought to light in the attitude toward Communists in the service. The official policy of the War Department and the General Staff, as revealed in its practice, is to classify Communists in the armed forces as "potentially subversive" and on that basis to transfer them out of combat units into labor battalions or service units not intended for combat duty. This policy has been, and is being, applied not only to Communists, but also to non-Communist anti-fascists, to those who fought in Spain with the International Brigade, to known leaders of militant trade unions, to

youth who were active anti-fascists in their civilian life.

These Communists, Spanish veterans, militant trade unionists, active anti-fascists are all distinguished by the fact that they are known to be the most ardent champions of a policy of friendship and alliance between our country and the Soviet Union. This is the cornerstone of the United Nations alliance, the guarantee of victory in the war and the organization of the post-war peace. By what wild and perverted stretch of the imagination, then, are the best champions of the interests of our nation considered "potentially subversive"? Only because the reasoning of these Munichites—typified notoriously by Bullitt—is that preparations must be made now for a future policy of hostility to the Soviet Union. With such a sinister perspective the most consistent anti-fascists are classified as "potentially subversive."

The attitude toward Communists, Spanish veterans and other anti-fascists has its basis in such defeatist, Munichite perspectives. That is why it is a matter of grave concern to every patriotic force in the country and not only to the Communists. Such Munichite policies in high circles of the War Department and the General Staff endanger the victory of the United Nations. They cannot be tolerated by our nation.

The Young Communist League considers its participation, together with all other patriotic forces, in the work of helping to strengthen our armed services a major responsibility. It is attempting to carry out this responsibility by educating the

youth to an understanding of the correct policies which must be adopted by the government in relation to the armed forces, and by participating in the public debates which must help to decide these issues.

It has begun to make a growing contribution to promoting the welfare of the boys in uniform and to welding more firmly than ever the ties of solidarity between the armed forces and the youth on the home front. All over the country, branches of the Y.C.L. have organized Service Flag dedications or ceremonials of a similar type. Such activity, often in collaboration with other sections of the youth in the various communities, has helped to deepen love for and pride in our armed forces among the youth. Over the Christmas and New Year holidays, the Y.C.L. sent more than 5,000 gift packages to the boys in service. Such specific activity to promote the welfare of the services has also taken on the form of participation by the Y.C.L. in the recent Victory Book Campaign. In many cities, the Y.C.L. received official commendation for its excellent work in this campaign. Now that the Victory Book campaign has ended, the Y.C.L. is participating in the special drive of the Red Cross for blood donations in the course of which it will attempt to get its members and the masses of youth to donate thousands of pints of blood needed to save the lives of American fighters on the battlefield.

Youth in War Industry

The second great column of fight-

ers for victory into which the masses of youth have been organized is to be found on the production front.

In their overwhelming mass, the youth of working age in the United States are employed. The millions of young people turning out the materials of war are not the old unemployed generation, newly employed; that generation is now in its thirties. These youth belong to a new generation that has never known unemployment, a generation that is entering into industry from the first moment of its mature life.

The outstanding fact about these millions of young workers is that they enter industry under conditions in which labor is a matter of patriotic honor, duty and pride. Hence, this generation of working youth displays an attitude to work and to production hitherto unknown in our country. From among them have already come innumerable heroes of production.

This attitude increasingly permeates the masses of industrial youth. It is the basis upon which the Y.C.L. has been working to popularize the production commando movement. A production commando is a young worker who, individually or as a member of a group, sets himself certain goals: being a good union member and builder; surpassing the norm of production, where arrangements on continuity of production and piece rates can be assured; improving the quality of work in cases where it is not possible to change the fixed schedule of production; cutting down waste or scrap in production; taking good care of his tools; raising his skills

and qualifications; not being absent from work and always being on time.

Two other facts distinguish this generation of working youth from any previous one. In the first place, the percentage of girls working in war industry is already enormous and is continuously growing. These girls are increasingly beginning to work at the most skilled types of work and are not limited to unskilled jobs.

In the second place, the age composition of the youth in industry has undergone a drastic change. A heritage of the mass unemployment of the early 30's was the almost complete absence from basic industry of youth below the age of twenty before the outbreak of the war. Now, for the first time, youths of 16 and 17 are to be found in basic industry by the hundreds of thousands with corresponding increases in the number of youth of 18, 19 and 20.

The outstanding exception to this general picture is to be found among the masses of Negro youth. As a result of a scandalous discrimination and Jim Crowism, they are still barred from the factories and from acquiring skills needed in war industry. This situation continues to exist despite the great manpower needs of the country, despite the formal government decrees to the contrary. It can and must be eliminated by strengthening the fight to bring about the full measure of integration of the Negro people into war industry. Organized labor has, in this, a great task which presses urgently for achievement.

Defend Economic Standards

The defense of the economic standards of the working youth is especially important because a slanderous campaign has begun to develop against the alleged "exorbitant" wages paid to young workers. Statements have, in fact, been made on a number of occasions that one of the causes of juvenile delinquency is the fact that young workers are being paid too high wages! What fantastic nonsense this is, especially when we consider that juvenile delinquency is mainly a problem of those age groups that are not in industry.

The defense of the wage standards of young workers is of first importance, also, because the rule of "equal pay for equal work" for men and women does not universally apply. Hence, the hundreds of thousands of young girls employed in industry are discriminated against in existing wage scales, except in cases where the trade unions have been alert to this matter.

The wage question is also important as a special problem for young workers because of the breakdown of highly skilled operations into new, less skilled types of operations. This has created a whole series of new classifications of work which are not included in standard contracts signed by trade unions with employers. Young workers brought into plants as unskilled workers are upgraded to continually higher classifications. They turn out ever greater production, both in volume and quantity, yet they continue to receive the same wage which they

did when they first entered the plant; no wage scales exist for the new intermediate classifications of skills which are constantly being created.

Job Training

Job training is a second important problem for the young workers in industry. The main method, of course, must be training within the plant and on the job, the so-called in-plant training method. This is the only satisfactory method of training new skills en masse without unnecessary loss of time. This is in fact the main method actually being used, increasingly so as plant engineers continue to break down highly complicated operations and mechanical skills into their less complicated and less skilled components. Especially here, where the training is done within the plant or in connection with the plant (as at a factory school) the trade unions must, through the labor management committees, insist on playing their proper role. To date only the electrical and auto unions and certain A.F. of L. unions have begun to concern themselves with this. Yet it is a vital problem intimately connected with the maintenance of trade union standards.

The critical nature of the job training problem prompts serious attention to more fundamental consideration of the whole educational system in the United States. The fact that millions of young people graduate from high schools each year completely unequipped to handle the simplest industrial tool or machine is an indictment of the na-

ture of our educational system. The time has come to put an end to this last vestige of "ivory tower education" and make the school system really conform to the needs of our society by incorporating into its programs elements of a polytechnical training which will be considered basic to the school curriculum. To a slight extent, this is envisaged in the High School Victory Corps plan. These elements of the High School Victory Corps plan must be considerably expanded and not merely added to the school curricula *but incorporated in them* so that the beginnings of a really fundamental approach to the solution of job training may be made at the source, *i.e.*, at the point where youth are getting ready to enter the factories and not simply after they have entered the factories.

The employment of hundreds of thousands of youth in basic industry underlines the importance of serious attention to health, hygiene and safety measures necessary to guard the well being and physical needs of youth, especially girls of 16 to 20. The same renewed attention is necessary to such questions as the number of working hours, age restrictions on night shifts, etc.

New Social Problems

Finally, a whole series of new social problems has been created by the mass influx of youth into the basic industries in the boom war centers. A wholesale uprooting of youth from their home communities, from their families, friends, organizations, clubs, churches, has

taken place. The entire normal life of hundreds of thousands of young people has been disarranged, not only by their employment in strange and congested boom areas, but also, even when they work in their home towns, by employment on the swing shift or night shift. No previous generation of working youth has ever had its pattern of normal life so completely disarranged as the present one, certainly not on so large a scale.

This has created a serious need for the organization on a mass scale of recreational and social activity for the youth in industry in the interests of physical fitness as well as morale. It is here that the trade unions could well enter the picture with a serious effort to organize trade union sports, recreation and social activities. What is needed in all war production centers is not a small number of large recreation centers in the heart of the city, but rather the proper utilization of all facilities which exist in each community—recreation centers, swimming pools, gymnasiums, high schools, community centers, stores, bowling alleys, movies, etc.

The organization of these hundreds of thousands of young war workers into the trade unions is a patriotic task of the first order. It is only through their membership in the unions that they will be able to make their maximum contribution to all-out war production. It is through their membership in the unions that they can help exert a most decisive effect upon the conduct of the war by helping strengthen labor's role in the war effort. The

great possibility exists, if the unions seriously exert themselves, to make this first generation of employed youth also the first generation of organized trade union youth in the history of our country.

But for this it is necessary that the trade unions develop a serious and fundamental approach to the trade union education of the working youth. It is true that these young workers enter into industry under the most favorable conditions for trade union organization: they do so at a time when the trade union movement is at its peak of membership, influence and prestige.

At the same time, there are a number of important ideological and political problems which can only be solved through such a great campaign of special education and organization. What some of these problems are has been glimpsed in the current campaign of labor against the Rickenbacker anti-labor attack. They arise, furthermore, from the fact that large sections of the working youth come from small towns or farm areas. Large numbers of them, even those from working class families, do not fully identify themselves with the trade union movement, because the boys have the perspective that they will soon go into the army anyway; and among the girls there is a feeling that their role in industry is a transient one to be terminated by the end of the war.

The organization of such education for its members and the masses of youth is one of the most important tasks which confront the Y.C.L. today. In fulfilling its responsibil-

ity in this field, the Y.C.L. can be of inestimable value to the labor movement. It is only through the widespread conduct of such educational activity that the Y.C.L. can help instill into the minds of the masses of youth the fundamental idea that both the present and the future of the youth are intimately bound up with the development of a strong labor movement, that there will be no "lost generation" after this war if there is a strong labor movement.

Youth in the Battle for Food

One of the most important aspects of our country's battle for production is the battle for the production of food. The most critical periods of this battle lie just ahead with the approach of the spring and summer period, the peak agricultural seasons. We approach these peak periods with an estimated shortage of three and a half million farm workers. Unless ways and means are found quickly to overcome this shortage during the peak seasons our whole food-for-freedom battle is endangered.

Until such time as correct and adequate policies are established by the Federal Government, much depends upon the formation of voluntary labor battalions of youth who agree to work on the farms for a stated period of time under stated conditions of work and wages. Already, machinery has been set in motion through the cooperation of various government agencies to recruit, transport and supervise such a voluntary army of young farm

workers for this spring and summer.

One of the most important contributions that the Y.C.L. can make is to offer the services of its members to the various government farm labor recruitment agencies which may exist in the various states and cities, or directly to the farmers where no such farm labor recruitment stations exist. Last summer, groups of members of the Y.C.L. on the West Coast did meritorious work in helping harvest crops threatened with destruction because of lack of available farm labor. Although the problem is most acute in such agricultural sections as the West Coast, dependent in the past on migratory labor during peak periods, it also exists in an aggravated form in all parts of the country. What the Y.C.L. did on a small scale on the West Coast last year should be done on a big scale all over the country this coming spring and summer.

*Old Enough to Fight—Old
Enough to Vote*

The war has brought forward the role of youth in a new way not only in the military and industrial field but also on the political field. The most significant evidence of this fact is the widespread and rapidly growing movement to give the youth of 18 and over the right to vote. Bills amending state constitutions to this effect have been introduced in some twenty-two state legislatures. Bills calling for the amendment of the Federal Constitution to the same end have been introduced into both houses of Congress.

The widespread movement for lowering the voting age indicates a growing recognition that youth have a right to participate in the councils of state. This was given forceful emphasis by President Roosevelt in his international broadcast to the youth of the world, last September. In that speech, President Roosevelt said:

“Before the first World War very few people in any country believed that youth had any right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in the councils of state. We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.”

This recognition has been developing over a long period of time. A most important contributing factor was the significant role played in the life of our country by the youth movement for many years before the outbreak of the present war. The war brought this recognition to a sharp focus and crystallized it into a movement to lower the voting age. It did so because the role of youth in the life of our country has been dramatized by two war-time developments: first, the mobilization of millions of youth for the armed forces; second, the entry of millions of youth into industry. These are new developments, unprecedented in the history of our country. Hence, they underscore as never before the role of youth, the political maturity of youth, the assumption by youth

of every responsibility of citizenship.

It is, therefore, quite clear why the movement to lower the voting age should develop under the slogan "Old Enough to Fight—Old Enough to Vote!" This slogan dramatizes the demand to grant full citizenship rights to the youth. It places in a most striking manner the necessity to expand the basis of our democracy by enfranchising a large section of the people fully capable of helping decide the destiny of our country.

It is important to emphasize this because certain opponents of the proposed legislation use the very war time dramatization of this issue as an argument against it on the ground that it is a product of "war time hysteria," or a "patriotic gesture" which sober "common sense" must oppose because youth do not have the wisdom to use their suffrage maturely. In this category, for example, is to be found the New York Bar Association, which submitted a special memorandum to the New York State Legislature opposing such legislation in order that "our liberties may be protected against hasty action and impressionable, immature thought."

That "wisdom does not necessarily come with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise" has not yet penetrated the minds of the New York Bar Association. But it has been given eloquent testimony over the years by the role which young people have played in the life of our nation, and above all by the role they play today. The fact is that

the Bar Association memorandum does not represent an objective evaluation of the maturity of youth. It reflects the hostility of certain reactionary, vested interests to any expansion of political democracy.

The development of the struggle over this issue has brought about a strange and not at all clear-cut line up of forces on either side of the issue. Supporting the proposal to lower the voting age are such win-the-war forces as important trade unions, many youth organizations, the A.L.P., the Affiliated Young Democrats and prominent citizens like Mrs. Roosevelt and former Governor Poletti. But also, in some cases, defeatist forces have sponsored legislation to lower the voting age in a demagogic attempt to manipulate this issue for obstructive purposes, as Senator Vandenberg did when he proposed it as an amendment to the 18-year-old draft.

On the other hand, opposing the legislation are defeatist forces who oppose any broadening of the base of people's democracy; as well as certain confused win-the-war forces who object on the untenable ground that youth of 18 are "not old enough" to use the suffrage wisely.

As a result, and in the absence of any organized, effective mass movement to back up the widespread sentiment for such legislation, the fate being met by the various bills introduced in state legislatures has no relation to the will of the people or youth. For example, a bill to lower the voting age has been passed by both houses and signed by the Governor in

Georgia. But in Maryland, the bill was defeated by a red-baiting attack against it; while in Massachusetts and New York, as well as in most other places, it is effectively bottled up in committee and does not even come up for hearings or vote.

This points up the necessity for the organization of an effective, articulate mass movement of youth and their organizations with the full and energetic support of the labor movement. Only such a mass movement of great proportions and vigor can force these bills out of committee, compel public hearings on them and bring about their passage. It is important to note that the state fight for such legislation will in most cases be brought to an end with the termination of the usually short-lived sessions of state legislatures. This means that the progressive win-the-war forces must take the initiative to organize the fight for such legislation on a national scale around suitable legislation in Congress.

The Fight for Youth Unity

Unity of all patriotic forces and organizations of American youth is an indispensable prerequisite for the full mobilization of the young people of our country for victory in the war. Only such unity can bring the full measure of youth's support behind the policies needed for victory; only such unity can tap the tremendous potential reservoir of youth energy in support of the war service activities for which the young people of our country have a direct responsibility.

At the present time, a number of national centers of youth collaboration exist. Among them are the American Youth for a Free World, the United States Student Assembly, the National Council of Negro Youth and the Southern Negro Youth Congress. In addition, local united youth movements exist in such cities as Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, Birmingham, New Orleans, Rochester, Schenectady. In a number of cities there also exist very broad and representative united movements of the Negro youth.

Only among the Negro youth, and in certain of the local youth councils as in Detroit, can significant progress be recorded in the establishment of unity and in the development of united activity among the youth in support of the war. While the American Youth for a Free World and the United States Student Assembly have the potentialities of development into important national centers for the unification of the youth, they have not by any means developed those potentialities.

This slow progress toward the establishment of youth unity for victory contrasts very markedly with the desire of the masses of youth to establish such unity. It calls for sober examination by every responsible leader of youth in order to uncover its reasons and to eliminate the obstacles which stand in the way of such unity.

Such an examination will reveal that the failure to establish full and effective youth unity for victory is due primarily to an unreasoning

fear of the Communists on the part of influential circles within the youth movement, to the existence of red-baiting and capitulation to red-baiting by these circles.

It is no secret that important and influential youth circles within the anti-Hitler camp have attempted for almost two years to build a united youth movement, taking as their starting point anti-Communist policies, red-baiting and efforts to exclude the Communist youth. But it is equally no secret that these attempts have, to date, met with failure; that what progress has been made toward the unification of American youth has been made only in proportion to the abandonment of such red-baiting, anti-Communist policies.

The Y.C.L. has loyally supported every effort that has been made to establish youth unity. It gave its full support to these efforts despite its knowledge that they were being made on the basis of excluding the Communist youth from participation in them. It did not allow its firm conviction that this attitude toward the Communist youth was divisive to interfere with creating every possible condition for the maximum success of efforts toward unity. Despite the efforts that were made, and despite the fullest possible measure of support by the Y.C.L., the results were slight. It is our belief that the main reason for this was the policy of disunity represented in efforts to exclude the Communist youth.

It is, therefore, very pertinent to ask the question: *Why can't there be real unity of youth without the*

participation of the Communist youth?

Do we say that there can be no such real unity of the youth without the young Communists because we young Communists have a monopoly on talent and ability—because nothing can be organized unless we help to organize it—that the youth cannot be aroused unless we are there to help rouse them? No! We have never made, and we do not now make, such arrogant pretensions.

Do we say that there cannot be real unity without the Communists, because the exclusion of the Communist youth will exclude a tremendous section of the youth? Not at all!

We are only too conscious of the fact that the Communists are still only a small section of the youth.

Why, then, has it been impossible to establish unity of the youth so long as efforts are persisted in to exclude Communist youth? For the simple reason that, when the starting point for establishing youth unity is a certain belief, to wit, that the Communists must be excluded, then this means that in such attempts, *another belief is also included.*

And what is included is a belief in Red-baiting or a capitulation to the divisive forces who use Red-baiting as a main weapon. Where this exists, paralysis sets in; it becomes impossible to mobilize the youth or to unite them.

Hitler understands this perfectly. It has been his chief reliance in every effort to disunite the forces of

world democracy, to weaken the fighting capacity of the United Nations. Red-baiting is the chief political weapon of Hitler to disrupt every movement of patriotic unity. For the essence of Red-baiting is the assumption that the Communists are the enemy, not Hitler and fascism. The objective of all Red-baiting is to focus attention on the fight against the Communists with this term broadened out to include all those who desire victory over fascism, and all those who support the policies required for victory.

There have been innumerable illustrations of this fact. One of the most catastrophic results of such red-baiting and capitulation to red-baiting was the destruction, more than a year ago, of the Advisory Committee to the Youth Section of Civilian Defense. This National Youth Advisory Committee was the nucleus around which a powerful unity of all patriotic youth organizations of the country was beginning to be built.

But those in the leadership of this movement were obsessed with an unreasoning fear of the Communist youth, with a miserably capitulatory attitude to red-baiting, with pronounced tendencies toward "preventative" red-baiting of their own through the policy of enforcing the exclusion of the Communist youth from the National Advisory Committee as well as from all local councils to be built.

As soon as the first tangible results of such steps toward youth unity began to make themselves felt, the defeatist forces opened up

a violent red-baiting attack against the Youth Division of Civilian Defense, against the Youth Advisory Committee, and against the whole plan for a network of united youth councils in the localities. Instead of resisting this attack, these youth leaders retreated, refused to mobilize the youth in support of the Civilian Defense Youth Division or the Youth Advisory Committee. As a result, the Congressional defeatists succeeded in liquidating the Youth Division of Civilian Defense, in forcing the dismantling of the Youth Advisory Committee and the abandonment of the comprehensive plan, which had already been begun, for the establishment of local youth unity movements.

A second example is to be found in the International Student Service. In this organization there were two currents of opinion: the first, that nothing should be done to build a broad movement of unity among the youth because if such a broad movement were built then the Communist youth would enter it, despite everything that might be done to keep them out. The second current of opinion was that International Student Service *must* build such a broad movement of youth because if I.S.S. didn't take the leadership then the Communist youth would. The result was that there was no activity by I.S.S. to build a broad movement, because both groups in I.S.S. were paralyzed by hatred of Communists instead of being activated by hatred of fascism.

This paralysis resulted in death. The I.S.S., on which so many thousands of dollars had been spent,

which had Mrs. Roosevelt's summer home at Campobello placed at its disposal for two summers to train "youth leaders"—the I.S.S. was officially liquidated and pronounced dead in February.

A third illustration is to be found in the United States Student Assembly, the American committee established as a result of the historic International Student Assembly. This Assembly, in which the Soviet youth delegation participated, has an enormous importance for the establishment of international youth unity. Its significance can be judged by the furious reaction of the fascists toward it. In their attempts to offset this effect of this gathering of the students of the United Nations, they actually convened a special fascist Congress of Youth in Vienna under the leadership of Baldur von Schirach. Their frantic efforts could not efface the great impression created among the subjugated youth of occupied Europe who heard about this assembly through clandestine channels.

The United States Student Assembly created at this International Assembly had the full support of the students of America, the support of the Administration, a mandate to go out and set into motion a great movement of unity of American youth with the freedom-loving youth of the world. But, to this date, six months after the International Student Assembly, practically nothing has been done to carry out that mandate. The United States Student Assembly leadership has been a victim of the same anti-Communist obsession, the same red-

baiting attitude, the same suicidal capitulation to red-baiting which characterized the leadership of the Youth Advisory Committee of Civilian Defense and the International Student Service.

It is still not too late for the U.S.S.A. to become a significant factor in the youth movement. But for this it is necessary that the policies of its leadership be changed and that full conclusions be drawn from the tragic experiences of the last two years.

It is time that the leaders of the youth organizations of the country drew some conclusions from the fact that more than one year after Pearl Harbor, with the overwhelming majority of American youth fighting and working for victory, there is still no effective center of unity of youth organizations of the country in support of the war. Such unity will exist only when it is realized that this must be an all-inclusive national unity of every section of the youth movement fighting for victory, including the Communist youth.

It is no accident that only among the Negro youth is there nationally and in the localities a broadly representative, virile and functioning united youth movement. Because, here, the leadership of the united Negro youth movement does not allow itself to be influenced by the red-baiters or by fear of communism.

Nor is it an accident that of all the local united front movements which do exist in a number of cities throughout the country, the only effective one exists in Detroit. Here also the leadership has rejected red-

baiting and has accepted the Young Communist League as a component part of the youth unity movement.

The possibilities for developing a real national center of unity were enhanced as a result of the important conference held toward the end of February at the initiative of "American Youth for a Free World." This conference, attended by delegates and observers from thirty-three important national organizations, outlined a course of action and an orientation which could well mark the beginnings of the reunification of the youth organizations of the country.

The Council of the American Youth for a Free World decided to inaugurate discussions looking toward affiliation with the World Youth Council, having its headquarters in London. Such affiliation would bring it into direct and formal collaboration with the youth of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and the other United Nations.

For a Mass Y.C.L.

The present situation places great responsibilities upon the youth of our country, and, above all, upon the Y.C.L.

The aim of the Y.C.L. is to meet its responsibilities by increasing its contributions to the cause of victory along four main lines: (1) through its immediate, direct and independent service to all phases of the war effort, thus helping to stimulate the masses of youth and to unite them in action for victory; (2) through mobilizing the youth behind correct national and international pol-

icies which our country needs for victory; (3) through championing the needs of youth and fighting for a solution to all the economic, social and political problems of youth; (4) through educating its members and the masses of youth into a deeper anti-fascist consciousness and understanding of the national-liberation and United Nations character of the war; helping to build their characters as strong and courageous patriots and fighters for their country and the people; inspiring them with our great socialist ideals.

To carry out its great responsibilities, the Y.C.L. must be built into an organization many times its present size. Only by becoming a mass organization can it fulfill its vital role in the war effort, a role which becomes ever more important to the cause of victory. A mass Y.C.L. would guarantee a more effective mobilization of the youth in support of the war policies of the Roosevelt Administration for the military offensive and the opening of a second front, as enunciated at the Casablanca Conference. It would guarantee the mobilization of the masses of youth for unity within our country, and for international unity with the freedom-loving youth of the world, for friendship with the youth of the Soviet Union. It would result in the maximum stimulation of the masses of youth for fulfillment of their war service responsibilities on the home front. It would bring clarity to greater masses of youth, help destroy the influence of the defeatists and their agents.

This vital role which the Y.C.L. plays in the war effort should re-

ceive special emphasis particularly in connection with the observance this April of the twenty-first anniversary of the Young Communist League. The "coming of age" of the Y.C.L. in the midst of the great war by our nation to defend its freedom and destroy the fascist monster underlines the great task of making the Y.C.L. equal to its role through its development into a mass organization.

At the present moment, the Y.C.L. is engaged in a three-month recruiting drive, lasting until May 31, in the course of which it has set itself the goal of recruiting 6,000 new members. The success of this drive depends to a large extent upon the political guidance and practical assistance which are given to the Y.C.L. in all districts by the party organizations. Such guidance and assistance are particularly necessary because of the changes that have taken place in the membership and leadership of the Y.C.L.

Some 4,000 members of the Y.C.L. are now serving in the armed forces. Included among them are the most experienced former leaders of the Y.C.L. nationally, in the districts, sections and branches. This has created the necessity for the most rapid promotion of new, young leadership in the Y.C.L. from top to bottom. The continuous drafting of Y.C.L. members for military service has already brought the proportion of girls in the Y.C.L. to over 50 per cent, a fact which is

prominently reflected in the composition of the leadership.

The new role of youth in industry is also reflected in the Y.C.L. With the exception of cities like New York, where a special problem of wartime unemployment exists, some 40 per cent of the members of the Y.C.L. are employed in war industries. Our concentration on youth in industry, as well as the experience of previous recruiting, has emphasized the necessity for the Y.C.L. to orientate on the younger age groups, including the fifteen- and sixteen-year-old youth. Thus, the age composition of the Y.C.L. is rapidly changing, with its average tending to go down continuously.

The considerable turnover in leadership, as well as the continuous lower average age level of the Y.C.L. membership, makes it impossible for the party organization to "take things for granted," as there was a tendency to do when a more experienced, older leadership functioned in the Y.C.L. The New York district of the party has set an example for all other districts to follow in undertaking a serious effort to help build the Y.C.L. into a mass organization by practical and political assistance in the course of the present recruiting drive.

With such assistance all over the country, the Y.C.L. can and must be built into a mass organization capable of playing its full role in the fight for victory over Hitler and the Axis.

NOTES ON THE BICENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

BY CARL ROSS

THE commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson could not come at a more appropriate moment than this, which is marked by the greatest crisis in the life of our country since its birth as a nation.

Among the giants of history whom we regard as the founding fathers, Thomas Jefferson stands out as the man whose democratic philosophy most indelibly left its imprint upon our nation, who most consistently understood the aspirations of the common people and mobilized them for the struggle to defend the nation from all enemies within and without.

The profound validity and usefulness of the principles taught by Jefferson in meeting the crisis of this modern war for independence require therefore the fullest appreciation by our nation. The complete understanding is needed that we are not only fighting to preserve the nation founded by Jefferson and his co-workers, but that the policies of Jefferson must be consistently applied, under present-day conditions, in order to chart the course of victory.

Particularly the Communists, for

whom the study of the past has never been separate from the struggles of the present, will find that a proper appreciation of Jefferson becomes a guide to action in the fight for victory over the fascist Axis and its agents within the nation. No one more than Jefferson himself would regard this approach as valid, for he constantly drew upon the teaching and experience of the past to develop and elaborate his own philosophy and his policies. Remarking on the importance of education in order to render "the people safe," Jefferson advocated that the first stage be "chiefly historical" because:

"History by apprizing them of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume, and knowing it, to defeat its views."

This is a war to preserve the democratic heritage of 1776, to defend the existence of the nation whose independence Jefferson proclaimed in the immortal Declaration

of Independence. If defeated by the fascist Axis, America would revert to a slavery far more cruel and barbaric than the colonial oppression of King George III. To avert that catastrophe by effectively fighting the war together with the other United Nations, our foreign and domestic policy must be firmly rooted in the Jeffersonian concept.

Unfortunately, bourgeois historians have too often presented Jefferson's policies on international affairs as a maze of contradictions because the pursuit of America's national interest led Jefferson at various times to advocate apparently contradictory policies. These historians have sought the explanation of these policies in isolated historical incidents rather than in the class, social and international relations, and in the guiding considerations to which Jefferson staunchly adhered.

Jefferson's policy was first of all determined by the national interest of the first democratic Republic in a world dominated by reaction and monarchy, and by the desire that America's example should inspire other nations to follow the path of democratic revolution. To assure that the American Republic would survive, flourish and expand throughout the Western territories, Jefferson's first concern was for peace. As he expressed the thought in his later years when the Napoleonic conquest swept Europe, "Peace then has been our principle, peace is our interest, and peace has saved the world this only plant of free and rational government now existing."

But when imperialist ambition threatened the nation and rendered

war unavoidable, Jefferson firmly called for war in this just cause, as in the second war for independence against Britain in 1812-15. Jefferson then declared: "We are to have war then? I believe so, and that it is necessary. Every hope from time, patience, and the love of peace is exhausted; and war or abject submission are the alternatives left us. I am forced to turn from my hobby, peace."

Understanding that there could be no conflict between the true national interest of the United States and other nations, Jefferson sought a world order among nations based upon his concept of democracy and morality. The relations between nations, he maintained, should be governed by the same rules of morality as held between men:

"We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations, as with individuals, our interests soundly calculated, will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties; and history bears witness to the fact that a just nation is taken at its word, when recourse is had to armaments and war to bridle others."

In this day, when the most immoral forces of all history are combined in the fascist Axis to destroy utterly every vestige of morality in the relation between nations and to substitute barbarian enslavement in its place, every patriotic force in the nation is being united in a common effort to restore the principles of human morality to the nations of the world.

Among these patriotic forces, and

in their foremost ranks, are the Communists. From the first day of Nazi-fascist aggression against the peace of the world, the Communists have supported every effort to establish on the basis of Jefferson's principles a world coalition of nations and peoples to destroy fascism and fascist aggression. As those efforts are finally vindicated today in the establishment of the United Nations alliance, it becomes clear to increasing sections of the people that the policies of the Communists have been consistent with the best American tradition, and that there is full harmony between that tradition and the principles of working-class internationalism as first projected by Karl Marx. In the famous Inaugural Address of the First International, Marx urged that the workers must combine to vindicate "the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations."

* * *

The sole firm foundation upon which the Jeffersonian principle that the rules of human morality should guide the conduct of nations could be established was the understanding that the defense of our own nation's interest demands the defense of the true national interest of other nations. Jefferson has been painted a narrow isolationist, and his policies made use of to justify reactionary ends; but nothing could be further from the truth. At every step in his lifetime of service to the

American nation, Jefferson, the great internationalist, understood that the survival of the young American republic depended upon friendship and cooperation with those other nations that at the particular historic moment represented the cause of human progress.

Jefferson considered that America, as the first democratic Republic, represented the hope and inspiration of every freedom-loving people. He wrote of the French Republic of 1789: "the appeal to the rights of man which had been made in the United States was taken up by France first of all European nations. From her the spirit has spread . . . the tyrants . . . have allied indeed against it; but it is irresistible . . . and the condition of man through the civilized world will be finally and greatly ameliorated. . . ."

Jefferson accordingly used every resource at his command to rally the American people for the defense of the young French Republic against all efforts to destroy that bastion of liberty on the continent. During the Adams Administration, when the "Anglo-men," the reactionary Federalists who hated the Jeffersonian concept of democracy and dreamed of the restoration of monarchy in America, attempted to ally the United States in a reactionary war with the British King against the French Republic, Jefferson rallied the people in support of France. He saw in the attack upon the French Republic an attack upon the principles for which the United States stood and a mortal threat to both America and France from the reac-

tionary coalition of kings headed by British Toryism.

Again, when Napoleon was marching to the conquest of Europe and threatening every independent nation anywhere in the world, Jefferson proclaimed the principle that the self-interest of the United States demanded the independence of the nations of Europe, particularly of Britain and Russia. He wrote then:

"Surely none of us wish to see Bonaparte conquer Russia and lay thus at his feet the whole continent of Europe. This done, England would be but a breakfast . . . put all Europe into his hands, and he might spare such a force, to be sent in British ships, as I would as leave not have to encounter, . . . were he again advanced to Moscow, I should again wish him such disasters as would prevent his reaching Petersburg. . . . I am willing to trust to your discretion the explaining me to our honest fellow-laborers, and the bringing them to pause and reflect . . . on the extent of success we ought to wish to Bonaparte, with a view to our own interests only; and even if we were not men, to whom nothing human should be indifferent. But is our particular interests to make us insensible to all sentiments of morality? Is it then become criminal, the moral wish that the torrents of blood this man is shedding in Europe, the suffering of so many human beings, good as ourselves, on whose necks he is trampling, the burnings of ancient cities, devastation of great countries, the destruction of law and order, and demoralization of the world, should be arrested, even if it should place our own peace a little further distant: No. You and I cannot differ in

wishing that Russia, and Sweden, and Denmark, and Germany, and Spain and Portugal, and Italy and even England, may retain their independence."

Written as this was at a moment when the United States and Bonaparte were simultaneously at war with England, it was a tribute to the understanding of Jefferson that he set forth the principle that "even England" must retain its independence and that "my earnest prayer is that our government may enter into no compact with the other beligerent [Napoleon]."

It is precisely these Jeffersonian principles that represent the keystone of the United Nations, which are bound by iron necessity into an alliance to defend their independence and to restore among nations the principles of morality that the Axis has violated. In this alliance we recognize the highest expression of the idea that the national interest of the United States can be preserved only by recognizing that it coincides with the true national interest of all nations.

* * *

Increased recognition is being given to the fact that United Nations victory in the war and collaboration in meeting post-war problems depend in the first place upon cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Without such collaboration, upon the firm basis of mutual interest, America stands in danger of losing the war; just as every effort to weaken this collaboration weakens and endangers the war effort of our

nation. Of all questions concerning relations among the United Nations this issue has become paramount. Hitler and Goebbels are once again attempting to use the threat of the "menace of Bolshevism" to arouse distrust and disunity among the United Nations while within the nation the fifth column is attempting to revive the ghost of Munich and all prejudices against our Soviet ally.

Never was a better understanding of the problems of American-Soviet collaboration more necessary than today. Upon it may well depend our ability as a nation to find those policies which alone can lead to victory. Yet the thought still persists in some minds that cooperation between these two most powerful republics in the world is merely an accident of history, some temporary and transient alliance not based upon true mutual interest.

It would be profitable to examine this question in the light of the experiences and democratic principles of Jefferson.

Jefferson, first among all Americans, expressed the thought in respect to relations between the two countries that: "Both nations being in character and practice essentially pacific, a common interest in the rights of peaceable nations, gives us a common cause in their maintenance. . . ." This "common interest" Jefferson found particularly in his conception that if Napoleon should conquer Russia and England, the United States likewise would be destroyed, and he was thus led to vigorous opposition to the Napoleonic conquest of Europe. "It was our in-

terest and that of humanity," he wrote, that Napoleon "should not subdue Russia, and thus lay all Europe at his feet." Maintenance of a strong and independent Russia and England, Jefferson felt, was essential to the national security of the United States.

If this was true in Jefferson's day, then it must be doubly true today that the existence of a free and independent Soviet Union represents a bulwark of American national security, and that defeat of the Soviet Union would mean the destruction of the American nation. Those who dream that it is possible to pursue a policy hostile to the Soviet Union or even to indulge in the hopes that Hitler and the Soviet Union "will destroy each other" would do well to reflect upon the sober consideration of Jefferson's policy. The alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union is based upon solid mutual interest and sound historical precedent.

Those who persist in hanging on to the "accident theory" with respect to the American-Soviet alliance, not only overlook the long tradition underlying American-Russian cooperation and its basis in the natural interest of each nation; they also question the possibility of two nations with different forms of government and social organization collaborating on other than a mere transient basis.

But as Earl Browder points out in his book *Victory—and After*, the leaders of the Soviet Union have long ago answered in the affirmative the question as to whether the socialist Soviet Union can live peace-

ably and cooperate in the mutual interest with capitalist nations. He states:

"The Soviet Union has long based its foreign policy upon the *possibility* and *desirability* of peaceful co-existence and cooperation between itself and as many capitalist countries as possible, and especially the United States. . . . The Soviet leaders always expected, and prepared to defeat, the effort to destroy the Soviet republics by military invasion carried out by the most reactionary capitalist countries (Germany, Italy, and satellites), but, simultaneously, they consistently followed a policy of establishing the firmest bonds with those capitalist countries interested in keeping the peace and in checking aggressors." (pp. 161-62.)

It is for America to establish equally clearly that ours, a capitalist nation, not only can but must accept the socialist Soviet Union as its most potent ally.

America's affirmative answer can be found, not only in the military necessity of our day, but also in the principles of Thomas Jefferson. The hostility on the part of powerful forces in America toward the Soviet Union for nearly two decades had its early counterpart in the attitude of reactionary Tories toward the new revolutionary French Republic. Jefferson, then Secretary of State under President Washington, took up the cudgels against the Tory efforts to distort the whole revolutionary tradition of America itself and set forth his position in a letter of instruction to the American minister in France:

"During the transition from the late form of government to the re-establishment of some other legitimate authority . . . you may have been at a loss with whom business might be done. . . . We surely cannot deny to any nation that right whereon our own government is founded, that every one may govern itself according to whatever form it pleases and change these forms at its own will; and that it may transact its business with foreign nations through whatever organ it thinks proper, whether King, Convention, Assembly, Committee, President, or anything else it may choose. The will of the nation is the only thing essential to be regarded."

Mutual acceptance of this Jeffersonian concept as the rule in our relations between the United States and the Soviet Union will at once set the relations upon a firm and durable basis.

The United Nations alliance will be strengthened if we go further and begin to understand that the Soviet Union is part, indeed in the forefront, of the forward march of humanity in which the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1798 constitute a glorious tradition. If there ever was a philosophy that would regard the achievements of the Soviet Union as a part of the "revolution of the common man," it is the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. In the scope of his revolutionary outlook, Jefferson transcended the narrow bourgeois limitations of his day and proclaimed the doctrine, accepted as a principle of our form of government and written into the Declaration of Independence, that "whenever any

form of government becomes destructive of these ends [life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness], it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new governments, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

When this principle found application in the establishment of the French Republic in 1789, Jefferson rejoiced in this new step forward in attaining human freedom. And Americans today will find it easier to understand and forge an indestructible unity with our Soviet ally if they will follow the example of Jefferson, acknowledging that the Soviet people have exercised the same democratic-revolutionary right upon which our nation is founded, that they have found in socialism an extension, for the present epoch, of the advanced principles enunciated by Jefferson for his day.

* * *

The Communists have long been recognized in America as the most consistent advocates of American-Soviet collaboration. The idea presented by Communists alone at a time when our nation had not yet learned to recognize the necessity of alliance with our sister Republic, has now been almost universally accepted. Leading American statesmen and other prominent Americans, exemplified by such figures as President Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, Vice-President Wallace, ex-Ambassador Davies, and Thomas Lamont, by their statements and speeches,

represent the thinking of our nation in regard to this vital question.

Yet, notwithstanding the growing confirmation of the correctness of the Communist position on this all-important issue, the Red-baiters and anti-Sovieteers have not been shamed into silence. Even decent patriotic Americans are often prone to capitulate to the splitters of national unity and to those who would want to make the Soviet Union appear as a potential enemy rather than as our most reliable friend.

It is well to call to mind the experience of Thomas Jefferson, as an aid in removing this harmful line of thinking insinuated into our nation by Hitler's fifth column, and as an aid in laying the basis for firmer national unity of all patriotic forces and for strengthening the American-Soviet-British fighting alliance.

Jefferson, in the midst of desperate struggle for preserving the gains of the Revolution, was denounced as a "foreign agent" of Republican France, as being concerned with the welfare of France rather than of the United States. This was the case during the reactionary Adams Administration which, under the leadership of Hamilton and his Federalist Party, was not only hostile to American democracy but strove to win the nation to an alliance with British Toryism against the French Republic. The Jeffersonians, forming their own Democratic-Republican Party, fought for democracy at home and for a democratic counterpart of that policy in America's relation to France.

The first great "Red scare" in American history opened with the

followers of Jefferson being labeled "Jacobins," and the democratic clubs accused of being financed by "French gold." The notorious Alien and Sedition Acts were passed in a desperate effort to curb the rising democratic spirit of the masses under the leadership and inspiration of Jefferson.

Jefferson replied by repudiating the charge of "foreign agent," declaring the Federalists mistaken when they "presume an attachment to France and hatred to the Federal Party, and not the love of their own country, to be their first passion." Around the banner of safeguarding the gains of the Revolution at home and of defending the new-born French Republic, Jefferson carried forward the struggle for national unity against the enemies within and without.

The forces of Hamilton and the Federalists were routed by the people, who rallied to Jefferson's leadership and elected him President in 1800; the repressive measures of the Adams Administration were swept aside to make room for a new expansion of American democracy.

From that moment the Federalist Party of reaction began to degenerate into a conspiratorial clique in league with the foreign enemies of the nation and with the treasonable adventures of the despicable traitor Aaron Burr. Jefferson's struggle for national unity led to success, even to the point that "the patriotic part of the Federalists," as Jefferson said, were by the threat of a Hamilton coup to capture the Presidency "separated from their congressional leaders, and came over to us . . .

they are in a state of mind to consolidate with us."

It was this national unity, based largely upon the support of the small farmers and plain people, which guaranteed the expansion of democracy and the ability of the nation to meet the threats from the enemy abroad and his agents within. Jefferson's two terms as President strengthened this national unity.

When the danger to America again grew acute from the imperialist designs of Britain and from the Napoleonic conquest of Europe, Jefferson warned against any disruption of national unity and placed the nation on guard against the Federalists who were soon to be up to their ears in the notorious Hartford Convention and other plots to betray the United States. He wrote:

"Federalism, stripped as it now nearly is of its landed and laboring support, is monarchism and Anglicanism, and whenever our own dissensions shall let these in upon us the last ray of free government closes on the horizon of the world. . . . The situation of our country . . . is such as . . . will require the union of all its friends to resist its enemies within and without. If we schismatize on either men or measures, if we do not act in phalanx, as when we rescued it from the satellites of monarchism, I will not say our *party*, for the term is false and degrading, but our *nation* will be undone. For the Republicans are the *nation*. Their opponents are but a faction, weak in numbers, but powerful and profuse in the command of money, and backed by a nation powerful also and profuse in the use of the same means [Britain] . . . the

last hope of human liberty in this world rests with us."

Thus the once powerful and arrogant Federalist Party was revealed by Jefferson to be the instrument of the fifth column within the nation. History had run its course in regard to the party of which Jefferson had said over thirty years earlier: "Our lenity in permitting the return of the old Tories gave the first body to this party."

It was Jefferson's uncompromising struggle against the Tories and traitors of the Revolutionary War, against the Federalist Party scheme to plunge America into reactionary adventures abroad in alliance with the British King, against the plotting of Aaron Burr with foreign powers to disunite the nation, and finally against the Federalist traitors who formed the British fifth column in the War of 1812, that guaranteed the survival of the young American Republic.

Not only can we learn from Jefferson how to reject Red-baiting, but in his example we have the model for struggle to unite our nation today and for uncompromising struggle against the Axis fifth column. The reactionary Republican defeatists and the poll-tax Democrats in Congress who conspire against the President's war policies are a travesty upon the memory and example of Jefferson.

And as Jefferson rallied the people of his day to defend the nation by a fight for ever-expanding democracy and unity at home, we Americans today must learn to fight against and remove every barrier in

the road to a fuller and more complete national unity. The poll tax white supremacy system of the South fostered by the Democratic Party's Southern reactionary bloc, which claims to be the successor of Jefferson's party; the treacherous fifth-column, Red-baiting slanders and attacks upon the Communists, upon national unity and our Soviet ally; the reactionary attacks upon labor in the narrow class interests of anti-labor and defeatist employers—all these are inimical to the tradition of Jefferson, as is everything that hampers the fullest democratic mobilization of our nation in this war for survival.

* * *

In the course of this great war for national existence, America is rediscovering its splendid democratic heritage and making it a weapon of struggle for victory over the fascist Axis and its agents operating within the nation. This tradition is finding its living embodiment in the war policies of President Roosevelt, in the national unity developing around them, in the United Nations alliance, and particularly in our alliance with the Soviet Union, valiant defender of the democracy, independence, and security of all nations.

It is this fact that lends significance to the widespread observance of the bicentennial of Jefferson's birth by the people, by the working class, by groups and individuals from all areas of our national life. In this observance the Communists have an honorable share; for it is above all Earl Browder, leader of

the Communist Party, who, realizing with Leninist penetration the great values for our day of the abiding principles of Jefferson, repeatedly proclaimed:

“What America needs today, what the world needs, is a foreign policy based upon [the] lines of Thomas Jefferson.”

But it is necessary for the nation to fight as hard as did Jefferson for the fulfillment of those principles in action; the heritage of Jeffersonian principles will guide the nation to victory only if all patriotic forces are mobilized for their speedy and

effective realization in the policies of our nation. Above all, in the light of Jefferson's teachings and life-work, the present historic moment calls for strengthening national unity and the unity of labor, the backbone of the nation, for cementing ever more firmly the United Nations alliance and our policy of collaboration with the Soviet Union, and for the immediate fulfillment of the Casablanca Conference decision to invade Europe, so that America may contribute its full share in achieving the United Nations victory over the Hitlerite Axis.

THE PARTY RECRUITING CAMPAIGN IN MICHIGAN

BY ROY HUDSON

IN THE national recruiting campaign the Michigan District of the Communist Party has a quota of five hundred members. Three hundred of these new members were already recruited by the time of the Michigan State Convention on February 27-28, exceeding the objective of two hundred that had been set for the first period of the drive. In the light of these initial results, as well as the organizational steps that have been taken for completing the drive, there is every basis not only for achieving the original goal of five hundred, but for exceeding this quota, as the Michigan District has undertaken to do.

The possibility and necessity for every state organization to achieve its quota and guarantee the recruiting of 15,000 new members by the first of May are also emphasized by the experiences and results in Michigan, which are not the result of any peculiar and particularly favorable circumstances prevailing only in Michigan.

The experiences of the war are bringing about a profound change in the thinking and actions of all

people. Large masses of people, and labor first of all, are being aroused and stimulated to help solve the burning problems posed by the war—strengthening the United Nations and our alliance with the Soviet Union and support for opening the Second Front; strengthening national unity and the struggle against the defeatists; hastening the organization of the nation's economy on a planned and centralized basis. The great majority recognize that their past experiences, former policies and methods do not alone provide the answer to the crucial problems of today. A relatively small, but very important section of workers, usually the more militant and conscious who have standing in their own right with the masses, are learning through their own experiences that the Communist Party provides that unity, initiative and clarity which are essential to the solution of those problems facing the nation.

In Michigan these changes have found expression in the role played by the auto workers in the campaign for the Second Front; in the defeat of Tenerowitz; in defense

of the rights of the Negro people, especially in the Sojourner Truth Housing Project fight; and in the rejection of Red-baiting by labor and the people in the Stanley Nowak case. The increases registered in the circulation of the *Worker*; the avoidance of strikes in the face of provocation by some employers; and the growing clarity on production problems, stimulated especially by the wide discussion of Earl Browder's contribution,* are but a few of the many indications of the extent to which the Communists are influencing broader sections of the labor movement.

The three hundred new recruits in Michigan symbolize and signalize these changes that are taking place in the labor movement and the extent to which important sections of the working class are beginning to turn to the Communist Party as the source of more effective leadership in the struggle to guarantee the victory of our nation and the defeat of the Axis by the United Nations. This fact is further emphasized when we consider not only the number of recruits, but the tempo of recruiting. The average monthly recruiting in Michigan for 1941 was 19, and in 1942 it was 39. In the last three weeks of February, 1943, 229 new members were recruited, reaching a campaign tempo that far exceeded the rate of growth ever achieved in any other recent period. Maintaining this tempo in Michigan, and achieving it in other Districts, is one

of the big tasks now before the Party nationally.

These three hundred new recruits in Michigan feel that in joining the Communist Party they are strengthening their ties with their friends, shopmates and fellow citizens. They know the problems confronting labor and the nation, they know keenly the questions in the minds of their fellow workers. They know that as members of the Communist Party they will be able more effectively to answer these questions and help solve the problems. Thus we see what these new recruits mean in terms of strengthening our relations with non-Party masses and that conditions are more than ripe not only for building the Party but for extending its political influence and extending its collaboration with other patriotic win-the-war forces on a new and firmer basis, and securing its full citizenship in the camp of national unity, thus increasing the Party's contribution to the war effort.

These are conclusions that are emphasized by the fact that in Michigan a relatively large number of workers have entered the Party in a relatively short period of time. In terms of numbers the results are still modest indeed. In terms of indicating the profound changes that are taking place among the masses and the possibilities of building the Party, they are of great significance. To say that these prospects exist only in Michigan, that these profound changes that have been set into motion are peculiar to Detroit, would be an absurdity; for those factors that are influencing this process are influencing to a

* *Production for Victory* (Address delivered at the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, New York, November 30, 1942.) Workers Library Publishers.

greater or lesser degree the working class and people as a whole throughout the nation.

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If these conclusions are to be fully understood and taken advantage of, then it is necessary to stress another fact that stands out in the initial results in Michigan. The overwhelming majority of the recruits, two hundred and twenty-five, are auto workers. This is not an accident because where such a process of profound change is taking place or maturing, it is bound to find expression first of all in the most decisive groups of the working class. Of decisive importance is the extent to which this process is stimulated and crystalized and finds organizational expression in a stronger Communist Party and in firmer relations between the Party and the organized workers in the key industries. This will insure that the changes taking place everywhere will reach the firm ground of greater clarity on win-the-war policies, greater unity and initiative of labor and its firmer collaboration with all other forces in the camp of national unity.

This will be the main guarantee that the process of change that is taking place will not be frustrated or diverted into ineffective channels and that the fermentation and dissatisfaction will not be utilized by the defeatists and fifth columnists to weaken the war effort. Therefore the need for carrying through at all costs a policy of concentration to guarantee that the recruiting campaign will result in a

strengthening of the Party base in the steel, electrical, automotive, shipyard, marine, mining, and other decisive industries. Concentration means, not merely plans on paper, but the political attention and the assignment of forces in a manner such as was displayed by the Political Committee when it decided that Michigan would be a point of national concentration in the recruiting campaign.

The fact that 40 percent of the new recruits were Negroes is also of outstanding significance. Nearly all of these recruits were industrial workers. The Negro workers have learned that the trade union movement is becoming an ever more effective weapon in breaking down discrimination in industry and an ally of the Negro people's movement. The Negro people are also learning that our Party is the most consistent and reliable force promoting the unity of the white and Negro workers and joint action of organized labor and the Negro people against all forms of discrimination and for the full citizenship rights of the Negro people. The Negroes recruited in Michigan are a significant expression of the great prestige and influence the Communist Party has won amongst the Negro people everywhere.

A word needs to be said about the most serious weakness of the recruiting campaign in Michigan because it is also a weakness nationally. While a good percentage of the recruits were women, forty-nine, the number of working women recruited was unsatisfactory. This cannot but mean that not only do

we still have weak connections with the tens of thousands of women who have entered industry, but still fail to appreciate the political importance of changing this situation and of the need to take special measures to do so.

* * *

In addition to these general conclusions, a number of experiences in organizing, launching and carrying forward the drive in Michigan may be of help to other state organizations.

In the first period of the Michigan campaign, which closed at the end of February, every section in Detroit, with one exception, reported that its quota was fulfilled, and in many cases the original quotas were exceeded. Thus, the gains are a result of the fact that all sections of the Party made substantial progress in recruiting. Even so, the exceptional results achieved by a few sections undoubtedly show that most of the other sections are not yet fully taking advantage of all the favorable opportunities that exist. Outstanding among these sections is Section Ten, which in the three months' campaign had a quota of 150, and in the first period recruited 116 new members—nearly doubling its membership. Of these new members, 70 were Negroes and 5 shop women.

It is significant that those sections that had the best record in recruiting also have the best record in securing subscriptions for the *Worker*. Outstanding in this respect also is Section Ten, which had an original quota of 200 subs and actually

got 448. It is also important to note that Detroit secured a total of 875 subscriptions in the recent campaign, thus exceeding its quota. Undoubtedly the good results in extending the circulation of the press, as well as the distribution and study of Earl Browder's book, *Victory—And After*, helped lay the basis for the intensive recruiting that has been initiated.

Encouraging and significant as these achievements are, it is important to note that recruiting at a campaign tempo was achieved only in the latter phase of the drive. The campaign was launched officially on January 10 and had been preceded by a series of discussions on a District, Section and Branch scale, where quotas had been set and plans drawn up. At the end of January, however, the record showed that practically all of the sections were not yet recruiting on a serious scale, and even the one exception was recruiting on a scale that had become normal for the last period. Most of the branches and sections were practically standing still. Certainly in the light of further experiences the failure to recruit during this period could not be explained by a lack of favorable conditions. What was lacking was the political mobilization of the Party, which was essential if the Party membership was to be rallied behind the plans that had been worked out and adopted.

This conclusion deserves to be stressed for the benefit of other districts that may not have yet succeeded in recruiting at the tempo required, because in most cases this

slowness probably reflects the fact that the necessary political understanding of the membership for the recruiting campaign has not yet been achieved.

A change in this situation was accomplished through a series of conferences, embracing key trade union forces, women, Negroes, and comrades from the national groups, and a special discussion in the State Committee. In stressing the political basis for the drive it was necessary to establish the profound changes that were taking place in the thinking of the masses and in their attitude toward the Communists, and that the ability of labor and the people to solve the urgent problems of production, of mobilizing the broad support for realizing the decisions of Casablanca and the speedy opening of a Western Front, of maintaining national unity and smashing the offensive of the copperheads and defeatists, were bound up with strengthening the Communist Party and its entering into new and firmer relations with labor and all other forces in the camp of national unity.

These discussions, in the main, resulted in the removal of political weaknesses, such as failure to appreciate the changes taking place, underestimation of the relationship of building the Party to improving the work of individual Communists in aiding in the solution of many problems of the trade unions and in mass work, inability to see both the possibility and imperative necessity of entering into new forms of relationship with win-the-war forces and further improving the inde-

pendent mass activity of the Communist Party, and in establishing the Party's proper place in the camp of national unity. Thus, the key forces were mobilized for active participation in the recruiting campaign, and with their aid, the leadership of the District was able more quickly to bring about the necessary changes in the Branches.

The experiences in Detroit show that once the necessary political understanding is established, the question of establishing individual responsibility is of great importance. Arbitrary quotas for individuals were avoided and the comrades were asked to make pledges only where they were convinced they had a reasonable chance of fulfilling them. However, once pledges were made, there was a real follow-up and check-up by the leadership, and this made a good impression. One experience emphasizes all these points. A check-up at a meeting of a Section Bureau established the fact that the members of the Bureau had not yet broken down the recruiting campaign in terms of what they individually were going to do. After the discussion, a number of individual pledges were made that resulted in the Section Bureau members recruiting 33 members by the end of the first period. It is obvious that when the leadership begins to think of recruiting in terms of its own responsibility and plans, then the mobilization and activation of the Branches are speeded up.

The Branches, assisted by these other measures, succeeded in mobilizing and activating the member-

ship in recruiting on an individual basis. However, the actual organization of the campaign by the Branch was on a very loose basis. It is not enough that the Branch insist that the individual member have a plan and that he actively follow up his contacts and attempt to recruit them. The efforts of the individual must be supplemented and helped by the planned work of the Branch as a whole, through the organization of recruiting meetings, through the circularization of readers of *The Worker* with such literature as Robert Minor's pamphlet, *An Invitation to Join the Communist Party*.

The experiences in connection with a large number of discussion groups attended by contacts are worth mentioning because such meetings had not been organized to any important extent in Michigan for some time. These meetings provided the medium of a more intimate discussion with key contacts than is achieved only through mass meetings and reading the press; they gave workers the opportunity to present their problems or questions for clarification. However, the conclusion was drawn that these

meetings would have been even more effective, had they been organized in the form of open branch meetings.

To sum up, the results of the first period of the drive in Michigan means that, with the assistance of the National Committee, the membership in that state, under the leadership of Pat Toohey and John Little, have the national responsibility of maintaining and carrying forward the advances that were made up to the convention by fulfilling the pledge to go over the original quota of five hundred and by insuring that the new recruits are made at home in the Party and quickly acquainted with its program and practices.

For the Party nationally, Michigan should be considered a laboratory, confirming the correctness of the campaign for 15,000 new members, showing that the conditions exist everywhere for improving and increasing its own independent mass activities and for strengthening the Party organizationally, and in its collaboration with the labor movement and all other win-the-war forces, thereby strengthening the nation's war efforts.

THE NEW ROLE OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

BY ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

THE employment of women as wage earners in war industries is increasing with such rapidity in all sections of the country that it is difficult to give figures that are currently correct. The government census figures for March, 1940, showed women totalling 11,137,178 out of 45,166,083 employed workers, or about 25 percent. By September, 1942, the census figures showed over 14,200,000 women workers, an increase mainly in heavy industry, such as electrical, machine, auto, steel, and metal production, where women were least employed before 1940. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor figures fifteen million today. The War Manpower Commission estimates that eighteen million women will be employed by December, 1943. Women will then provide 40 percent of the labor in war plants as compared to 20 percent fourteen months earlier. In basic war industries the figures showed three million women in September, 1942. A doubled increase to six million by December, 1943, is imperative if war production is to continue without interruption, and an unnecessary and artificial "labor shortage," is to be avoided. The government, employers, and the

trade unions are increasingly aware that women and the Negro people are the two available reservoirs of labor power in our country today. The acceptance of this fact by employers is sometimes slow and grudging—but is forced increasingly by war necessity.

Recruitment of Women to Overcome "Labor Shortage"

Intensive recruitment of women for war industry has already begun in areas where "labor shortage" is imminent. Unless the gates are soon opened wide to loyal foreign-born workers, to the Negro people and to all women who are able, willing and anxious to serve on the home front of production, such "labor shortages" will spread and cause serious dislocation of industry. In many plants white women are given the preference over all other available untapped labor supplies. For instance, at the Navy Yard in Norfolk, Virginia, 1500 white women are now employed where a year ago there was not one woman. The number is rapidly increasing, with an immediate prospect of 6,000 and an ultimate possibility of 15,000 in 1943. Naval officers address women's clubs in the vicinity to recruit

for the training school. Lieutenant E. M. Loftus, addressing the Norfolk Ad Club, recently said that women have already proved themselves more efficient than some of the finest men operatives in yard jobs. In operating huge cranes and in welding they are "amazing," he said. He emphasized the acute need for more women workers in the yards.

Commander R. N. Davenport, yard personnel officer, said of the women workers: "They have proved themselves one hundred percent efficient in welding, both electric and acetylene and as electric crane operators. They are unusually good at optical and instrument repair work. They are superior to men in tasks which involve repetitive processes that tend to become tedious. They don't tire easily at such work. They are careful and meticulous." This is a high tribute from the Navy, where age-old tradition has always excluded women. The impact of war necessity has crashed the gates for women and they are making good.

The Communist Party of Virginia recently issued a timely leaflet with the words of President Roosevelt, "*We Cannot Afford the Luxury of Prejudice*," as its title. It called upon the government and private employers to utilize, not only white women, but all Negro labor—men and women. It stated: "To place a skilled Negro man or woman in a menial, unskilled task is to help the enemy. This is no time to waste skilled hands at washing floors and collecting rubbish. . . . Can our conscience bear the responsibility of

unnecessary death on the battlefield because we gave way to prejudice?"

The *Courier-Journal* of Louisville, Kentucky, where I am writing this, has a headline "War Plants Here Face Curtailment in Output Due to Labor Shortage." So far the local supply of Negro people as industrial workers is untouched. H. H. Hansborough, director of the War Manpower Commission in the area, states: "There will be no ease-up in the recruiting of women for war jobs," but he makes no reference to the Negro people.

Many white women are now working, mostly wives of men in service. They are known as "Commandettes" and do metal welding on fittings for Navy cruisers. In Groton, Connecticut, where the Electric Boat Company builds submarines for the U. S. Navy, the first 700 women of a total of 3,000 to be employed made a splendid record and were readily accepted by their male fellow-workers. Mr. Jones, the personnel manager of the yard, said: "In the quality of their work and their appearance in working clothes, it is difficult to distinguish women from men." One is a Polish girl whose native town is now occupied by the Nazis. Another comparatively new field for women is indicated by 10,000 of them now on the payroll of the Pennsylvania Railroad as claim and ticket agents, freight handlers, car cleaners, welders, etc. In the Long Island Railroad yards twenty-eight women clean fifty huge locomotives till they shine like a kitchen range. 50,000 British women work on railroads.

Rapid Growth of Auxiliaries to Armed Forces

In addition to the fifteen million women who are by now employed in industry, the women's auxiliaries to our armed forces are growing rapidly. The Air Service Command announces that it plans to use women for eighty percent of its working force to release men for military duty. A special department dealing with the health of women has been set up. It is expected that the SPARS, auxiliary to the U.S. Coast Guard, will reach 8,000 before the end of 1943. The first contingent is now training at the academy in New London, Connecticut, hitherto a strictly male institution. The regular army women's auxiliary, the WAACS, was a sensation a few months ago. Now it is everywhere in evidence and accepted as a matter of fact just as uniformed soldiers. A new training center with a capacity for 9,000 is opening at Rustum, Louisiana, with specialist schools for cooks, bakers, and motor transport workers. The total number to be recruited nationally for the WAACS is 150,000; for the WAVES (Naval auxiliary), 35,500. Many of these efficient young women are already overseas at their posts, and are proving equally as courageous as their men comrades in siege and under fire. Discrimination is supposed to be eliminated from their ranks, but only a very small percentage of Negro women have so far been included.

The Plight of the Negro Women in Wartime

With more than 450,000 Negroes

now included in our armed forces, 60,000 of whom are already serving outside the United States, the right of Negro women folks to take their place in war production is not yet accepted by employers nor defended with sufficient vigor by labor. In spite of President Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 8802, against discrimination, there are as yet very few Negro women employed in basic industry and, as usual, at lower paid unskilled tasks. To expedite the induction of all available women into industry, the Negro women must be included on a national scale and all jobs must be open to them. "But what will we do for our domestic workers?" asked a starry-eyed young lady reporter in Richmond, Virginia. In Southern states especially there is an assumption that white women should go forth into the defense industries for good wages and hire Negro women for a pittance to take care of their homes. The results for war production would be the same if the white woman stayed home to take care of her own household and the Negro woman took the plant job! The forces would be doubled if they both worked in industry, which would be possible with adequate child-care facilities.

The discrimination against Negro women, as Negroes and as women, contributes to suspicion and indifference among them toward the country's war effort. The Negro women of our country are anxious to cast off the apron and cap of personal service and put on the coveralls of the shop. They are now employed at domestic service and in hotels

and restaurants in larger numbers than ever before. This is an advantageous time, therefore, to organize them into unions and demand decent wages and hours for their labor. A Domestic Workers' Union is badly needed in such cities as Washington, where the Negro people are terrifically exploited and overworked. Where labor unions such as the Maritime Workers Union and the Auto Workers Union have fought against discrimination, and where inter-racial public committees have fought for the rights of Negro men and women to be employed, good results are evident. Such committees of labor unions, Negro and women's organizations should be organized in every city, particularly in the South. We Communists must not relax our efforts along these lines. It is imperatively a matter of war necessity today.

Child Care Situation a Muddle

The most pressing nation-wide demand, to expedite the inclusion of large numbers of women in industry and to keep them there, is for child care centers. Frankly, the child care situation is in a sorry state the country over. The vicious attitude of the House Appropriations Committee in its sniping at the war program struck an all-time low on February 24 in the rejection of a request of the Children's Bureau for a \$1,200,000 emergency grant to provide maternity and infant care for the families of soldiers. Last year more than 25,000 wives of men in our armed forces were aided to pay costs of childbirth and care of

infants. Similarly, a request of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services for \$2,973,000 to help provide day care for children of employed mothers was turned down by this reactionary committee.

Unless Congress now overrides the committee and passes "enabling" legislation authorizing the projects and allowing the funds, the child care needs must be met by the separate states after the Lanham Act funds are exhausted. The confusion is worse confounded in various localities by the impending shutdown of existing W.P.A. nurseries. In Detroit forty-two such nurseries will cease to exist on April 14. It is estimated there that 50,000 children need day care. Early in February application was made for Federal funds, under the Lanham Act, to establish sixty nurseries and forty "children's canteens" for school age, boys and girls from five to fourteen years old. It was also planned to take over the W.P.A. nurseries intact. But to date the funds have not been released in Washington. A recent article in *The Free Press* states that Detroit has exhausted its labor pool of single women, according to the U. S. Employment Service. Unless local mothers are next employed, outside labor must be brought in, which will aggravate the city's critical transportation and housing problems. The percentage of working mothers has skyrocketed in recent months, according to Mrs. Leila Bracie, head of the W.P.A. nurseries. At the F. W. Woodworth plant in Ferndale, 38 percent of the employees are mothers; at Briggs, 42

percent. Detroit women workers are on three shifts, which complicates their problems.

Several months ago Ann Beiswenger of the Communist Party appeared before the City Council to appeal to it to help save the nurseries. The Council referred the matter to the Board of Education, as did the Board of Aldermen in Louisville, Kentucky, recently when Paul Kellogg, Communist Party organizer, appeared before it to urge day nurseries on a large scale. In that city seven existing W.P.A. nurseries are likewise threatened. A multi-agency committee is already dealing with the problem of child care. Miss Geraldine Graham, executive secretary of the Children's Agency, assured the aldermen "practically just as the Communist Party program called for." But the Board of Education has so far refused even to apply for Latham Act funds, although Mayor Wyatt and the Board of Aldermen favor the move. Labor union pressure is needed in all cases, especially in war industry centers—such as textile, aircraft and shipyard.

A recent survey in Buffalo showed that 4,467 working mothers have 6,678 children under fifteen, and that 3,168 mothers seeking work have 3,695 children needing supervision. Buffalo's Manpower Commission recently called for 30,000 more women for war work. In all the Southern cities which I visited recently there is a great demand for extensive child care facilities. Existing nurseries in Norfolk, Richmond, Charlotte, New Orleans, Tulsa, and many other places are

in jeopardy. We are muddling along, hampered by a reactionary Congress while the acute needs of thousands of women war workers and their young children increase daily.

Absenteeism, which has overnight become the rallying cry of all labor-baiters, is unavoidable among women workers *unless proper care is provided for their children*. Philip Murray recently pointed out that absenteeism is 6.5 percent among women as compared to 4.5 percent among men. *We need thousands of public child-care centers and we need them now*. If they are not provided, with adequate professional care and government supervision, a host of private nurseries will spring up to profiteer on the worry of the mothers. The Board of Health charges that in Detroit the "bootlegging" of workers' children into unlicensed homes is a thriving business and that fees charged on this black market run up to \$10 a week. Quick and intelligent action is required on a national scale. We should be guided by the experience of our Allies—Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Maurice Hindus, in an article "Why the Russians Will Never Quit," in the *American Magazine* for April, writes:

"One of Russia's greatest sources of moral and physical strength is its army of at least 25,000,000 women working in fields and factories to replace unknown millions of men mobilized for the army. Russia's undisclosed but enormous manpower is directly linked with the extraordinary position women hold in the nation's life."

He tells of visiting a nursery located in a spacious air-raid shelter for children of textile workers.

"Children between the age of three and seven are brought there daily by their mothers and left for twelve hours."

When Mrs. Malkova, a Soviet woman trade union leader, visited England in January, 1942, she urged the British women to emulate the Soviet women who "take over all the jobs of men who should be at the front."

In his recent book *Britain in the World Front*, R. Palme Dutt has an excellent chapter on "Women in the War Effort." He estimates that there are now six million wage earners employed in England, which is proportionately equal to our numbers, since the population of England is but one third of ours. He points out that the grand total of day nurseries in existence, approved and projected, numbered 907, with provision for 36,000 children, in January, 1942. It seemed very inadequate to the author, as compared to provisions for 5,143,000 children in the Soviet Union, as long ago as 1935. Yet Britain's record is far ahead of ours. The British demands, to quote Dutt, call for "a bold and large-scale government program for the rapid extension of the entry of women into production, in terms of millions, and energetic, generous provision of all practical conditions to facilitate this." They include an "immediate large-scale program for the establishment of nurseries, canteens, and communal feeding centers and communal laundries, in or-

der to diminish the obstacles to the fullest employment of women in industry."

Women in the Unions

In relation to the organization of British women into trade unions, Dutt reports that one million are organized, or one sixth of those employed. He considers this is a low level as compared to men unionists, of whom one third, or five out of fifteen million, are organized. Our figures indicate we are ahead of the British record. Mary Anderson of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor estimated recently that in the United States, out of 15,000,000 women employed, 3,500,000 are organized, or over one fifth. This is actually more than triple the number who were in trade unions at the beginning of the war. But it is only a beginning. It leaves over ten million unorganized women workers, who are a ready prey for anti-union propaganda and company unionism. Unless the labor unions initiate nation-wide organizational drives, take up the problems of women in industry, employ women organizers, and give women an equal place in the ranks of their union officials—there is a grave danger that, as Lenin said: "If they are not with us they may be led against us." Lenin said too, "Mentality as regards women" is one test of a good Communist. It is a test of all progressive trade unionists today. Trade unions should overhaul their constitutions and strike out any clauses prohibiting the membership of Negroes or women. Unions that open their doors

wide to women members and include their vital needs in the union's program find no difficulties in organizing women.

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (C.I.O.), is a shining example, with its 150,000 women members, 35 percent of the total membership. Women are officers of U.E. locals; shop stewards, members of negotiation, grievance, and Labor-Management Committees. Seventeen percent of the entire national staff of the union are women. In most of the 810 plants under contract with the U.E. women are guaranteed equal pay. This includes the large Westinghouse and General Electric Corporation plants. The U.E. obtained a ruling from the National War Labor Board in the famous Norma Hoffman Company case which established *equal pay, regardless of sex, for the same or similar work* as an established policy of the Board and the government. The U.E. organized the first regional conference to discuss women's problems, in Newark, New Jersey, even before Pearl Harbor, and has since held conferences in New York City, Chicago, Detroit, California, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee and other cities. In St. Louis, Missouri, the union is planning a District Council on Negro problems. It has recently won an election there in the U. S. Cartridge Company where 50 percent of the employees are women and where 2,300 Negroes are employed, including 500 women. It was told by a woman organizer that the Negro women come into the union very readily. Sixteen out of

eighteen who had joined a few days before were Negro women.

Women as Union Leaders

The *New York Times* published a full column article on February 5, "Women Take Posts as Union Leaders." It viewed with considerable amazement that fourteen women in the New York area had given up full-time jobs to become paid union officials with the U.E. Local 16 of the United Office and Professional Workers, they note, has a woman president, Esther Adler. In addition to this local's present women organizers two more are to be added to replace men going into service. The Book and Magazine Guild has a woman president, Jane Benedict. Ruth Young is the Executive Secretary of U.E., and Josephine Timms is International Secretary-Treasurer of the American Communications Association, of which 70 percent are women. Mrs. Betty Hill Kerr, of Atlanta, Georgia, has the distinction of being the first woman president of a United Steel Workers Local (C.I.O.). She was the first woman student graduate of the union's welding school and works at the Murray Company plant. There are many others, now fortunately too numerous to mention here, as compared to a scant handful a few years ago.

Equal membership, protection by, and participation in, labor unions; equal opportunity and training for jobs; equal pay, safe and sanitary shop conditions and union training for leadership are imperative requirements to bring the great masses of unorganized women into

the trade union movement. These are union tasks, not just the responsibility of the women. In Dallas, Texas, the United Automobile Workers Union recently won an election, in which the largest number of workers ever to have voted in a union election in the South participated. Many of them were women who were thus assured equal pay. Recently Local 51 of the U.A.W. issued a leaflet in Detroit, called "*Chrysler Corporation Trying to Chisel Again.*" It called attention to a violation of the War Labor Board ruling in Department 27 where men were paid \$1.12 per hour and women, \$1.02. The union said: "We cannot tolerate the corporation's position on lowering women's wages." The company immediately paid the women the ten cents per hour additional. Unions must be vigilant to see that wage differentials are actually wiped out. A recent study of eight war plants made by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor revealed that only three were paying women the same as men. 11,000 women workers were affected. The plants are four government arsenals and four private arms plants in six states. Enforcement rests theoretically with the government but practically with the unions.

Should Women Power Be Registered?

Last Spring President Roosevelt remarked that nationwide registration of women will ultimately be necessary. So far only local registration has been encouraged by

the Manpower Commission, as in Detroit, Akron, Seattle, and in Oregon, and Connecticut. 116,532 women of Detroit volunteered for war jobs. Over a million and a half women were registered with the U. S. Employment Service last fall. It is practical that all available resident workers be employed first and that haphazard migrating about the country be discouraged, because of housing shortages and industrial chaos that are likely to ensue. It is proper that local wives and daughters of drafted workers be given first choice. A survey of available women, their location and their capabilities was undertaken in England in 1941 by a national voluntary registration, after which all single women were conscripted for industry. Over five million women registered. If registration is undertaken through the post-office, as was done in Detroit, it can be put through efficiently and quickly. War creates extraordinary demands for labor. The Axis powers meet them by lashing slave labor to work. In free countries women proudly volunteer to do their share in defense of freedom. There need be no hesitancy in asking American women what they can do. They are impatiently awaiting Uncle Sam's call to duty. They are increasingly aware of what we are fighting to defend and what Nazi-Fascism is threatening to do to womankind the world over.

Nazi-Fascism Degrades Women

American women are becoming increasingly aware of how German women were stripped of all their

rights and of the dual role allotted to them by fascism—to produce soldiers and to perform drudgery—nothing more. “All education, culture, participation in politics and responsible work is closed to them,” says Dutt in his magnificent chapter, “The Face of the Enemy.” The prostitution of love, marriage and the home is evidenced in the order of Himmler: “On German girls lies now a military duty. The question now is not about marriage ties—marriage here does not come into question. Your duty is to become mothers of children of the soldiers who go to the front.” The official organ of the Storm Troopers instructs them to “make the Fatherland a present of the largest possible quantity of living beings before you go to the battle front.” From 80,000 to 100,000 old and sick people are reported to have been destroyed as “useless burdens” in Germany. Women who are weak or “enemies of the state” are forcibly sterilized at government clinics. Young girls are forced into breeding camps. In all human history there is nothing so revolting as the deeds of the Nazis toward women.

The contrast between these vile Nazi concepts and treatment of women and the full equality of opportunity in every field of human endeavor enjoyed by women in the Soviet Union, which has resulted in the tremendous achievements of the proud, free Soviet women, is a lesson of profound significance to the American women. The capabilities of the Soviet women to acquit themselves as heroes on the entire home

front, to support and sustain their valiant Red Army, and to battle as guerrilla warriors to repel the Nazi invaders, are eloquent evidence of their remarkable development in the land of socialism. Nazism spells slavery for women. Life in the Soviet Union has unfolded the complete emancipation of women, as never before achieved.

*Communist Party—Fighter for
Rights of Women*

The Communist Party has consistently advocated the full emancipation of women in all spheres of economic, social and political activities. It has struggled to help achieve these rights and is engaged in the struggle today, wherever it is necessary. The Communist Party manifests the practice of its theory within its Party ranks, in bringing forward increasingly large numbers of women in executive and organizational capacities, as organizers, speakers, writers, educators—as leaders of our Party. We are not self-complacent in regard to our progress in this respect, but aware of our shortcomings and working to correct them. The Communist Party, however, has a record to be proud of in the struggle for the achievement of women's rights and serves as a stimulus, as an example to trade unions and other people's organizations. Women enjoy full equality in the Communist Party and they measure up admirably to the multitude of tasks which fall upon them now, as thousands of our young men are drawn into the armed forces of our country.

*Communist Party—Pioneer
Anti-Fascists*

The Communists are pioneer anti-fascists. We have continuously emphasized the degrading oppression of women under the Axis powers, the barbaric concepts of women advocated by the Nazis, and the bestial cruelties inflicted upon women in the conquered territories. We must increase our agitation among the masses of women on the history of the Communist Party as a fighter against fascism.

Seven years have passed since the vibrant voice of Dolores Ibaruri rang out to the people of Spain: "Arise! Defend the Republic! Youth! Women! Soldiers! All forward to the fight!" Let us not forget that the present generation of youngest soldiers and girl workers were children when the struggle against fascism began and they need to be told its history and meaning. They can be inspired to deeds of heroic proportions by the immortal story of the Lincoln Brigade, the first Americans to shed their blood fighting fascism on European soil. Many of them were Communists.

Let us be bold to tell American women the whole story that they may give their utmost strength to defend our country from barbaric Axis ideology and practice, and that they will not rest content until our sister women are freed from the cruel yoke of fascism and the threat to American womanhood is destroyed. The fascist concepts of woman outrage the mind and heart, the self-respect, the dignity, the morality, the decency, the aspiration of all women. There can be no peace or happiness for women until Nazism-Fascism is destroyed. There can be no compromise with savagery and slavery. It is not just another job, therefore, that women workers are engaged at in industry today. Let us never forget that we are forging the weapons of a just war to banish the fascist monster from the face of the earth. This is the *new role* of women in industry—soldiers on the home front, passing the ammunition to the battle-lines, working hand in hand with our Soviet, British and Chinese sisters that "Freedom shall not perish from the earth."

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REICHSTAG FIRE

THIS was ten years ago. On the evening of February 27, 1933, standing in front of the blazing Reichstag building, Hitler yelled "This is the sign of God! No one in the world will prevent us from destroying the Bolsheviki!"

Hitler knew that this sign of "God" came from the Nazi Olympus, a god called Hermann Goering. The Reichstag fire was the greatest piece of provocation known in the history of the world and was engineered by the fascists themselves.

Even before Goering's accomplices had crossed the underground tunnel from his palace to the Reichstag building to pour kerosene at the points to be set afire, his auxiliary police and Storm Troopers had already made round-ups, arresting persons to be charged with the crime; and Goebbels had already written articles, the keynote of which was that "the Reichstag fire was the signal for a Bolshevik uprising."

The next day the anti-Bolshevik roar drowned out the death cries of the freedom-loving Germans who in the thousands were thrown into dungeons.

The subsequent events are known. With the cry of "Germany is in peril of being swallowed up by Bolshevism," the fascists themselves swal-

lowed up Germany. The workers' parties and trade unions, and all Catholic, democratic and progressive organizations were crushed. Anyone who stood in the way of the "total" fascist claims to power, or simply caused them inconvenience, was simply murdered as a Bolshevik or sent to a concentration camp.

National Socialism rose to power over mountains of corpses. The anti-Bolshevik provocation of the Reichstag fire played no mean role on this bloody path to power. Thus, beginning with the Reichstag fire, the Hitler fascists created the prerequisites for instituting a reign of terror in their own country and launched preparations for a predatory war for world domination and for the enslavement of other peoples and countries.

But however great this provocation, whatever the efforts of the Hitlerites in asserting that the Reichstag fire had been caused by the Bolsheviki, however they might try to frighten the world with the bogey of Bolshevism, the truth about the Reichstag fire came to light.

At the Leipsig trial the world learned who were the real incendiaries. The accused Georgi Dimitroff, placed by Goering on trial, turned into accuser and shattered the fascist lie about "Bolshevism" being

incendiary. He exposed the real incendiaries—the Goering and Hitler clique and the entire fascist regime.

In the bright light shed by his speech, the masks were torn off behind which the provocateurs were hiding in an effort to put forth the spectre of Bolshevism and to conceal their own crime. Mankind beheld a face disfigured by rage, the face of the fascist gangsters caught in the crime of arson.

At the Leipzig trial the world received a warning. The realization was dawning among all peoples that the fascist regime exposed by Dimitroff was capable of other crimes, that it represented the main enemy of all human liberties and, above all, the enemy of peace.

The exposure of the provocateurs was so devastating, the indignation of world public opinion so great, that for the first time all freedom-loving people joined in a wide front of solidarity. Leipzig gave birth to a world-wide movement for the unity of all friends of peace in the struggle against fascism. Fascism is war. What terrible confirmation the truth of this lesson, ceaselessly driven home by Dimitroff, now received!

Not everybody heeded the Leipzig warning. The unity of all the anti-fascist forces and the forces of peace was not pursued with adequate determination, and the appeasers, the Munichmen, thus received the possibility of helping fascism to continue its provocations.

The method of "arson" became the permanent weapon of the Hitler policy of terror and war. Again and

again the terrible game was repeated—the fascist beast hurled itself upon its victim with the cry of "you are threatening me!" And after strangling its victim it proceeded to plead in every way, "the guilt lies not with the murderer, but with the murdered, for he was a Bolshevik, he menaced Germany, he menaced Europe. . . ."

Such was the case during the attack on Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia. . . . And every time the flames of one fire were used to set a new conflagration of war. And so on, until the torch was thrown at the edifice of the Soviet Union.

Thus the Reichstag fire developed into a world conflagration of war. The peoples paid with streams of blood and tears to learn the lesson that only a united struggle can put an end to the crimes of the incendiaries and ensure mankind lasting peace, freedom and security.

Ten years ago, at the Leipzig trial of the hangmen, Dimitroff showed the world that the fascists can be smashed only if they are attacked courageously and vigorously. He inspired millions of people to struggle for the defense of peace, thus creating a basis for the militant unity which fascism, despite its temporary successes, could not break.

Today the peoples are compelled with arms in hand to fight for the destruction of the forces of darkness which set their roof overhead on fire and deprived them of peace. Today an example is shown by the

200,000,000 people of the Soviet Union and by the Red Army which, under the leadership of Stalin, the greatest army captain of all times, has inflicted a crushing defeat upon the fascist hordes of incendiaries which invaded the country.

The example set by the victors at Stalingrad, Leningrad, Rostov and Kharkov, lends the peoples the profound confidence that Hitler can be smashed, that his fate is sealed.

Once again, and perhaps for the last time, Hitler and his gang are producing from their arsenal the old, rusty weapon of the Reichstag fire, this time to fan the flames of world conflagration. Standing up to their necks in the blood of the European peoples spilled by them, they are again painting the spectre of "Bolshevism" against the background of a blood-red sky aglow with their fires.

Thereby they hope again to split the peoples, incite them against one another and following their "tried method," defeat them piecemeal.

This time Hitler must be in a greater hurry than during the night of February 27, 1933, when the long knives were put into play; for the avenging Nemesis is embodied now in the victorious Red Army, and the avenger of the peoples is hard on the heels of the Nazis in all countries enslaved and tortured by them.

The beast is beating the alarm. It needs quickly to obtain human flesh to feed the world conflagration, for it knows that it can exist only so long as the fire smolders. Hurry, hurry! With the speed of the machine gun rattle, the liar Goebbels hastens to explain the last "total"

mobilization by attempting to represent the greatest predatory war in world history, a colossal fire which consumes all human values, as a "defense of Western culture."

However, time does not wait. It does not wait for Hitler's desperate efforts to prolong the world conflagration. And together with time, all the powers of the world must race for the speediest possible extermination of the Hitler plague. Time favors them if they take advantage of it.

Therefore the present February 27 is a terrible warning. For ten years now the fascists have been running amuck, operating with the method of the Reichstag fire. For ten years peoples have been enslaved, millions of innocents have been killed.

It is ten years now that the fascist beast let loose has been committing outrages against world civilization. It is ten years now that fascism has been trying with lies about "liberation from Bolshevism" to hide its own imperialist plans for world domination and enslavement.

The cup is filled to overflowing. The fascist beast has received staggering blows from the Red Army, blows from which it will no longer recover. The prerequisites have now been created for extinguishing the world conflagration.

All efforts must be directed to this one goal, which has been brought within reach, thanks to the remarkable victories of the Red Army, won under Stalin's leadership. This must be done so that the struggle for the destruction of Hitler tyranny should not remain a mere empty phrase.

LABOR PARTY AND COMMUNIST PARTY, THE CASE FOR AFFILIATION

BY EMILE BURNS

[According to a London dispatch to the "Daily Worker," the British Communist Party's application for affiliation to the Labor Party was, as of March 5, supported by six trade union national executives, namely: the Mine Workers Federation, with the Wales Miners Federation and the Northumberland Miners Association, the Constructional Engineering Union along with the Pattern-Makers Association and the National Union of Vehicle Builders. Also, there were 44 District Committees, including 17 Amalgamated Engineering Union committees, seven of the Transport and General Workers Union, five of the Fire Brigades Union, and three of the National Union of Railwaymen. In addition, the application had the supporting voice of 446 individual union branches.]

THE Communist Party of Great Britain has applied for affiliation to the Labor Party. Its application will come before the Labor Party Conference at Whitsun, and will be voted on there by delegations from the Trade Unions, Constituency and Central Labor Parties and Federations, So-

cialist and other bodies affiliated to the Labor Party.

Day by day, members of the labor movement are learning the value of unity, in joint work in industry and transport, in civil defense, in the merchant service and the navy, in the army and air force.

We are making this new application because we believe that it is essential to unite all sections of the labor movement within the Labor Party, so that the full strength of the working class organized in trade unions, political parties and cooperatives can be brought to bear in a united way on the issues of the war and of the peace.

Because of the situation, this view is now shared by a large and growing number of the men and women who make up the trade unions, labor parties and cooperatives. After all, "Unity Is Strength" is an old and honored maxim of the working class. It was with this slogan that the pioneers built up the trade unions, cooperatives and political parties; the Labor Party itself was founded to bring all working-class organizations together as a single political force, and its constitution provides for the affiliation of trade

unions, cooperative societies and Socialist societies, as well as constituency and other organizations of Labor Party individual members.

The refusal to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party is therefore out of harmony with the accepted principles of the British labor movement. Not only is this the case, but the departure from accepted principles has been of the greatest disservice to the movement, encouraging every splitting tendency and leaving the movement unable to exert its full strength at moments that were decisive for the British working class.

The Lesson of Disunity

There can be no better illustration of this than the course of the struggle against fascism.

Early in 1933, when Hitler was put in power in Germany, we made proposals to the Labor Party for unity in action against this terrible menace to the working class. Not only were these proposals turned down, but when we began to campaign against the Mosley fascists, the Labor Party instructed its affiliated organizations against cooperation. At the Southport Labor Party Conference, in October, 1934, a resolution submitted by the Executive of the Labor Party was adopted: "That united action with the Communist Party or organizations ancillary or subsidiary thereto without the sanction of the National Executive Committee is incompatible with membership of the Labor Party." A month earlier, on September 9, 1934, a hundred thousand London work-

ers had taken united action with us against the Mosley rally in Hyde Park, undoubtedly dealing a heavy blow, from which his prestige never recovered. And the *Manchester Guardian*, reporting the vast demonstration, said: "On what scale would the opposition have been had it had the whole force of organized labor behind it?"

It was the same with the other demonstrations against Mosley. Unity in action achieved great results; but always official Labor Party opposition to unity prevented the full force of the working class being mobilized.

When the Franco rebellion in Spain started, in July, 1936, the need for British working class unity in order to take effective action against the spread of fascism over Europe became still more evident. Yet in October, 1936, the Labor Party Conference rejected our application for affiliation.

We urged the need for working-class unity as the basis for the wider unity of all sections of the people who were ready to fight against fascism and the pro-fascist policies of Chamberlain. Working class unity and the People's Front had been achieved in France and in Spain; the completion of this unity in Britain could have changed the course of history.

Many labor organizations worked with us in those days in the magnificent campaign for Republican Spain. But on a national scale the opponents of unity triumphed; Chamberlain was not thrown out, and Republican Spain was crushed by foreign fascism.

And so the way was opened for the Nazi seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia.

History gave the British working class one more chance to unite its forces and to rally all anti-fascists for the policy which would have checked the Nazi plans and the Chamberlain policy which helped those plans. That was in 1929, when the Soviet Union proposed the peace front with Britain and France against Nazi aggression. But the Labor Party again rejected the Communist Party's appeal for unity, and even expelled Sir Stafford Cripps for campaigning for unity. The political forces which could have compelled the Chamberlain Government to make the alliance with Russia were never mobilized; war came, and the fate of Guernica, the Spanish town wiped out by Nazi bombs, was visited on a score of British towns. British workers paid with their lives for the disastrous policy that had kept the British working class divided.

We are not recalling these things simply for the purpose of having a dig at those Labor Party leaders who have always so bitterly opposed the Communist Party. We recall them because we believe that the Labor Party, like any other serious working-class party, can learn from its mistakes, and need not persist in a mistaken policy which not only contradicts its own principles, but has been shown by experience to be disastrous for the movement and for the working class all over the world.

That is why large numbers of men and women in the labor move-

ment are today prepared to reconsider their previous decision against Communist Party affiliation to the Labor Party.

The National Front

No serious member of any section of the labor movement doubts that the policy of national unity against Hitler is correct and is the only policy for the labor movement to follow at the present time. But there is very grave disquiet at the actual form that this unity is taking, as in the case of by-elections, and the actual results of it, as in the case of the Tory 1922 Committee's sabotage of fuel rationing.

It is no good blaming individuals for not being firm enough. Neither Mr. Churchill nor labor's representatives in the government can act by themselves, no matter how good their intentions, against a powerful and well-organized political opposition on a particular issue. *The only thing that makes them strong enough to overcome political opposition is a political backing so strong and vigorous that it overwhelms the opposition.*

Where is this political backing to come from? Only from the labor movement.

That is why we Communists, while fully supporting the National Front, urge that within it the labor movement should be strong and active, rallying its members to political action on all the main issues that arise, and in this way bringing the democratic will of the people to bear on the policy carried out by the government. This is not to disrupt national unity, but to make it

real, to ensure that national unity is not used by reactionary interests to preserve their privileges, but serves the cause of the nation in its fight against fascism.

Because this is our standpoint, we have done and we will do everything we can to strengthen the labor movement both in numbers and in political activity and initiative.

That this is no idle boast is known to the movement. Our members are among the most active recruiters to the trade unions, the most active shop stewards, the most active branch officers and district committee members, and always urging the payment of the political levy. Many of our members have been elected to the executive committees of their trade unions because their services have been recognized by the membership; and on the executives they continue to render outstanding service. In this connection it is not invidious to mention Arthur Horner, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation; J. R. Scott, Executive member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union; A. Moffat, President of the Scottish Miners' Union; Tim Burns, President of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; and A. F. Papworth, Executive member of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Yet none of these individuals, whether executive members, district committee members, branch officers, shop stewards or active rank and filers in their union, is entitled to serve the unions as delegates to any Labor Party or trades council, to any Labor Party confer-

ence, whether national or local; even their presence on a platform is supposed to debar any Labor Party member from speaking at that meeting. Labor Party members are being constantly threatened, and sometimes expelled, for speaking at meetings alongside fellow-members of their trade union who happen to be Communists. Even in the midst of this war against the vilest enemy of all that labor stands for, Labor Parties and trades councils are being disaffiliated by the Labor Party Executive and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress for having anything to do with Communists—even on Anglo-Soviet Committees, whose aim is to strengthen friendship with the Soviet people.

Is all this not ridiculous? Is it possible for the labor movement to pull its full weight so long as these conditions exist? Can the Labor Party itself develop the strength and vigor that we all want it to have if it sets up a Chinese wall against some of the most active trade unionists and cooperators, against men of such proved ability and loyalty to the working class as Harry Pollitt and William Gallacher, M.P.?

These are the questions that must find an answer from every member of the Labor Party and of its affiliated organizations. They are raised at a time of exceptional gravity for the British labor movement; at a time when not only the outcome of the war but the outcome of the peace, the whole future of Britain, depends on the strength and vitality of what should be the greatest po-

litical force in Britain—the labor movement.

Why Is Affiliation Opposed?

In the old days one of the principal arguments used by opponents of Communist Party affiliation to the Labor Party, or any form of united activity with the Communist Party, was that the Communist Party was insignificant.

Even in those days this was not true of the Communist Party's influence, though our membership was small; for example, no one could deny the important political part we played in the fight against Mosley, and during the Spanish struggle, though we had fewer than ten thousand members in 1936.

But today our membership, too, is not insignificant. It is over 60,000—far greater than any other Socialist Society affiliated to the Labor Party has ever had.

While it is perfectly true that our membership is not so widely distributed as is that of the Labor Party, there are many areas in which our branches are as strong as the local Labor Party in membership, and their affiliation would certainly represent a very great accession of strength and energy to the Labor Party.

Moreover, affiliation would mean an end to all the bans and exclusions of Communist trade unionists and cooperators from Labor Party management committees and the trades councils, and also of the bans preventing Labor Party members from playing their proper part in what should be such united activities as Anglo-Soviet Committees.

All of this could not but strengthen the local labor movement in every aspect—political, industrial and co-operative.

If opposition to Communist affiliation on the ground that the Communist Party is insignificant is no longer tenable, what other arguments against it have been raised?

Dictatorship or Democracy?

This, too, was one of the old arguments—that the Labor Party stood for democracy, while the Communist Party stood for dictatorship, and therefore could not be accepted as an affiliated body.

To a considerable extent this argument, which created much prejudice against the Communist Party, was based on a misunderstanding of its policy.

The Communist Party is not and never has been opposed to democracy. On the contrary, it has always fought for the fullest extension of democratic rights for all peoples. Its whole aim is that the interests of the common people shall prevail against the vested interests entrenched behind the privilege and power that their wealth gives them in a capitalist society.

At the same time, we have always argued that a working-class government which is carrying through the change to socialism will meet with sabotage and armed opposition from the privileged section of society. The Franco rebellion in Spain, against a Republican Government that was carrying through a few elementary progressive measures, is an instance that will be familiar to everyone. We

believe, therefore, that *in the interests of democracy*, it will be necessary for the working class government to deny democratic rights to that privileged section which would use these rights only for the purpose of deceiving the people and organizing armed opposition to the change of society.

But even if the conclusions which we draw from the experiences of history are different from those drawn by some Labor Party members, is that a real reason for refusing us affiliation?

We, like the Labor Party members who do not share our view of how a working class government will have to rule (not all of them disagree with us on this point), believe in the fullest development and extension of democracy in the capitalist society in which we live today. If and when the circumstances arise in which we would call for a working class "dictatorship" (which, as Lenin said, means fuller democracy for 90 per cent of the people), it may well be that the Labor Party members themselves, in the light of experience, will agree with us. What is important is the fight for democracy *now*, on which we are all agreed—the fight to win this war against fascism and the fight to win the peace for the working people.

This fight will be all the stronger with the Communist Party affiliated to the Labor Party.

Revolution or Evolution?

Another argument against allowing the Communist Party to be affiliated was that it stood for revolu-

tion, while the Labor Party stood for evolution.

But we also stand for "evolution" to the utmost possible limit. We, like the Labor Party members who oppose us because we are "revolutionaries," are all for using the democratic machinery in a capitalist country to get all the "reforms" possible, thereby strengthening the confidence and determination of the working class to go forward to socialism. At the same time, we believe that the capitalist class will not lightly surrender its privileges. as fascism spread in Europe, in one country after another people said, "It can't happen here." But it did happen.

If we draw from the experience of history the conclusion that at some stage the privileged class usually throws democracy overboard and substitutes a dictatorship of force and terror (Mussolini, Hitler, Franco are recent examples), why should this prevent our affiliation to a party most of whose leading members (not all!) have drawn other conclusions from history?

This question also is not an immediate one. The experience of the British labor movement itself will at some time decide the question so far as Britain is concerned. In the meantime, let us go forward together on the immediate issues on which we are all agreed.

The Communist Party and the War

Another argument against affiliation is that the Communist Party changed its attitude in relation to the war.

Why did the Communist Party regard the war as an imperialist war before June, 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union? Because we saw it as a war which was the outcome of a wrong policy, the policy of Munich, the policy of encouraging Nazi aggression and refusing the peace front with the Soviet Union against aggression.

We saw it as a war in which the leading circles in and around the British Government were trying to continue that policy and come to a deal with Hitler. We believed that the outcome of such a war could be only an imperialist peace—one that created the seeds of a new war and was against the interests of all peoples; one in the course of which and out of which fascism would very probably be established in Britain.

Though we were so short of equipment in France, the government decided to despatch to Finland (in February, 1940) an Anglo-French army of a hundred thousand men, and actually sent there planes and munitions, to help the Finnish fascists to fight the Soviet Union, at a time when "all was quiet on the Western Front" against Germany. This showed that those in power still wished to turn the war against socialist Russia.

We therefore tried, not to sabotage the war (not even our worst enemies were able to make that charge), but to rouse the British people to put in a people's government that would at once make the alliance with the Soviet Union that was so obviously in the interests of the British people; and, if the German people were unable to over-

throw the Nazis, would carry on the fight against Hitler as a real anti-fascist war, to win a peace that would be in the interests of the peoples.

When the Soviet Union was attacked, the Churchill Government took the action which we had all along said was in the interests of Britain—namely, to ally itself with the Soviet Union and conduct the war as a joint war of the peoples to overthrow Hitlerite Germany and establish a peoples' peace.

We believe that everything that has happened since confirms that this was in Britain's interests, and that the peace that comes from the victory of the United Nations will not be an imperialist peace that causes new wars but a peoples' peace that can help to avert new wars. And we think that anyone who studies the facts must see the difference between the war in its early stages and the war now.

But here again, if anyone draws different conclusions from the facts about the past, why should that prevent our working together in connection with the *present*, on which we are agreed?

For all of us the immediate question is the defeat of fascism. This is necessary for the sake of the British people, but we also stress the necessity to defeat fascism for the sake of the Soviet people, the peoples of Europe, the peoples of India and the whole world. But who will dare to reproach us for this? Is it not one of the fundamental principles of the working class movement that the interests of the British workers *cannot* be separated

from the interests of the workers all over the world?

The Communist Party Will State Its Views

We are sometimes charged with being "disruptive" in the working class movement. Of course, the Communist Party puts its views forward—as, for example, during the Spanish struggle—and these views are not always the views of the labor movement as a whole. But this does not mean that we are "disruptive."

In claiming the right to state our standpoint we are claiming what is not only an elementary right of democracy within the movement, but is the normal established practice for organizations affiliated to the Labor Party. Every affiliated organization, whether trade union, Socialist society or cooperative, has the right and the duty to work out its view of what the policy should be and to present it to the movement as a whole.

As an affiliated organization within the Labor Party, the Communist Party would also put forward its standpoint in relation to events and issues; but at the same time, as it has repeatedly stated, it would carry out the decisions of Labor Party Conferences, just as other affiliated organizations do.

Why Affiliation Is Necessary

Many of the old arguments against acceptance of the Communist Party's application for affiliation to the Labor Party have been answered by events. It may be that others will be put forward, and we

shall do our best to answer them in a comradely way so that agreement can be reached.

But it isn't only that the old arguments are now irrelevant. The principal thing is that events over the past few years, and particularly at the present stage, have enormously strengthened the case for *affiliation*. It is from this standpoint that we ask every individual and every organization to approach the issue. Is it not clear that in the present situation, whatever they may have thought in the past, the case for a united, strong and vigorous labor movement is overwhelming?

The working people of Britain are now facing hundreds of difficult problems arising out of the war. There is great positive work to be done. A united labor movement giving a clear political call to every anti-fascist in Britain could have routed the Tory 1922 Committee and secured coal rationing; it could have swept away the opposition to a National Government for India; it could have got better conditions for the men and women in the armed forces and their dependents. It could have compelled trade union recognition and the setting up of joint production committees in every enterprise in Britain. It could have made the Darlan episode impossible. It could have secured a wiser strategy, which would have enabled an Anglo-American blow to be struck at Hitler in Western Europe simultaneously with the devastating blows of the Red Army on the Eastern Front. It could have made the Munichites and the vested interests retreat on every field and

laid firmer foundations for a speedy victory.

It is not too late now. A united labor movement, the ending of all bans and barriers to unity by the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labor Party, can come into action with decisive influence on all these issues, and on every aspect of the war and the peace.

We know, as every member of the labor movement knows, the forces that are ranged against the common people.

The fight against foreign fascism and the friends of fascism in Britain has still to be won. When victory has been won, the forces of progress will still be faced with powerful forces of reaction.

The working class does not want to go back to the bad old days; it

wants to move forward along the road to a better life, to security and happiness, to socialism. For that reason it must rally all its forces in a single, united movement which can express the irresistible will of the working people.

This is the purpose with which the Communist Party has made its new application for affiliation to the Labor Party. It hopes that the members and organizations whose responsibility it is to decide whether that application is accepted or not will give it the most serious consideration, and will make their decision so that both in Britain and throughout the world the strength of the working class movement will grow and it will be able to meet the future with confidence, unity and courage.

PROBLEMS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BY JAN SVERMA

THE latest events on the war front, particularly on the decisive Soviet-German front, show that the moment for action by the oppressed people is rapidly approaching. Therefore it is quite timely to dwell on the national liberation struggle now waged by the Czechs and Slovaks against the German fascist violators.

From the first day of the forcible occupation and dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and the establishment of the shameful "Protectorate over Czechia and Moravia," the Czechs have been waging an irreconcilable fight against the German fascists. And although at one time or another the German occupation forces have succeeded with the aid of ruthless terror in retarding the development of the national struggle in Czechia, they have at no time succeeded in crushing the Czech people's resistance.

The four years of hard, unequal struggle which again and again has flared up in Czechia are proof of the courage and tenacity of the Czech people, whose spirit has never weakened during Hitler's military successes and who never lost con-

fidence in the victory of their just cause.

Whereas as a result of the double treachery—the Munich deal in September, 1938, and the Hacha capitulation in March, 1939—the Czech people were to a considerable extent confused and partly also politically demoralized, the national-liberation struggle has again raised their spirit and strengthened their confidence in their own strength.

And whereas at the outset the Hacha "government" was as yet tolerated by the Czechs and supported by the Czech bourgeoisie, with the development of the national-liberation struggle this "government" began to lose its bases in the country.

The very nature of this notorious "government" changed. In 1939 the Hacha "government" was an expression of cowardly capitulation to Hitler. Today Hacha personifies the open betrayal of the interests of the Czech people.

The Czech people have recovered from the blows of this double capitulation, have become stronger in the struggle and are building a broad people's front, which is to unite all

the political and social strata for putting an end to the oppression by the occupation forces and their agents.

But the four years of struggle and suffering have also revealed the serious shortcomings of the national-liberation movement of the Czech people. True, the fascist occupation forces were never able completely to suppress this movement; but hitherto they did succeed in cramping the scope of the liberation struggle of the Czech people, and always at a moment when it reached its peak. This uneven development of the Czech liberation movement, which has already resulted in grave consequences, is seriously menacing the future development of the struggle of the Czech people. It may be traced to a number of reasons.

Firstly, the harmful influence of the capitulators, the influence of the reactionary traitor clique serving Hitler, is still at work in Czechia. Secondly, there are still organizational shortcomings of the Czech national-liberation movement resulting from the fact that the illegal organizations of the Czech people have suffered most from fascist terror.

But the main shortcoming of the Czech national struggle lies in the fact that there is still a tendency in Czechia to await liberation from without as a result of the defeat of Hitler's armies at the fronts, that the Czech people are not yet fully conscious of their own role, which they can and must play in the struggle against Hitler tyranny.

The elimination of these shortcomings, providing the Czech na-

tional struggle with a strong organizational base, overcoming the sentiments of passive waiting, putting an end to discussions about the system to be established in Czechia after Hitler's downfall, directing all of the attention of the Czech people to the practical and concrete problems of the national-liberation struggle—this is what the advanced Czech anti-fascists regard as their principal task today.

* * *

Both the Slovaks and the Czechs are suffering from Hitler's oppression; but the form of national oppression in Slovakia differs from that in Czechia. At the outset the Tisy Tuka regime had a definite social base in Slovakia. It was backed by part of the Slovak bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, which counted on deriving certain material advantages from an "independent Slovak state" under Hitler's protectorate.

These circles hoped that they would succeed in gaining those positions in the economy and state apparatus which formerly belonged to the Czechs. The ruling clique also tried to influence the broad popular masses, infecting them with illusions of "Slovak independence."

True, the attempts of this clique to plant "Slovak National Socialism" in the masses failed, encountering strong resistance on the part of broad sections of the Slovak people, the Protestants and a section of the Catholic clergy. Nevertheless, originally the masses were still reconciled with the situation that had arisen in Slovakia and yielded to

the influence of the opportunists' propaganda which advocated that "adaptation to the German authorities would save Slovakia from an even more terrible debacle."

But when, on Hitler's orders, Czechoslovak boys were driven to war against the Soviet Union, to fight for the interests of the German imperialists, there was a rapid change of heart among the Slovaks. The Slovak people, who were always filled with brotherly feelings for the Russian people and who always cherished the heritage of the people's enlighteners—Kolar, Safarnik, Stura—advocates of the community of interests of all Slavs, realized at once into what a horrible abyss of disgrace and humiliation they were being propelled by the Tuka clique.

And hatred began to grow among the people for the Germans and their Tuka agents. This hatred was accelerated by the rapid process of ruination of the whole country, shamelessly plundered by the German fascists.

A heavy blow to all illusions with regard to "Slovak independence" was dealt by the Hungarian claims to Slovakia. These claims receive more or less open support from the Hitlerite circles, and their realization is facilitated in every way with Berlin's consent by the "Slovak Prime Minister," Tuka.

Thus, all of Czechoslovakia is awakening. Disappointment is growing in those circles which banked on the German card; many in those circles are already seeking a way back. And the Slovak people are rising for struggle. Sabotage is

growing in the factories. Peasants' resistance is growing against requisitions, and passive resistance is growing in the state apparatus.

In the meantime clashes have occurred in a number of places between Slovak patriots and Tuka's mercenaries. The death sentences recently passed on Slovak patriots in Bratislava, the organization of armed storm troop detachments among the German minority in Slovakia—all this is a clear indication of the rapid sharpening of relations throughout the country, an indication that Slovakia may soon become an arena of turbulent events.

* * *

The Slovak people are already entering the path of the liberation struggle. The Slovak masses are manifesting a growing readiness to build a broad people's front of struggle, to put an end to the criminal war into which Hitler has forcibly drawn Slovakia, to build a front of struggle for the liberation of Slovakia from German domination.

The harmful ideas that the "small Czechoslovak people could never influence the course of events" and that the "liberation of Slovakia can come only from without" will be overcome in the course of the national liberation struggle.

To prevent the utilization of Czechoslovakia's human and material resources for Hitler Germany's war aims—this today is the direct and most important aim of the national-liberation movement of the Czech and Slovak peoples. Sab-

otage, destruction of machinery in the war factories, wrecking of railways and highways, refusal to deliver foodstuffs to the German occupation forces, refusal to pay taxes, passive resistance and sabotage on the part of civil servants—such is the multiformity of the national-liberation struggle, in which all sections of the people can play an important role, and which as a whole can cause tremendous harm to Hitler tyranny.

In Slovakia, even more than in Czechia, the people have acquired considerable experience in this struggle. But it is clear to antifascists that the mere improvement and better organization of the existing forms of the national liberation struggle are not enough today. The perspectives of the approaching decisive battles raise new tasks before the Czech and Slovak national liberation movement.

Today, following the bankruptcy of "Hachaism," which has been vigorously condemned by the Czechoslovak Government and Czechoslovak State Council in London, it is clear that it is no longer permissible to wait patiently for the development of military operations on the fronts; that it is necessary to develop active fighting in Czechia and Slovakia.

But there are still differences between the members of the Czech and Slovak people's fronts on the question of the possibility and expediency of armed guerrilla warfare against the occupation forces. Hesitation in this respect is one of the greatest shortcomings of the national liberation struggle today.

The experience of other fascist-occupied countries of Europe, primarily Yugoslavia, and also France, Poland, Belgium and Norway, has shown that guerrilla warfare is now becoming the general form of struggle of the oppressed peoples against Hitler tyranny, and will unquestionably play a paramount role at the decisive stage of the liberation struggle of these peoples.

And the Czech and Slovak national liberation movements must absolutely develop into armed guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare, particularly in Czechia, will strike at the most painful spots in the rear of the Hitler army. Guerrilla warfare will afford the possibility of saving from destruction the most valuable national cadres, which today are being systematically exterminated by the Gestapo hounds.

Bold guerrilla warfare will raise the morale and fighting strength of the broadest masses of the people and give impetus to the development of mass fighting action in its most varied forms. Lastly, armed guerrilla warfare, developing already today, is necessary to prepare the people's uprising, which at the decisive moment must complete the struggle for final ousting of the German occupation forces from the country.

Without the militant action of the broad popular masses and without an armed guerrilla struggle of the most daring Czech and Slovak patriots, all talk about popular uprising and about the national liberation of Czechia and Slovakia will be an empty phrase.

• • •

The Czech and Slovak anti-fascists cannot but see the organizational weakness of the national-liberation movement of their countries. There is the Czechoslovak Government in exile and the Czechoslovak State Council in London, representing every political trend, including Communists. This has a positive influence on the Czech and Slovak movement; it has helped and is helping to bring closer all fighters against German fascist occupation, and the establishment of practical contact between them.

But especially necessary within the country today are strong organizations of the people's front with the sole aim of consolidating the strength of the Czech people, hitherto disunited and spent on isolated and sometimes spontaneous action; and to transform it into a united fighting front of struggle. In this respect the Czech and Slovak people may learn much from the experience of their history.

In 1918, when the struggle against the Austrian yoke reached a decisive state, "people's committees" were formed in Austria with representatives of every political trend. These committees played a tremendous role at that time.

There is no denying that it is far harder to form such bodies of the people's front today than it was twenty-five years ago. But, on the other hand, precisely in Czechoslovakia the national life in the last decades found its expression in varied and numerous organizations.

There are the active leaders of the social and political mass organizations in Czechoslovakia—Czech

Socialists, Communists, Social-Democrats, members of the Agrarian and People's Party, Popular Democrats, members of the sports organizations ("Sokol Falcon," "Orel"), students and members of the youth organizations.

All of them to a greater or lesser extent are connected with the masses. Precisely they are the organizers of the "people's committees" in the cities, townships and villages. They are helping the people's forces for a crushing struggle against the occupation forces and their agents.

Not only in Czechia, but also in Slovakia, will the people's committees find support not only among the democratic, now illegal, organizations of the Slovak people; but as time goes on they will win ever greater support among the patriotically minded opposition elements of the Hlinka party.

The anti-Hitler struggle in Europe has revealed the tremendous role of the working class in the national-liberation movement of the popular masses. It is now clear to everyone that the existence of independent organizations of the working class does not conflict with the people's unity, but on the contrary strengthens it.

The broader the network of separate secret committees of workers' representatives in the factories of Czechia and Slovakia, the closer will be the collaboration between the Social-Democrats, Communists and Czech Socialists in the factories and in the united trade unions; and the greater will be the pace of development of the liberation struggle

of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The fighting experience of the working class of Czechoslovakia brings it to first place with regard to the organizational unity of the popular forces as well as the development of active operations.

One of Czechoslovakia's shortcomings were the national feuds arising out of the unequal status of the peoples there. These feuds were utilized by Hitler at the time of his attack on Czechoslovakia. Therefore the Czech anti-fascists must draw the correct conclusion from that, not only for the future but for their present liberation struggle. This experience, paid for with a heavy price, clearly shows the close link between the destinies of the Czech and Slovak people and the significance for both of these people of their solid state unity.

Experience has also shown what grave consequences may result from trifling disputes over the question, "Are the Czechoslovaks a nation?" The inequality of the Slovaks in the Czechoslovak Republic yielded material advantages to the economically powerful Czech groups, but was a detriment to the interests of the Czech people.

Therefore it must be clearly and unequivocally stated that the old "Czechoslovakism," which reduced the Slovak people into an "appendage of the Czechs," is dead; that though the fraternal Slovaks are nevertheless a different people, in the present liberation struggle against German fascism the Czechs and Slovaks must fight hand in hand for a Czechoslovakia in which the

Slovaks will be granted equal rights with the Czechs.

The urgent aim of Slovak policy must be the immediate cessation of the criminal war against the Soviet Union and the overthrow of the ruling clique, which is propelling Slovakia to her doom. Uniting in the struggle for this aim today are all Slovak patriots, regardless of their opinions of the future system in Slovakia. The joint struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks in a united front against the common enemy will create a far stronger basis for the present and future fraternal union of Czechs and Slovaks than thousands of useless speculations as to the relationships between the Czechs and Slovaks to be recorded in the future constitution.

The struggle for the liberation of the peoples of Czechoslovakia from Hitler tyranny has raised in all its sharpness the so-called Sudetenland problem. Hitler himself has proved that the "Sudetenland problem" was a product of Nazi agitation, for immediately following the inclusion of the Sudetenland into Germany Hitler dismembered it.

At every step the popular masses of the Sudetenland find convincing proof that they have been deceived by Hitler. Therefore dissatisfaction and the anti-fascist movement are growing in the Sudetenland and creating a base for the joint struggle of the people of the Sudetenland and the Czech masses against Hitler.

But the principal obstacle to the unity of the Czech and Sudeten people is the fear of "Czech revenge," a bogey spread by the Henlein agitators in the Sudetenland today.

This hampers the struggle against Hitler. The anti-fascists in the Sudetenland today are explaining to the local population that it depends precisely on the popular masses of the Sudetenland to determine the future relations between them and the Czechs.

The anti-fascists call upon the people in the Sudetenland to disassociate themselves in deed from the crimes of Frank and his Henlein agents and actively to join the front of struggle against Hitler tyranny.

Today the Sudetenland anti-fascists—the Communists, Social-Democrats, German Agrarians and Christian Socialists—cannot ignore the fact that a united front is today possible also with the bitterly disappointed members of the Henlein Party, who want to fight for the liberation of their territory from Hitler's Prussian tyranny.

The Czech and Slovak people are entering the decisive stage of their national liberation struggle. All honest Czechs and Slovaks are united in this struggle by a single aim—the liberation of their peoples from the Hitler yoke. Loyal serving this aim are both Czech and Slovak Communists. They are stretching forward the hand of joint struggle to all Czech and Slovak people, regardless of political outlook, religion or social status.

In this struggle the "ambition" of the Czech and Slovak Communists is manifested in merely one way: they want to be consistent fighters for the liberation of Czechoslovakia, in which there will be no room for fascism and national oppression and in which the people will be ensured the right to decide their own destiny.

SOLVE INDIA'S NATIONAL CRISIS THROUGH NATIONAL UNITY!

*(Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India,
Adopted September 19, 1942*)*

Imperialist Repression

THIS Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India condemns unequivocally the military and police rule of blood and terror unleashed by the imperialist bureaucracy against the people, following the arrest of the national leaders on August 9, 1942. The main responsibility for plunging the country into a grave and perilous crisis, which not only undermines the cause of the defense and freedom of India, but also that of the freedom-loving peoples of the United Nations, must be fastened on the shoulders of the British government.

The national leadership had declared its readiness to undertake full responsibility in uniting and organizing the people for the armed defense of the country in alliance with the United Nations and thus to assume their full share in the war of world freedom against fascist aggression, provided that Indian independence was recognized

and a provisional government set up, enjoying the confidence of the people and supported by the major political parties.

But the British government, instead of pursuing the policy of winning the friendship and alliance of the Indian people, has persistently refused to relinquish its power. Taking advantage of our national disunity, of the frustration and desperation of our national leadership, it has launched a war against the people, thus provoking a country-wide conflict which is being fully utilized by fifth columnists and Japanese agents. . . .

This policy prepares for the Indian people the ghastly fate of Burma and Malaya. It stabs the cause of the British and American people, of the Soviet and Chinese people, in the back. The Communist Party warns the British government that if it prolongs this policy, if it persists in its attempt to crush the Congress, it will only succeed in creating a common disaster for the British and the Indian peoples. The only way out of this perilous situation which daily grows more criti-

* Abridged text.

cal, is to halt this offensive of repression against the people and the Congress, to release Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, to lift the ban on the Congress, and to open negotiations with the Congress and the other political parties, especially the Moslem League, for the establishment of a provisional national government fully empowered and determined to unite and mobilize the people for the defense and freedom of the country in close alliance with the United Nations. The Communist Party of India, pledged to forge national unity to solve this national crisis, appeals to the workers and the progressive peoples of Britain and America to bring pressure upon the British government to concede these just national demands of the Indian people and thus clear the path for our common victory in this war of liberation.

Campaign of Sabotage and Anarchy

The arrest of Congress leaders and the regime of repression which the mad bureaucracy is intensifying every day has called forth a country-wide upsurge of people's indignation and mass conflict. Bands of honest but blind patriots are seeking to lead this mass upsurge by organizing it as a Congress struggle for freedom of the country. Their technique of struggle is, principally, sabotage of communications (cutting telegraph wires, removing rails, etc.), production stoppages, and the breaking down of the apparatus of administration by all means. They hope by these meth-

ods to bring about the fall of the Government and the transfer of power to the people. What they are achieving, however, is exactly the opposite. Giving this pernicious direction to the anger of the people serves only to destroy the national defense and economy of our own country and gives free rein to the forces of anarchy. This state of things is of most value to the fifth column elements and fascist agents, who are attempting to seize leadership of the movement and planfully to effect the destruction of the nation's defensive capacities.

Secondly, as the movement spreads, there is dislocation in national economy and growing anarchy. This hits the people and helps the would-be aggressor. It disunites the people more and more and thereby strengthens the hands of the bureaucracy. Thirdly, the indiscriminate and merciless repression by the police and military, firing, lathi-charges, whipping and collective fines, further aggravate the situation. As a result, a section of the people is angered and is driven to more mad acts of sabotage, while the bulk of the people begin to feel demoralized and helpless. They surrender to moods of despair and frustration, which nourish pro-Japanese sentiments and sap their will to resist aggression.

Thus, between the desperate activities of the blind patriots which are being taken advantage of more and more by the fifth columnists, on the one hand, and the mad repression of the bureaucrats, on the other, the defensive capacities of the

nation as well as the people's morale, strength and unity, are being undermined, ripening the country for defeat at the hands of the fascists.

Where This Leads

How did this situation arise? It rose because the national leadership failed to adopt an all-out program to unite the people by rousing them to do everything for strengthening their country's defense against the fascist aggressors, and by forging mass sanctions for securing national government for national defense. Instead, it chose the opportunist path of inactivity, of non-embarrassing non-cooperation with defense measures, hoping thereby to win the national demand as a gift from imperialism. The Communist Party had warned against this policy, which amounted to leaving the initiative and the fate of the nation entirely in the hands of imperialism. This only strengthened the obstinate attitude of the bureaucracy to deny power to the Indian people and led to the growing moods of frustration and defeatism among the nationalist masses.

Instead of drawing from this the requisite lessons about the urgency of unity, the national leadership took one more step in the direction of its own opportunist policy. It advanced from non-cooperation and neutrality to a plan of active opposition to measures of national defense in the name of launching a struggle for the national demand.

The path along which the present national upsurge is directed is one of national suicide, not of national

salvation and freedom. It destroys the nation's indispensable defenses, inevitably leading to conditions of civil commotion and disorder, anarchy, and even loot and arson. It makes the national movement the prey of bureaucratic provocation in the name of struggle. Finally, it creates a mass basis for fifth column activity in the name of patriotism.

It is a path, in short, which strikes at the very root of that people's unity which alone can be the means of securing national government and ensuring successful national defense. . . .

Favorable Factors

The situation can yet be retrieved. The imperialist bureaucracy stands isolated and weakened as never before. The more it beats and represses the people, the more it earns the hatred and disgust of all sections of the nation. It has failed miserably in its efforts to build an anti-Congress front. Its political, economic and military policies are utterly bankrupt, and it is quite incapable of uniting, leading and saving the nation in the crisis created by the menace of invasion.

Secondly, a mighty potential basis for building national unity, however, is by no means fully behind the present struggle launched by the Congress; on the contrary, sections oppose it. But it can be mobilized fully behind the main demands of the Congress, which are national demands, *viz.*, recognition of India's independence, negotiation for an all-round settlement, the setting up of a national provisional

government for mobilizing the people for a people's defense against the aggressors in alliance with the United Nations. Such a national unity, the broadest ever achieved, is within reach and, if actually realized, will at once foil the game of the imperialist bureaucracy and bring it to its knees.

Thirdly, the demand of freedom and national government for India is gathering ever-growing support among the working masses and the peoples of Great Britain and America. The growing strength of the anti-fascist national front in the countries of the United Nations... will stand behind our united strength to defend the country in alliance with them and make our national demand irresistible. Such are the favorable factors and such is the potential opportunity present in the perilous situation itself.

Unity the Way Out

The Communist Party declares that the way out of the national crisis does not lie either in the direction of continuing the present brutal repression to crush the Congress, as the imperialists, the loyalists, and the Royalists suggest, nor in the direction of intensifying the offensive against the apparatus of national defense and production, as the Forward Blocists, Congress Socialists, and many Congressmen propose. The path of the crazy imperialists and that of the blind patriots together would lead to the same result, namely, to disruption and anarchy, to national frustration and desperation, which would serve

only the interests of the fascist invaders and of no one else. *The only way out is the path which the proletariat and its vanguard—the Communist Party—is putting before the people, the path of achieving the broadest possible national unity, based on Congress-League unity.*

The slogan of national unity is not a mere formula, or just a phrase to be flung in the face of those who advocate the path of so-called struggle. It is a revolutionary policy of rallying the broadest possible sections of the people for the defense of their common interests and the achievement of their most pressing demands. In the present world situation, it is the most potent, the only weapon which the people of India have to forge and wield in order to wrest power from the hands of the British imperialists, and successfully to defend the country against foreign aggression.

Militarily, politically and economically, the rule of the British imperialists is at present weaker than ever before. It is fast disintegrating under the hammer-blows of the growing anti-fascist unity of the peoples of the United Nations. Its last and only weapon of withholding power from the people now is to keep them divided. *The disunity of the Indian people is the main basis of its remaining strength in India and which it utilizes to drive a wedge between India and the peoples of the United Nations.*

That is why complete national unity in the present circumstances must generate a force before which the bureaucratic opposition must collapse. This is the decisive signif-

icance of national unity, of Congress-League unity, today! It is going to be the final blow that must compel India's present masters to sue for terms to the Indian people. Congress-League unity is not going to bring about a "change of heart" in Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery. It is going to transform the relative strength of the British imperialists and the Indian people. It is going to be the irresistible sanction of the Indian people behind their demand for a National Government.

The Main Task—A Unity Campaign

The central tasks to which the Party must address itself today are three-fold:

1. The organization of a country-wide campaign for national unity;
2. The carrying on of persistent political explanation among workers, peasants, students and militants, and Congressmen, of how the present struggle leads to destruction and anarchy and is suicidal;
3. Continuous and widespread agitation among Hindu and Moslem masses for Congress-League unity.

The main slogans of the unity campaign are: *Release Mahatma Gandhi and the national leaders! Stop repression! Check destruction, sabotag and anarchy! Lift the ban on the Congress! Negotiate for an all-around settlement! Set up a Provisional National Government for India's defense!*

The campaign may vary in form and in slogans from place to place, regard being paid to the varying development of the political situa-

tion. The aim should be to make the campaign as broad as possible and effective. It may begin as a campaign for signatures on a joint manifesto framed so as to secure the broadest local support. It may develop through a series of discussions and private meetings. It should further develop as a campaign for restoring peace and civil liberties, and culminate in the formation of an all-parties' defense committee for pressing for the withdrawal of collective fines, for tackling the problems of food supply and profiteering and for strengthening the morale of the population for resisting the fascist aggressors.

Congress-League Unity

The slogans for the Congress-League unity campaign should be:

1. A Congress-League agreement to set up a Provisional National Government for the successful defense of the country and freedom;
2. The positions already taken by the Congress as well as by the Moslem League on the question of the right of Moslems in certain areas to self-determination can, with a given goodwill on both sides, afford a basis for settlement here and now.

On the basis of these two slogans, the campaign for unity must be run among the Moslem as well as Hindu masses. To the Hindu masses we must explain that what is just in the Pakistan* demand, namely, the right of Moslem nationalities to autonomous state existence, includ-

* Program of the Moslem League which calls for a separate Moslem State.—*Editor.*

ing the right of separation, must be conceded. It will give us unity now and lead to freedom. It will give us greater unity tomorrow and serve as a solid foundation for the freedom thus achieved. Similarly, we must get the Congress-minded people to recognize the urgency of the Congress conceding the right of self-determination of the Moslem nationalities and thus hasten the achievement of Congress-League unity. To the Moslem masses, we must show that Moslem independence can only come by joining with the Hindus and the Congress for joint action. Hence, they must get the League leadership to move for Congress-League unity.

Tasks Among the Working Class

It is above all the strength and unity of the working class movement which must be the indispensable and firm basis for achieving the unity of the entire people for the solution of the national crisis and the winning of National Government. Therefore, our first and foremost task must be to re-establish firmly the leadership of the unions and the party in the industrial centers, and stamp out the efforts of provocateurs and of misguided patriots to drag the working class into the suicidal campaign of sabotage and anarchy. For this:

(a) We must conduct a political explanatory campaign among workers, through street corner meetings as well as through public rallies.

(b) We must establish vigilance committees of militants in mills to

counteract panic-mongering, check rowdyism and the activities of irresponsible provocateurs intent on sabotage or stoppage of production.

(c) We must concentrate more energy and attention on trade union work and pay meticulous attention to the day-to-day and outstanding grievances, such as the high cost of living, bonuses, victimization, etc. We must work to unite the workers to win these demands, fully utilizing the existing legal machinery. Provocateurs and political adventurers must not be left to take the initiative and thus bring about dislocation of industry through this end.

(d) *We must make the working class conscious of the leading role it has to play in restoring and maintaining peace (within the country), in developing the drive for national unity, for winning the national demand and thus leading the people as a whole.*

Tasks Among the Peasants

Among the peasants, in the rural areas, we must conduct a sharp political campaign against the saboteurs and the promoters of anarchy and should seek to build unity to restore peace and to win back civil liberties. In villages and rural areas, where collective fines have been imposed, we must strive to develop all-parties' unity committees to restore and maintain peace and carry on agitation for the withdrawal or remission of the collective fines. Our slogans in the rural areas should be unity for restoring peace, unity for the release of leaders, the winning of national demands and the saving of the nation; unity for solving the food

shortage and price problems and problems relating to accumulated arrears of rent and debt. We must concentrate more energy and attention on the day-to-day work of the peasant leagues.

Among the Students

The first task is to carry on a political explanatory campaign among the militants who are being gripped by the mass frenzy for destruction, sabotage and anarchy. We must explain to them that to pursue the policy of permanent strikes, to go in for destruction and anarchy is not to play their part in the freedom movement. It only gives the bureaucracy the chance to drive them out of the colleges, to disrupt institution life and to smash the student movement. This results in honest student patriots being driven into the hands of fifth columnists

to be utilized as tools for undermining the nation's morale and defenses. Our main slogans for the student movement are: *Maintain the unity of the student movement! Revive institution life! Build the unity movement for the national demands!*

Conclusion

The committee recognizes that the entire party membership and its lower units have already been working on the basis of the line of work and agitation laid down in this resolution and have already won some significant successes.

But the national crisis is by no means over and difficult turns are yet ahead. The Central Committee, therefore, calls upon every member and unit to spare no effort and sacrifice in order to fulfill the tasks set forth in this resolution.

RECENT BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

- Britain in the World Front*, by R. Palme Dutt, International Publishers, N. Y., price \$1.60
- Karl Marx: His Life and Work, Reminiscences* by Paul Lafargue and Wilhelm Liebknecht, International Publishers, N. Y., price 15 cents
- Farmers and the War*, by Anna Rochester, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y., price 5 cents
- 300,000,000 Slaves and Serfs*, by Jurgen Kuczynski, International Publishers, N. Y., price 10 cents
- The People and the Congress*, by William Z. Foster, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y., price 1 cent
- Invitation to Join the Communist Party*, by Robert Minor, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y., price 1 cent
- Labor in Australia*, by Lloyd Ross, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, N. Y., price 5 cents
- The Negro People and the Communist Party*, by Ben Davis, Jr., Workers Library Publishers, N. Y., price 1 cent
- The Real Rickenbacker*, by Sender Garlin, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y., price 2 cents
- This Is Our Enemy*, by Peter Wieden, New Age Publishers, N. Y., price 5 cents
- Battle for America 1776-1861-1941*, by A. B. Magil, International Publishers, N. Y., price 15 cents

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